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**BRITISH HISTORY
FOR AMERICAN STUDENTS**

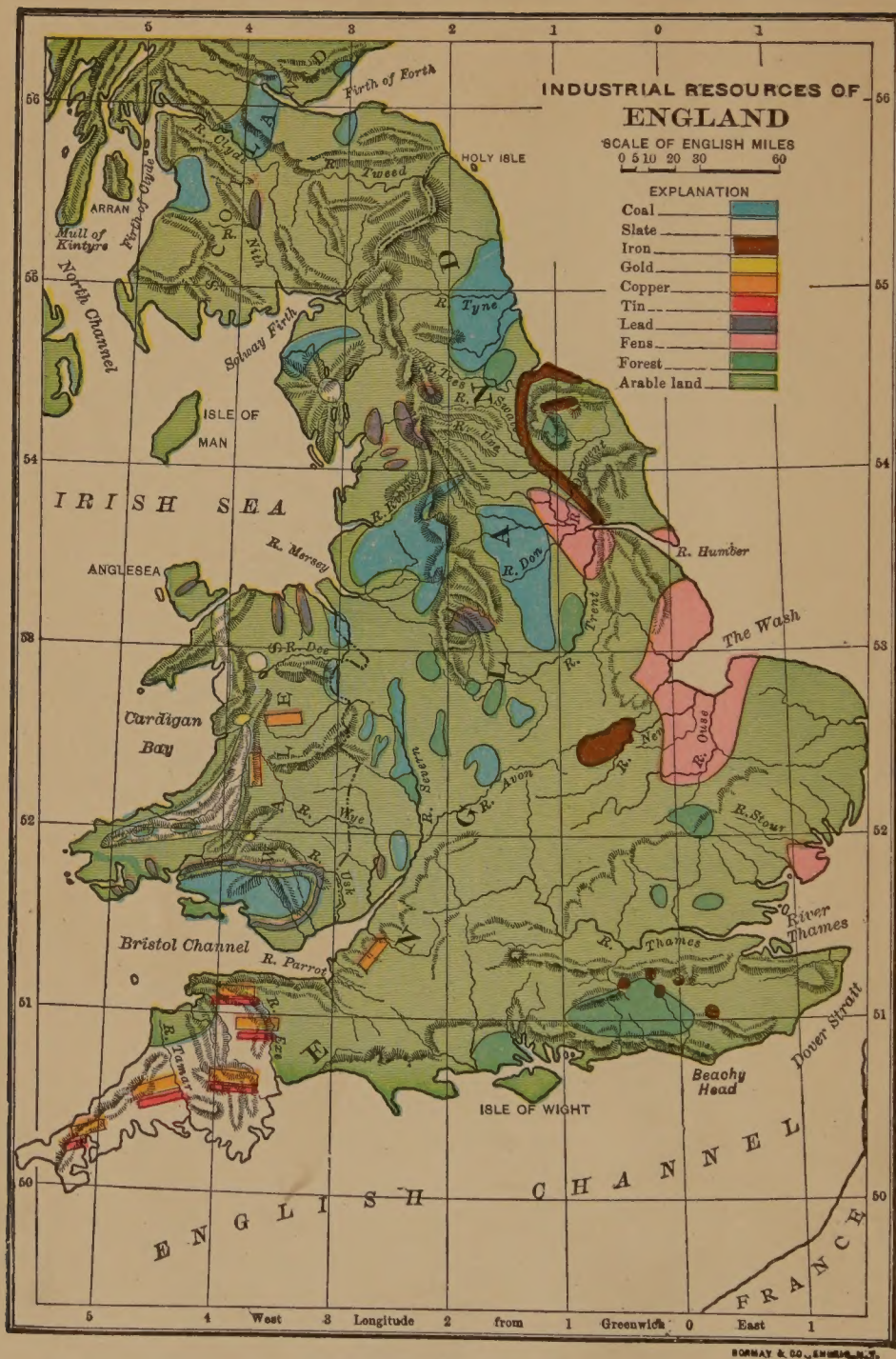
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BRITISH HISTORY FOR AMERICAN STUDENTS

BY
WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN DUKE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

This book was prepared specifically for American undergraduates as the author has observed them during fifteen years of experience as a teacher. It is based on the assumption that the primary aim in the study of history ought to be to acquire understanding rather than mere information about unconnected facts. Therefore the book is offered as a suggestive interpretation to stimulate thought rather than as a comprehensive narrative of British history, though it is hoped that facts are included in sufficient volume to make the interpretation clear.

The author has tried to incorporate in the story an account of the development in England of those imponderable and somewhat intangible forces that play such a vital part in modern social life. Among these forces are a consciousness of national unity in its manifold aspects and a tendency toward a democratic society. The cultural and emotional factors so important in explaining the growth of these forces are integral parts of the story and are essential elements in any adequate synthesis of British history. They are, therefore, not relegated to supplementary chapters as a sort of disconnected appendix, but accounts of them are fitted into the narrative where they would seem to belong as resultants of what had preceded and explanatory of what was to follow. These cultural phenomena are inseparable from the political and economic forces of which they were so largely both the expressions and the products.

To give an adequate explanation of a society stretching so far in time and space is manifestly beyond the capacity of a single volume. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is to identify for the student some of the more important component threads and to indicate roughly the manner in which they have been interwoven through the centuries to produce the complex fabric of peoples, institutions, and societies we are accustomed to associate with the term Great Britain. The essential thing is to suggest explanations of what took place or, at any rate, to suggest that there are things needing explanation. The author has not hesitated, when it seemed necessary, to omit ma-

terial sometimes included in textbooks in order to have room for these more intriguing questions.

The author has no preconceived doctrines to support; he hopes that no one social activity has been emphasized at the expense of another, though it is perhaps vain to expect that many persons will agree concerning the relative importance of historical facts. The British people have been fertile in political invention; they have engaged in diversified economic activities; they have been profoundly influenced by religious and ecclesiastical institutions; they have indulged in a variety of social experimentation; they have expressed their thoughts and feelings in an abundant literature and in many forms of other arts. All of these activities have contributed to make them what they are. A study of history that neglected one and emphasized another of these activities would leave a false impression. In a study that must necessarily be selective and impressionistic, the author hopes, nevertheless, that he has been able to hold the balances even and that he has allotted to each topic due attention.

The bibliographical references at the ends of the chapters are meant to be pertinent and suggestive and, therefore, of assistance to students and teachers likely to use the book; those pursuing more advanced study may easily supplement these references from lists found in many of the books cited. It is hoped that the Geographical Notes will serve as a guide for students who are seriously interested in that aspect of the study of history and so require a greater variety of maps than it is practicable to include in a textbook.

No source books are mentioned except a few references in footnotes to the well-known *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* of the late Professors G. B. Adams and Morse Stephens and pertinent citations of the introductions to other compilations. Teachers who wish to supplement the textbook with selections from the sources will be familiar with Professor E. P. Cheyney's *Readings in English History* and with the more comprehensive collections of documents illustrating constitutional history edited respectively by Stubbs, Tanner, Prothero, Gardiner, and Robertson. An interesting series, *Intermediate Source Books of History*, published under the auspices of the University of London, makes accessible much material illustrating social history not hitherto available in so convenient a form. The *Source Problems in English History* of Professors A. B. White and Wallace Notestein is suggestive for teachers who wish to direct the attention of students to specific selected problems.

The author acknowledges his indebtedness to many writers whose works he has not been able to mention. He is under more direct obligations to scholars who have helped him materially to improve this book. Professors Wallace Notestein and Arthur H. Basye read the manuscript and offered useful suggestions. Professor James F. Willard read critically the earlier chapters and saved the author from many pitfalls. Finally, the author is immeasurably grateful to Professor Charles M. Andrews for a painstaking reading of the manuscript and for many frank criticisms, from which the book profited greatly.

By permission of Professor E. P. Cheyney, Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Professor Parker T. Moon, Professor Roscoe L. Ashley, and the Honorable Stephyn Gwynn, maps are used which have appeared in their books. Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have permitted the use of a map from Professor L. M. Larson's *Canute the Great*. Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Company consented to the use of Rupert Brooke's sonnet to *The Soldier*. For all of these favors the author is grateful.

WILLIAM T. LAPRADE.

Duke University,
September, 1926

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PART I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

BRITISH HISTORY FOR AMERICAN STUDENTS

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE

The first problem in writing a textbook of English history is to make a wise selection of material from a storehouse filled to overflowing with many things that must be omitted. No matter what selections are made, many of the things omitted may quite correctly be regarded as having equal interest and importance with those included. Since this book is designed primarily for American students, the author takes it for granted that its users will prefer to acquaint themselves first with those aspects of English history that are a part of the background of their own social and political life. Many American students may be led to pursue the study of British history by a native interest in the subject. This book indicates no lack of sympathy with that type of study. But the fact is, a majority of American undergraduates have a limited time to give to the study of British history. This book is based on the assumption that the topics selected for study in that limited time ought to be those aspects of the past of Englishmen that are also vital parts of the past of Americans and that the material to be studied ought to be organized from the point of view of an American rather than of a student of another nationality.

British history, in the mind of the normal American student who comes from school to college, is naturally divided into three periods: (1) the period previous to the settlement of America by the English, (2) the period between the settlement of the English colonies and the granting of their independence, and (3) the period from the American Revolution to the present time. If these dividing points were merely milestones in American history and had no significance in British history except in so far as British and American history are related, it would doubtless

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be unjustifiable to use them, even in a book designed for American students. But the history of England itself falls rather naturally into these three divisions, when considered apart from the needs of American students.

The history of the institutions of any people is concerned primarily with the ruling class that gave shape to the institutions. Any radical modification of the institutions is likely to imply a previous change in the character of the ruling class quite as radical. Now the ruling class at any normal time in the history of a country is likely to be composed of those who control and manage the means by which the people provide themselves with a living. According to this criterion, the ruling class in England has passed through three rather definite stages, and is perhaps even now crossing the threshold of a fourth. But the interesting fact for our purposes in this book is that the dividing points that mark the transition from one phase of the ruling class to another, as far as they can be fixed at definite times, correspond approximately with the dates when America was settled and when its independence was granted. So the use of these dates as points of departure in a study of British history is more reasonable than might appear on first consideration. The titles of the three parts into which the book is divided are thus meant to indicate both a logical mode of thinking for an American student and a natural basis for the organization of the subject-matter of British history.

The general topic in PART I, from the point of view of a student of English history, is *The Land and the People*; from the point of view of an American student interested in his own heritage from the English, it is a time of preparation. It was the period in which the peoples who afterward shaped English institutions possessed themselves of the land of the island and organized themselves for its exploitation. The basic occupations in that period were pastoral and agricultural; the ruling class was largely constituted of the lords of the land. Many of the practices and instrumentalities we still use to keep the peace and to do justice were their adaptations or inventions. In the ages when waves of peoples were journeying to the island of Britain and organizing themselves the better to possess and exploit its land, preparation was unwittingly made for the work of a later period, when some of their descendants would travel much farther to the westward and repeat the process, bringing to America somewhat of the fruits of the earlier ancestral experience in Britain.

This migration to America is but one phase of the activity of a new and powerful group in England, who had already challenged the supremacy of the lords of the land at home before they turned their attention to the New World. These rivals, with whom the landlords were rapidly coming to share their power, were men who had accumulated wealth by trade. A large part of their activity was on the sea and in lands other than their island home. The ships and the other means for carrying on their business constituted wealth which, in aggregate amount, may not have equaled that of the landlords, but it was more fluid and could be manipulated with greater ease, enhancing accordingly the power of those who held it. But the continued possession and further accumulation of wealth of this variety involved finding new commodities in which to trade and new markets in which to sell them. To insure these ends, the traders demanded a voice in shaping the policies of the government of the kingdom, and in the end their demand could not be resisted. One way to find both a source of new commodities and a market for the surplusage already in hand was to people new lands under English dominion. In extending their own power and in initiating and carrying forward this tremendous undertaking, the English commercial magnates took the lead in generating a new political organism, the national state. Both the older class, the landlords, and the newer aspirants for power had a share in its management, but it was the newcomers who contributed most to give it tone and character. The title of PART II, therefore, is *The Nation and New Lands*.

When the trading element in the British ruling class, by pressing the theories that had led to the colonization of America to their logical conclusion, overreached themselves and so lost the more important of the colonies entirely, England was already beginning to be aware of the growing power of another group that, within little more than a generation, was to demand a share in the government. The persistent search of the traders for goods had begun to bear fruit in the form of production on a large scale by the use of complicated and expensive machines, and those who had control of these instruments of manufacture outstripped the traders themselves in the amount of wealth held and thus developed larger potentialities for shaping the policies of the government. The manifest interest of the new type of magnates caused them to seek cheaper raw material for manufacturing, cheaper food for laborers, and more extensive markets for their products. Finding by experience that it was imprac-

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ticable to retain by force monopoly of a market sufficiently extensive to absorb what they were able to produce, they began a drive for a free world. Industry and Freedom are thus the key words for the period treated in PART III, of which the title is *Industry, Democracy, and the Commonwealth of Nations*.

THE NATURE OF THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FROM ENGLAND

There is no intention that the student should gain an impression that his sole, or even his chief interest in the period of English history before the beginning of the seventeenth century ought to be in the growth of those social and political institutions that were actually transplanted to America in settling the new land. This early period in English history is perhaps as interesting and as important for an understanding of our own history in the degree that the student learns to appreciate the aspects of English life that were never incorporated in the social fabric of the new people as it is for making clear our debt to the mother country. Indeed, it is not an unprofitable exercise, for its own sake, to try to arrange English institutions and social conventions into categories based on this principle: (1) those that were brought along consciously or unconsciously in the baggage of the settlers and thus became the bases for the new society, and (2) those that for one reason or another were never transplanted to America.

It is, to be sure, not always easy to be certain whether a mooted practice or social contrivance is an heritage received directly from England or elsewhere or whether it was improvised by the settlers in America to meet conditions which confronted them. Not all of the questions of that sort that might be raised are susceptible of a conclusive answer. Some of the answers implied in this book may not meet with the approval of all students. But it would be hazardous pedagogy to forbear raising questions until there is general agreement concerning answers.

One way to make a beginning at the task of separating the facts in the earlier history of England into categories based on the greater or less degree of their influence in shaping the character of American institutions is to examine the impedimenta of the early colonists, who came from their old homes to the New World. (1) What sort of people came from England to reside in America, and (2) what did they bring with them? Fairly concrete and satisfactory answers to these questions are con-

tained in books that are reasonably accessible, and these two questions would seem to be fundamental in an adequate inquiry concerning traceable indebtedness of America to England. But an unfortunate, though explicable, false pride in our ancestry has led us to weave an obscuring veil of legendary heroics about the immigrants of the earlier period, making it difficult sometimes to visualize them in pragmatic terms. Perhaps a majority of American students, therefore, still come to a study of English history in college with a vague feeling that the earlier English settlers were very worthy people—which doubtless most of them were—, but with little definite apprehension of that in which their worthiness consisted.

Fortunately, some of the better of the more recent textbooks on American history, even for the grammar grades,¹ contain material which may tend to stimulate in pupils insight which many of them have formerly lacked. However that may be, reasoning *a priori*, it is fairly certain that comparatively few of the colonists were people who were playing successfully normal parts in the social life at home. Considering the distance to be traveled and the inadequate means of transportation available, it is also clear that the expense of making the journey and of establishing a home in the new land was so great that only persons with a substantial accumulation of economic resources could engage in the enterprise on their own undertaking. The fact is, of course, the bulk of the settlers did change their abode because, for divers reasons, they were unable to fit themselves comfortably into the scheme of things in their native land. It is a further fact that a very large proportion of those who came to some of the colonies in the earlier period were so meagerly furnished with this world's goods that they were under the necessity of selling themselves into one or another form of bondage for a term of years in order to procure their transportation to the new land. When we recall that the vast majority of people in England—at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was estimated to be four-fifths—had little or no chance of acquiring an education, we begin to appreciate the limitations placed by circumstances on the ability of the settlers from England to bring with them to their new home the most advanced stage of civilization of the country from which they migrated. They did bring the manners and customs and habits of life of themselves and their kind, not those of the more sophisticated deni-

¹ Notably Beard and Bagley's *The History of the American People*. See particularly Chapter IV.

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zens of the capital and of the country houses of the wealthy and influential. In short, for the most part, it was the ruled and not the rulers who migrated, the poor and not the rich, the unlettered rather than the learned, the unsuccessful and the unsatisfied rather than persons who were living normal lives.

Immigrants of this type were manifestly not able to lay social foundations in the new country at precisely the same stage of advancement that England had reached when they left. Where, then, did they begin to lay these foundations? To what extent did they bring with them the achievements of those who had gone before them at home? Adequate answers to questions like these are not yet available, but here, too, we can make a few plausible assumptions.

For one thing, the early settlers brought the familiar methods of keeping the peace and doing justice that had come down to them from the middle ages—a partiality for trial by jury and for the other processes of the common law courts to which their descendants have clung more tenaciously than have the English who remained at home. This partiality explains in part the resentment displayed by the colonials when the mother country, in order to facilitate the enforcement of some of the revenue laws, undertook to establish other courts. No doubt a large part of this resentment arose from the likelihood that these new courts, by their efficiency, would impose burdens on the settlers which they were unwilling to bear, but in part it was due to the unfamiliar procedure of the proposed courts. Thoughtful statesmen in England, even before America was settled, were beginning to see that the older judicial methods needed improvement, as witness the experiments in the Court of Star Chamber and the other prerogative courts. It matters not that these experiments were abandoned and other means sought for accomplishing the same purposes, when impolitic kings tried to make the new courts vehicles of oppression. The point is, America was not peopled by the imaginative lawyers of the newer day, but by persons who brought merely the stereotyped practices of the courts with which they were familiar and who wrought into them their own experiences under the conditions they found in their new homes.

The question of land tenure illustrates another phase of the unconscious heritage the settlers brought from the Old World and the treasures which they discovered in the New. They naturally left at home most of the burdensome and complicated arrangements which had come down from the middle ages but

had outlived their usefulness, and which they resented more than they understood. They adapted for use in the new land chiefly those forms of tenure which at home had been most coveted and least often enjoyed by people of their kind. Their freeholds acknowledged even fewer obligations than the freest tenures in England. And when some of the protégés of the king, as proprietors, attempted to transplant to the New World forms of tenure that were survivals of the feudal age, it was not always easy to conciliate tenants into acquiescence. Land was too plentiful for one who had already ventured far from home to submit again to a bondage from which deliverance was comparatively easy. Nevertheless, the new tenures were lineal descendants of the old, and the state, by its rights of taxation and eminent domain, has inherited in a considerable degree the lordship formerly vested in the king.

For the people who remained at home, the settlement of America brought no such simplification of land tenures. They had, and still have, to graft any improvement of the system on the old tree that has roots reaching far back into the past centuries. Even the dire need of the products of the land experienced in the World War has not yet enabled them to cut the Gordian knot of an intricate arrangement that, in some of its aspects, is traceable beyond the Norman Conquest. Moreover, in the England of the earlier times, as Maitland has pointed out, land law was the basis of all public law. The Englishmen who came to America brought much of the resultant public law, as far as they had had experience with it, but a large part of the land law they left behind. Land was so much more plentiful than people in the early days in America, that people as human beings came to bulk larger in political thought and practice than did land.

That which was true as regards the system of land tenure was no less true as regards other aspects of English life. Those Englishmen who came to America were, as we have observed, usually from classes that had little enthusiasm for many aspects of the economic, political, and ecclesiastical organization they left behind. In the process of adapting what they had brought from the old social life, therefore, to make it serve their needs under the radically different conditions prevailing in the new land, these emigrants and their descendants, with little conscious design, built a society that, in some respects, was radically different from, in others, similar to that with which their kinsmen who remained behind were still familiar.

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THE GROWTH OF A NEW NATION

In the period between the settlement of the New World and the Revolution there are thus two threads in British history that an American student must follow if he is to have a clear understanding of the past or present relations between Great Britain and his own country. He has, on the one hand, to perceive the forces that, gathering momentum with each succeeding decade, were shaping a native American character in the people of the colonies. He has, on the other, to follow the slower processes by which English society at home groped its way to modernity with a sort of inevitableness that seems almost like fate, while, after its cataclysmic experience in the seventeenth century, it approached the prospect of change with hesitancy, and seldom at all unless moved thereto by conditions seemingly irresistible. Once we have these threads clearly in hand, the plot of Britain's relations with her colonies moves naturally to the American Revolution, and that dénouement is one of the least surprising events in all history. It could not have been avoided without a change of people and conditions.

The agitators, the orators, the pamphleteers, in Britain and in America, when the time of crisis approached, scarcely spoke the same language. Taxation, it is true, was taxation on both sides of the Atlantic and was relished in itself as little on one side as on the other. But the other noun in the famous Revolutionary shibboleth meant to an Englishman something entirely different from what it meant to an American. With the exception of a few disgruntled extremists, the average Englishman, when the American Revolution began, had the pride in parliament as a representative legislative body that Burke was wont to boast and that Wellington was still professing to retain two generations later. The electors who sent delegates to the colonial assemblies, on the other hand, would not have tolerated the prevailing methods of electing members of the House of Commons had they been seriously suggested for adoption in America. When they demanded representation in the British parliament, they were scarcely frank; they really meant to demand that they should be taxed only by a representative assembly of the type with which they were familiar, an assembly that had little in common with the current British national legislature. But the clumsy machinery for electing members to the House of Commons was familiar to the people in Britain by long usage, and few of them were vividly aware of the apparently absurd

and corrupt methods it involved in comparison with the simpler practices prevalent in the colonies.

The truth is, of course, the people who claimed, and in practice exercised, a dominant voice in the government of the colonies, in England would scarcely have been able to make their influence felt at all. Those of their own class who had remained at home were still as powerless in directing the affairs of the mother country as they had been when the settlers left. The government of England in the middle of the eighteenth century was still, as it had been in the seventeenth, in the hands of the landlords with the larger holdings and of the commercial magnates who traded on a large scale. There was a working agreement between these two groups, and parliament in both its houses was composed largely of themselves and their henchmen. The voters who participated in parliamentary elections were in most constituencies their tenants, agents, or hangers-on. We need not assume that they were consciously corrupt; it was simply the prevailing mode of government.

These landlords and commercial magnates had no exact counterparts in the colonies. Those who held large bodies of land lacked the local prestige of the British landlord, and the smaller freeholds much outnumbered the larger. Nature was so lavish with her resources that a majority of those who displayed average industry and intelligence were able to possess themselves of a stake, and the country was too young for wealth to have been accumulated in extraordinarily large amounts by single individuals. The result was that power was left in the hands of those who had the ability to understand and to minister to the interests of these average people, who had begun to accumulate a stake in the community.

It is thus manifest that men as men tended to have a larger voice in America than was the case in England, while in the older country the right to participate in the government was for the most part derived from property or tenurial rights of one sort or another. But we ought not to assume that extreme democratic theories were much in vogue as determining principles in either country. In England, the later accessions to the ruling class had, by the use of wealth, managed to possess themselves of some of the weapons of power and had adopted the practices of those who had preceded them on the scene, with whom they now shared control of the government. The machine, as it existed, was a going concern, and they were familiar with the rules for its operation. Probably nobody, faced with the

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

THE NORMANS AT HOME

That part of English history in which Americans are most interested begins with the conquest of England by the Normans. A majority of the more reputable recent authorities agree that a large part of what is distinctive about English institutional life took form under the Normans and Angevins. The Anglo-Saxons, it is true, supplied basic elements in the people and the language, but these were plastic materials in the hands of the conquerors. The vocabulary of the institutional life with which we are familiar is largely composed of borrowed terms. A recent English writer has emphasized the fact by pointing out that in the phrase, "the liberty of the subject," the "Anglo-Saxon tongue has only contributed the article and the preposition." The same author goes on to say: "Court, council, and parliament, judge and jury, inquest and verdict, alike come from abroad; and the Englishman cannot perform a single civic or legal duty, or exercise a single political function, from parish council to parliament, without using a word or expressing a thought unknown to his Anglo-Saxon forbears."¹

The reason why the bulk of the systematic, organized institutional life does not begin before the Conquest is obvious: the Norman conquerors constituted the first ruling class that England as a whole ever had. They laid the foundations solidly, and their successors have built thereupon with remarkable success and with a continuity that is not yet terminated. The coming of the Normans thus marks the last revolutionary break in the development of English institutions. On that account, the logical approach to English history is to begin the study of the subject where the Normans began their work. We have to inquire first, therefore, with what equipment they were furnished for their task when they took it upon themselves. We are next

¹ A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, p. 6. For a more extensive list of terms illustrating the same point see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (Second Edition), I. 80f.

interested in what they found in England when they came. The establishment of this point involves an attempt to determine those elements in the Anglo-Saxon society of the eleventh century that were destined to persist in the life of the people under their new rulers and an effort to understand those forces in the past that had given rise to those persistent elements. In this approach, we shall pave the way for a study of the resultant that emerged from the clash of the conquerors and the conquered.

Unfortunately for the successful pursuit of our inquiry, it is much easier to ask questions about the character of Norman institutions before the conquest of England than it is to answer them. The history of Normandy itself seems to begin with the career of a Scandinavian pirate, Rollo by name; perhaps he was better known in his native land as Hrolf the Ganger, being, according to tradition, so huge that no horse could carry him, so that he must needs gang afoot. Of course, the district had been in northern France from time immemorial, called, in the period before the Northmen conquered it, by the name of Neustria; and there had been inhabitants, but there was no Normandy until people from the north, predecessors and followers of Rollo, came in numbers large enough to possess, to rule, and to give a name to the district. A. D. 911 is the date usually agreed on, when the Frankish King, Charles the Simple, received homage from Rollo and bestowed on him the eastern part of what was to become Normandy. The remainder of the territory was accumulated in the course of the succeeding generations. These invasions of the northern shore of France by the Scandinavians began about the middle of the ninth century, and their inroads lasted until about the middle of the tenth. It was, thus, about the middle of the period of invasion that Rollo obtained his fief from the King.

Only a century and a quarter elapsed between the grant to Rollo and the accession of William, then a mere boy, to the dukedom. Not long enough time for very profound changes in the composition of society as we are accustomed to think of social movements in that period, yet that brief interval sufficed for the "aristocracy of Scandinavian conquerors," to quote Maitland's epigrammatic statement, to adopt the language and religion of the "Romance speaking Kelts" over whom they ruled. This very term, "Romance speaking Kelts," reminds us that there had been other conquerors of Normandy before the Scandinavians. To say nothing of the largely unexplored years before Cæsar came, we know that the influx of Romans taught

the natives, or rather helped them to create, their language. The geographical region of which Normandy is a part was, even in Rollo's time, called France, a name that bears witness of a fifth century migration and conquest by the Germanic Franks. That the people were of mixed blood is obvious. Their religion and their language came in a large part from Rome. Their customs and their laws,—who can tell, except as we see them in the process of change by the activities of conquerors?

These people from the north, who were destined to give Normandy its name and to use that province as a point of vantage from which to conquer England, are worthy of further study. An examination of the map reveals that the Scandinavian folk had almost a monopoly of whatever seapower there was in these centuries. They sailed in comparatively small boats—the largest would contain scarcely more than a hundred men—, but they sailed far and found compensation for the hardships and dangers of their voyage by taking toll on any defenceless coasts on which they landed. When they found an expedition remunerative or a locality more inviting than their own rugged shores, they sometimes returned again and again, finally, in numbers, to remain permanently and to possess the land or choice parts of it. Normandy, in area, was one of the smaller of their conquests, among which were Iceland, Greenland, parts of the coast of Ireland, northern Scotland, from time to time no small part of England itself, not to mention other places. Tradition has it that some of their adventurous spirits reached the coast of America. They were, we know, unwelcome visitors to almost every European shore on the west as far south as Spain, and they found their way from Sweden on the east even to Constantinople.

At home these hardy folk were in the early stages of civilization. They had not yet acquired from the people of the south the religion that had come out of Asia to conquer the Roman Empire. Their institutions seem to have been in part tribal and patriarchal and in part adaptations based on the necessities of existence in a northern clime and the requirements of military and sea-roving life. Not the sons of "Thrall," to quote from their own traditional literature, were those who went in numbers on these expeditions of conquest and adventure. "Thrall was of swarthy skin, his hands wrinkled, his knuckles bent, his fingers thick, his face ugly, his back broad, his heels long. He began to put forth his strength, binding bast, making loads, and bearing home faggots the weary long day. His children busied

themselves with building fences, dunging plowland, tending swine, herding goats, and digging peat. Their names were Sooty and Cowherd, Clumsy and Lout and Laggard." Nor were the ships filled with many of the sons of "Carl." "Carl, or Churl, was red and ruddy, with rolling eyes, and took to breaking oxen, building plows, timbering houses, and making carts." The conquerors were rather, in a large part, of noble blood. "Earl, the noble, had yellow hair, his cheeks were rosy, his eyes were keen as a young serpent's. His occupation was shaping the shield, bending the bow, hurling the javelin, shaking the lance, riding horses, throwing dice, fencing, and swimming. He began to make war, to redden the field, and to fell the doomed."

Of such a sort was the aristocracy that had come to rule on the shore of France. Its members might learn to speak the language of the conquered; to do so would facilitate the accomplishment of the purposes of the conquest. They had left their own priests behind, and it was not strange that in time they adopted the religion of the people they ruled, a religion that had only one divinity and so facilitated a unity of organization and power. Indeed, they learned many things from their contact with this people, who had profited by centuries of association with the Classical civilization of the Mediterranean countries. The one thing they had little need to learn was how to conquer and rule.

Having established themselves in Normandy, these men from the north could abide with no greater contentment in their new homes than in the old. With the conquest of England we shall presently concern ourselves, but that was merely one adventure among a series of conquests that included adjoining provinces in France, crusading expeditions to the Holy Land, and other expeditions into the territories between. Twenty years before Duke William invaded England, another Norman William, of the Iron Arm, died after leading some of his fellow-Normans in an invasion of Sicily and in the conquest of northern Apulia, being chosen count in consequence. In the year that he died, another Norman, Robert Guiscard, came to Italy, and, within five years after Duke William's famous battle that made him king of England, all of southern Italy was under Robert's rule with the Pope as overlord. This overlordship was accepted by Robert only after he had first defeated the armies of the Pope. The peculiar relations between Robert and the Pope have an additional interest in view of the favor with which William's expedition to England was regarded by the Holy See. Later,

a year before the death of Robert and two years before William made his famous survey of the realm he had captured, the Normans took and pillaged the Eternal City itself. At this time, according to the most competent American historian of the Normans,¹ "The monuments of ancient Rome suffered more from the Normans than from the Vandals."

EUROPE AT THE TIME OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The Church had everywhere fallen on evil days. Its endowments, accumulated through centuries of donations given in one form or another for the good of the souls of the semi-barbarians who were conquering and reconquering Europe, made it by far the wealthiest and most powerful organization of its time. Its higher official distinctions, therefore, carrying, as they did, control of the lands held locally by the Church or monastery, were much coveted, and any noble or prince who acquired secular power was tempted to claim a voice in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments also. In the centuries immediately preceding the eleventh the papacy was in one of the least efficient stages in its history, and it was the custom of the secular princes to give the formal bestowal of the symbols of office to bishops and abbots along with the investiture of the lands. This custom had the effect of filling the ecclesiastical offices with men who were primarily concerned with their own or their lord's personal interests and who gave only secondary consideration or none at all to the matters for which the Church was supposed to exist.

Beginning probably at the Burgundian abbey of Cluny, founded in the early years of the tenth century, a movement for the reform of the Church spread rapidly over Europe. The middle of the eleventh century found this movement under the active leadership of Cardinal Hildebrand, who, in 1073, himself became Pope as Gregory VII. Gregory believed that the head of the Church ought to have the bestowal of the offices of its subordinate officials which, as he interpreted it, meant also the bestowal of the lands held by the ecclesiastical organizations. He was thus involved in a controversy with the German King, Henry IV, who claimed for himself the customary right of investiture, a controversy that lasted longer than the lives of Henry and Gregory, after consuming the major portion of their

¹ Professor Charles H. Haskins.

time and energy. This "investiture quarrel," we observe, was in progress in the critical period when William was consolidating his conquests in England. The Norman Robert Guiscard sacked Rome as Gregory's ally in this quarrel.

Despite its nominal persistence and its more active revival from time to time by strong personalities among the German princes, the office of emperor, instituted in the last days of the eighth century by Charlemagne, proved in the end to be merely the ghost of the imperial office of the earlier Romans. With the exception of the larger political affairs, we can get a clearer understanding of what was really going on if we simply ignore it. "It had been," says Edward Jenks, "a sham empire from beginning to end, making pretensions which it could not support, using forms which it did not understand, undertaking duties which it could not perform. Its real importance lies in the ideas which it contributed to the intellectual endowment of the Teuton race."¹ In order to understand the stage of development to which the peoples of Western Europe had attained when, by the unique experience of the Norman Conquest, England began to take her place in the van of institutional growth, we have to consider actual, substantial conditions rather than the doings of the emperors, to which the narratives of the time devote so much space. It is scarcely more helpful to catalogue the successive popes and their chronicled activities. It was around much less pretentious political units that the European states of later times were taking shape, and they are subjects much more fruitful for our study.

There was as yet no France, except in a very vague and nominal sense. Hugh Capet, it is true, achieved a throne in 987, thanks to the weakness of the descendants of Charlemagne, but the early Capetians were little more than one among a number of nobles. The other nobles acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the king, but one of the vassals was not infrequently more powerful than his royal lord. Duke William of Normandy was himself a notable case in point. If there was no France, still less was there an Italy or a Germany. For years yet to come, disputes with and about the Church were destined to occupy the time of the strong princes who might have accomplished in those countries the things done in England by the Normans and Angevins and in France by the Capetians. Meantime, the organization of society, in Normandy at any rate, had reached the stage commonly called feudalism.

¹ *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*, p. 81.

THE PART PLAYED BY FEUDALISM

To say just what and all we mean by feudalism is no easy task. It was, for one thing, never a standardized society; it was never quite the same at different times and in different places. Yet there is probably no better way to understand the fundamental things in feudalism than to imagine a primitive people in the hypothetical process of undergoing the stages of transition from primordial society to the modern civilized state, without contact with more sophisticated communities. Manifestly, we have no actual records of any such transition; had such a people ever existed, they would have been incapable of keeping records of their progress. None of the peoples of Western Europe, as we know, followed a normal course of institutional growth without interference from the outside. Moreover, most of the records we have of the development that did take place were either kept by alien scribes in an alien language or at any rate by those trained in alien ways and in alien learning. We know little of native habits and customs as natives themselves might have conceived them, had they been allowed to follow their own devices.

Despite this scantiness of our certain knowledge, we may safely assume that settled agricultural life with an organization for its protection was preceded by a period, reaching however far into the past, when man roamed and foraged, subsisting on the bounties of nature much as he found them. The domestication of animals introduced a form of what we may, for convenience, call property, which began to serve as a powerful force for holding groups together and for changing the character of groups already established on other bases. The typical group probably came to be led by an older man, who by one means or another made good a claim to an heritage of noble blood. Not infrequently he traced his lineage to divinity itself, and, before the priesthood became professionalized, he was intercessor for his household with his alleged ancestors as well as dispenser of any law and justice that existed. Usually his most immediate and pressing problems had to do with ruling the household and finding pasturage for the herds.

The increase in population meant the establishment of new households and, sooner or later, competition for pasturage, resulting in strife between the herdsmen of rival patriarchs. The easiest settlement was similar to that accepted by Abraham and Lot, an agreement that one go to the right and the other to the

left, but not all groups were able to make such an agreement. The result was the strife between herdsmen that the Hebrew patriarchs avoided, a strife which became chronic in the course of time. In the course of this strife, the patriarch gradually shared his place of supremacy with younger men who had stronger arms and a capacity for leadership in physical contests. Perhaps these younger leaders were usually akin to the patriarchs and so of noble blood. In any case, their blood would soon become noble, for those who abode in safety naturally came to acknowledge their indebtedness to and dependence on those who endangered their lives and spent their energy to make sure the safety of all. And so an aristocracy of the wielders of arms took its place in the van of society and shared the prestige of the priest and patriarch.

When the scarcity of pasturage, the growth of population, or other pressing conditions led these gentile groups to settle in one place in order that the soil might be encouraged by labor to lend its increase, it was necessary that the fields devoted to tillage be protected. Thus military chieftains tended in one way or another to become arbiters in the apportionment of land and in the distribution of the harvested products. Those who bore arms were naturally favored at the expense of those who simply labored in the fields or tended the flocks and herds. Society tended to be organized into classes based in large part on the relation of its members to the land, to its defence and its usufruct. Time conventionalized the relations thus developed by experience. The chieftain to whom the group looked for leadership in keeping peace among its members and in warding off attack from without became lord of the land with habitual methods for performing these tasks.

In some such way must have arisen the essential things in feudalism: the personal relations between a vassal and his lord; the custom of one person holding land or other possessions from another with the obligation of rendering some habitual return, and the right of the lord of the land to have jurisdiction over his tenants in a court of which they were also constituent members. We need not assume that all people would have passed through this stage of social evolution had there been no outside interference to appreciate that it was a logical transition from pastoral and patriarchal to settled, agricultural life. The ancient Mediterranean cities appear to have achieved a measure of peace and organization by a different process, but a large part of the civilized world to-day is able to trace its institutions

to something it is not wholly incorrect to call feudalism, and many things surviving from that society still persist.

While the fundamental essentials indicated were usually present, it would be a mistake to assume that the feudalizing process was identical in all communities. The human beings of earlier ages were as different in their individual idiosyncrasies as are their descendants to-day, and they had much less effective paraphernalia than we for surmounting the topographical and other obstacles they met. Moreover, when a group that had made greater progress conquered or was conquered by another group, both conquerors and conquered reacted on each other. Thus, when the feudal organization of society was completely accomplished, as we would naturally anticipate, it reached its most consistent and systematic form in cases where it was imposed on conquered peoples. Greater variations were likely to arise in communities groping toward it without violent interruptions.

All of which simply illustrates the point that feudalism is a normal stage in the growth of organized society and, like all institutions and customs of earlier peoples, that it lacks the regularity and definiteness we are accustomed to expect in institutions of a more recent origin. Had there been a power strong enough and politically wise enough to enforce regularity and system, there would have been no need for feudalism at all. Therefore, the remark that the Normans, when they conquered England, had reached the stage of institutional development called feudalism is not as informing as may have been inferred. In order to understand what that statement implies, we should have to explain the character of the particular variety of feudalism that existed in Normandy in the eleventh century. For obvious reasons, that cannot be done. The conquerors of Neustria, as we have seen, wanted primarily to collect the greatest possible amount of tribute from their Frankish subjects, and we are safe in assuming that any measures of practical organization they introduced were chiefly designed to accomplish that purpose. But the long and direct contact of the Franks with the heirs of Classical civilization enabled them in turn to serve as teachers of their conquerors in most things except in the single matter of using military power for organizing a conquered people.

Nevertheless, we probably ought not to conclude that the Northmen had a preconceived plan of exploitation. They were simply marauding groups, who learned by experience that it

was less profitable to destroy than it was to levy tribute. The problem they had to solve was the practical task of parceling among themselves shares in the spoils of their enterprise so that each would have a proportionate reward. In this way, they became severally lords of particular groups of the conquered peoples or portions of the land, and in time introduced a degree of system in their extortions; the obligations of the conquered to their conquerors came to be accepted as a part of the normal scheme of things. It was inevitably so, if there was to be peace for the conquered and profit for their conquerors. The grant to Rollo by the King was a part of the normalizing process. It made legal what was already an accomplished fact.

The new governors consciously imposed no new laws on their subjects; we have record of no noteworthy Norman legislation before 1066. The Conqueror brought no Norman laws with him to England, for the simple reason that there were none to bring. Normandy had too recently attained to the status of a semi-independent duchy for its lords to feel the need of law-making, even in the limited sense in which medieval rulers ventured to make laws. As Professor Haskins has happily phrased it, in its early days the province was "at once a Frankish county and a Danish colony." The conquered still lived according to their traditional Frankish customs, while the conquerors began to adapt their own habits to the new circumstances in which they found themselves. The explanation of any changes they made is to be found in the practical undertaking in which they were engaged. Without consciously altering their own customs, they appropriated any customs of their new subjects that seemed likely to serve their own purposes. The expedient of sending out trusted men (*missi dominici*) to make investigation and to keep the ruler informed about conditions in distant parts of the realm, representing him in his absence, was one definite thing the Normans learned from the neighboring Frankish lords. In the course of several generations, the intermingling of conquerors and conquered was so complete that the more numerous element, the conquered, was able to make prevail its language, its religion, and many of its customs for keeping the peace; in those respects, the Normans of the eleventh century were the heirs of the earlier Franks. But the strong grip of the conqueror's hand was still felt at the helm; and the effectiveness with which the people were organized under their lords was a heritage from the sea-rovers who, little more than a century before, had settled down to exploit an agricultural people.

DUKE WILLIAM AND THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

Duke William, who in the eleventh century was about to lead his people on another expedition of conquest, was grandson of the fourth Norman Duke, Richard the Good. We have space here to mention only the names of William's father, Robert the Magnificent, and of his mother, Arletta, daughter of a tanner, between whom the Church celebrated no marriage. Of William himself, his works testify sufficiently. Perhaps we need seek no better explanation of his motives for the expedition to England than is manifest for the conquest of so many places by his ancestors and kinsmen. As we shall learn in the next chapter, conquest was by no means a new experience for England. Indeed, William is the last of a series of conquerors of the island. Before him on the English throne, though not immediately, came Cnut the Dane, one of the greatest of the pre-Norman kings, who reigned in England in the time when William's father was duke of Normandy.

The reign of Cnut in a sense prepared the way for the coming of William to England. Emma, daughter of Richard the Fearless of Normandy, William's great-grandfather, was the second wife of Ethelred "the Redeless," king of England in the Wessex line from 978 to 1016, and bore him several sons. When Cnut, after conquering a part of the kingdom from Edmund, Ethelred's son by his first wife and his successor on the throne, came to rule over the entire kingdom on the death of his late foe, he forthwith sought and obtained Emma's hand in marriage. Emma, when she became Cnut's wife, left her sons by Ethelred behind in Normandy, whither she had been obliged to flee by Cnut's father, before the death of her first husband. Edward, one of these sons, who achieved as king the questionable title of "Confessor," was thus half Norman by birth and altogether Norman by training. When he came to the throne, he introduced many of his Norman relatives and friends into places of power and influence. As a natural consequence, Norman customs began to be familiar in England.

Edward was preceded on the English throne by Harthacnut, son of Emma and Cnut, to whom both Cnut and Emma had desired to leave the throne on the death of the father. The powerful men of the kingdom preferred instead Harold, known as the Harefoot, a son of Cnut born before his marriage to Emma, and so Emma's son had to await the death of his half-brother. The real power in England at the time was in the



hands of the heads of the great earldoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, of whom the most powerful was Godwine of Wessex, who had been raised to the position by the favor of Cnut. On the death of his patron, Godwine at first supported Harthacnut, but, later, while Emma's son lingered in Denmark, he had to make terms with Harold Harefoot and is even supposed to have assisted Harold in the murder of Alfred, another son of Emma and Cnut. Harthacnut, when he came to claim the throne on the death of Harold, brought with him his half-brother, Edward, who was thus on hand to claim the succession to the throne when, in 1042, the career of Harthacnut came to an unregretted end.

Edward immediately married the daughter of Godwine and made terms with the other powerful earls. Then, after the somewhat unsaintly act of plundering his mother of most of the wealth she had accumulated by the favor of her second husband and their son, he settled down to earn for himself a sort of canonization, which affords a chance for clever remarks at his expense by later historians, most of whom have been unable to resist the temptation to make them. Although, as we have noted, Edward brought to England many of his Norman friends, he seems to have spent his years in Normandy with priests rather than with fighting men, and so he manifested little of the capacity for organization and government we shall discern in his cousins among whom he lived. He seems to have been interested primarily in playing a safe game and in leaving the actual exercise of power to those better fitted for and more interested in the task. His marriage was purely one of prudence, made to conciliate Godwine, since he had earlier pledged himself to celibacy. When he quarreled with Godwine, he sent his wife to a nunnery; when the quarrel ended, he received her back again, apparently with the same equanimity with which he married her in the first place and then put her away. Little wonder that at the end of his reign of nearly a quarter of a century the kingdom was disorganized, and the succession to the crown was in dispute.

At least three claimants afterward asserted that Edward had promised to leave the kingdom to them: Sweyn Estrithson, King of Denmark, William of Normandy, and Harold son of Godwine. The promise was alleged to have been made to William on the occasion of a visit he made to Edward in 1051. Still another claimant, who threatened to take the throne for himself and later attempted to do so in league with Har-

old's brother, Tostig, was Harold Hadrada, King of Norway. Finally, despite his saintliness, largely through the fault of Godwine, Edward left to his successor a quarrel with the Church. One Stigand, formerly chaplain to Cnut and a partizan of Godwine, procured his own appointment as archbishop of Canterbury in 1052 and obtained his pall by purchase from Pope Benedict X in 1058. Unfortunately for Stigand, Benedict was deposed and declared an anti-pope after reigning less than a year, and the Archbishop held his office thereafter only by the favor of Godwine.

Godwine's son, Harold, was on hand when Edward died; he thus came into possession of the throne with the acquiescence of the great men of the kingdom within twenty-four hours after the Confessor's decease. But, several years before this time, Harold had been driven by wind to a coast of which one of the vassals of William was lord and had been held for ransom, later falling into the hands of his future conqueror. On this occasion, it is alleged that Harold obtained his freedom on condition that he personally do homage to William and swear to support the claims of that lord to the throne of England on Edward's death. As a part of the bargain, William's daughter, then a mere child, was promised to Harold for wife. It was certain, therefore, that Harold would not long be left in peaceful possession of the crown.

The legality or the right of the claims of none of the candidates needs consideration here. The trial was manifestly to be one of strength and skill. William obtained the support of the ruling head of the Church by aligning himself nominally with the movement for reform in elections and by taking a part against Stigand. He alleged the promise of Edward that he should have the crown, and he accused Harold of violating his promise, both as he had accepted the throne for himself and as he had taken a wife from the powerful family in possession of the earldom of Mercia. The Norman Duke, therefore, proceeded to gather an army to take England from Harold by force. Since the resources of himself and of his immediate vassals were limited, he had, in gathering this army, to depend on the help of such of his neighbors as he could induce by promises of booty to engage with him in the undertaking. It was no small task to collect between January and August, 1066, an army of from ten to fifteen thousand men and to provide the nearly seven hundred boats necessary to transport them with their equipment across the Channel.

Meanwhile, Harold, too, had been making ready for the fight that he knew was inevitable. He summoned to help him those who owed military service to him and to his loyal earls and collected a fleet of boats to await the coming of William off the southern coast of England. Before William came, Harold of Norway and Tostig landed on the coast of Yorkshire, and Harold had by forced marches to meet this enemy, leaving his fleet to be scattered in his absence. He defeated the invaders at the battle of Stamford Bridge, where the Norwegian Harold and Tostig both fell along with a majority of their followers.

Just three days after that battle (September 28, 1066), William came ashore on the southern coast of the kingdom, having found a favorable wind after a long wait. Harold, gathering what support he could as he went, made haste to meet the invader. The decisive battle was fought near the present town of Hastings at a place later called Senlac. About this important battle much has been written, including many pages of controversy as to whether it should be designated by the name Senlac or Hastings. Here it is sufficient to say that Harold was killed and his army dissipated, leaving William in possession of the field and free to complete the task of subjugating the land. The forces engaged on the several sides seem to have been about equal numerically. The Normans were fresher and perhaps somewhat better organized and led, though Harold was by no means an incompetent commander. Both sides manifested courage, and but for the death of Harold and the subsequent lack of his leadership it is far from certain that William's expedition would ultimately have achieved the signal success that was destined to make it bulk so large in the future of England. But that is hypothetical, for Harold fell leading his troops.

Our next task, therefore, is to determine the influence of the conquest thus begun on the institutions and the character of the people of England. Perhaps the most direct approach in finding an answer to that question is to ask another: What did William himself really think that he was doing when he organized his forces and persisted in the undertaking until all of England was occupied? One indication of what he thought he was about—perhaps the best we have—is seen in his action a score of years after Hastings, when he took the most celebrated of all his measures to make his venture yield the utmost of profit. That measure was, of course, to send agents throughout the land to ascertain the obligations owed by all of his subjects and whether they could be increased. The results of that inquest, as every-

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body knows, were set down in that unique document called Domesday Book. Manifestly William thought he was possessing himself of a kingdom likely to enhance both his power and his wealth. To see how the measures he adopted to attain these ends affected the people he conquered, we need to know first something of the conditions prevailing in England when the Conqueror came.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge Medieval History, II. ch. xx; III. ch. xviii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. 87-107; Edward Jenks, *The State and the Nation*, chs. ix-xi; *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*, chs. i-iii; Sir Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law* (Second Edition), I. ch. iii; Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, I. ch. ix.

FOR WIDER READING

C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History*; Charles Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, chs. xxvi-xxvii; Thomas Hodgkin, *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*, ch. xxvi; F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, chs. i-vi; Gilbert Stone, *England from the Earliest Times to the Great Charter*, ch. iv.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For a physical map of the British Isles, see *Shepherd*, p. 49; *Muir*, f. 31. For the migrations of the Northmen, see *Shepherd*, p. 45. For Europe at the time of the Norman Conquest, see *Shepherd*, pp. 59, 66-67. For the dominions of Cnut, see *Shepherd*, p. 64. For the conquest and dominions of William, see *Shepherd*, p. 65; *Muir*, f. 33.

CHAPTER III

BEYOND DOMESDAY

BEFORE THE ROMANS CAME

Just how many different conquering peoples had mingled their blood in the veins of the inhabitants of the island of Britain before the Normans came we do not know. The earliest of these invaders left no written records, and we cannot appraise the permanency of any influence they had with a great degree of certainty. They are survived by certain relics like entrenched camps, fragments of weapons, and tombs, with sometimes skulls and skeletons. The earliest relics found as yet belong to what is called the Old Stone Age, but they reveal little of the people they survive.

The first people that, with much evidence to support the claim, we can regard as the ancestors of the British to-day belong to the New Stone Age. Some scholars think that two races of invaders belong to this age. The first had elongated skulls, resembling the basic population of the Mediterranean lands, and so are called the Mediterranean race. They were followed by a taller people, with skulls more nearly round, who had learned the use of bronze implements. Perhaps they owed their superiority to this equipment. These peoples knew how to grow grain, to wear clothes, and to make pottery. The latter race is supposed to have erected the circles of standing stone of which Stonehenge is the most notable example. The heavy stones in this structure could not have been moved without some knowledge of engineering.

The next conquerors were the Celts, who had learned, among other things, the use of iron. Perhaps the Celts constituted the first wave of the Indo-European stock, from which have descended the principal peoples of Europe and of Persia and India. All of the subsequent conquerors of Britain belong to the same racial group. The Celts seem to have come to Britain in two, some authorities think in three different waves. The Gaels were the first to come; their form of the Celtic language

survives in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland. After perhaps two centuries, the Gaels were followed by the Britons, whose language is still spoken in parts of Wales and was until a short time ago in Cornwall. The Gaels subdued, enslaved, or drove to the northern and western parts of the island the people who preceded them, and the Britons treated the Gaels in much the same way. The language of the conquerors became the language of the country, just as the language of France in the centuries after Cæsar became predominantly Roman. After the last Celtic invasion, all of the island south of the Firth of Forth was Britonic; Ireland and the country to the north remained Gaelic. The people was naturally a much mixed one in both cases.

Until the next conquest, that by the Romans, Britain had few contacts with those Mediterranean countries in which the foundations of Western civilization were taking shape. Some Phœnician traders came, probably to the Isle of Wight, to buy tin, and some of the Greek merchants carried on a trade from Marseilles through the tribes of Gaul, introducing a few Greek coins. But the island was largely out of contact with the civilized world. The people of Britain were then probably in about the same social stage as were those of North America when the first Europeans came. Some of them were accustomed to tattoo or paint their bodies, and they worshipped gods representing various forces in nature to which they offered human sacrifices.

THE PERIOD OF ROMAN OCCUPATION

Julius Cæsar paid two visits to the southeastern coast of England, one in 55 and the other in 54 B. C. On both occasions he levied tribute and took away hostages. Not until a century later did the Romans undertake the conquest of the island in earnest. Between 43 and 61 A. D. the greater part of what is now England and Wales was conquered and organized under Roman dominion. Ultimately a stone wall was built to defend the country to the south from its northern neighbors, eloquent evidence that the task of subjugating Scotland was not regarded as practicable. The Romans not only sent legions to guard the conquered territory, they built towns and connecting roads as well. But they remained to the end a ruling class of invaders who had superimposed themselves on the native population.

In the latter years of the period of Roman occupation, the

legions that guarded Britain were recruited on the island itself; other soldiers from the Continent married native wives, and the ties that bound them to Rome grew slighter in consequence. When the Imperial City was no longer able to offer effective opposition, leaders ambitious to achieve place for themselves led the British legions into Gaul from time to time. The barbarian invasions from which the Roman Empire was already suffering made it difficult to return, once these forces were across the Channel. By the early years of the fifth century this process had gone so far that the period of Roman occupation of Britain may be said to have come to an end.

Two notable things survived in Britain from the period of Roman occupation. One was an admirable system of roads largely built to facilitate the defence of the country. Some of the larger railway systems on which the inhabitants of the kingdom travel to-day follow the routes of these ancient highways. The departing conquerors also left behind among the Celts a religion which they had themselves adopted in the period when Britain was a part of the empire. The missionaries of Christianity traversed the roads constructed by the conquering Romans and in places did work that was destined to outlast that of the legions who blazed their way. Many of the Celts adhered to the new religion after they forgot the Latin many of them, especially the townspeople, learned to speak in the period of imperial occupation.

A third result of the period of Roman domination made easier the coming of the next phase of the history of Britain. The Celts, when the Romans left, were a more civilized people by far than they had been when these conquerors first came. But centuries of acquiescence in domination by a foreign power developed in the natives a dependence on the legions for defence from enemies from without and for keeping the peace at home and lessened their own skill and effectiveness as warriors.

THE COMING OF THE GERMANS

Scarcely had the Roman power disintegrated, when the Picts and Scots began to cross the wall and to attack the more civilized Britons the while the Germans came from across the sea. At first, the more formidable enemies were probably those from beyond the wall. To make the task of defence less easy, as the traditions of the Roman occupation were dimmed by time, the

people of the island tended to recover somewhat their ancient Celtic characteristics and so lost their capacity for acting together. Nevertheless, there seems to have appeared about the middle of the fifth century a chieftain, Vortigern by name, who had some sort of supremacy over a considerable number of followers. According to tradition, this Vortigern, when beset by enemies from the north, enlisted the services of a band of Teutonic mercenaries from beyond the sea who were led by one Hengist.

Soon after the victory for the forces of Vortigern which ensued, the followers of the redoubtable Hengist, reënforced by other Germanic tribesmen, turned on their former allies and began the process of conquest and devastation which was destined to make the Celtic civilization in eastern and middle England little more than a memory. Apparently, on the first inroad, the cities which the Romans had built were destroyed, and much of their other constructive work was brought to nought. Driven to the western part of the island, the more unyielding Britons now made a stand against the invaders, organizing themselves under native chieftains and temporarily staying the progress of the conquest. To this period of the struggle belongs the legendary Arthur of the Table Round, concerning whose very existence there is difference of opinion among historians. More invaders came, and the conquest went on, lasting through a period of several centuries. In the end, that part of the island we call England became predominantly Teutonic in population, though the thoroughness of the conquest varied in different areas.

We need spend little time with the dim personalities whose deeds of prowess are recorded in some of the stories preserved by tradition. Neither the conquerors nor the conquered had achieved a sufficient degree of political organization for individual leaders to count for much as constructive forces. We are more interested in the character of the social organization that was taking form both among the Britons and among the invaders and particularly in the community life that resulted in the clash of the invasion. Unfortunately, it is easier to formulate questions on these points than it is to find satisfactory answers to them. We have to remember that the Teutonic conquerors had not yet learned to read or write and so could leave no contemporary records of what they did. The Britons, it is true, retained something of the veneer of civilization they had acquired in the course of the Roman occupation, but they were suffering defeat and destruction, and we are not surprised that the frag-

ments of records they left are more in the nature of lamentations and dirges than of authentic narrative.

The best answers we can find to questions concerning the character of the invaders and of the life they were accustomed to live in their Continental homes are seen in survivals of older elements in the institutions we discover among them when they learned how to keep records. To supplement these survivals, which are not always easy to identify or to understand, we have the reports of a few Roman observers like Cæsar and Tacitus. But neither Cæsar nor Tacitus ever saw even the ancestors of the tribes that invaded England, and some four centuries passed between the time when Cæsar wrote his commentaries and when the Saxons crossed the Channel. Furthermore, it was another century after the conquest was well under way before teachers from afar began to instruct the invaders in letters and in the religion they were soon to accept. We are thus obliged for the most part to depend on surmises and intelligent guesses for our knowledge of what life was like among the people who gave England its name and who furnished the basic element in what was destined to become the prevailing language of the island and of a far flung population reaching to the ends of the earth.

Of the Britons after the Romans left, we know little more than is indicated above. Their community organization seems to have remained rather tribal than political in type. Before the Roman conquest, the people had tended to disperse over the land in agnatic family groups,¹ sharing a common dwelling with its surrounding buildings for three generations. In the fourth generation a swarming usually took place resulting in the establishment of other groups or hamlets. The soil was not worked intensively, the people being more interested in hunting and in pastoral pursuits. Land was still plentiful and could be occupied and parceled out almost at will. Such houses as existed were light structures, built of wood, and little care was spent in their erection.

The Roman conquest led to an improvement in agriculture, to the introduction of new tools and new methods of culture, so that midland England became in time one of the granaries of the Roman Empire. Roman towns and villas were established as centers of administration and cultivation. But the Celtic population seems to have remained dispersed much as before, and there was no attempt to reshape the Celtic tribal community life according to a Roman model. The efforts of the imperial

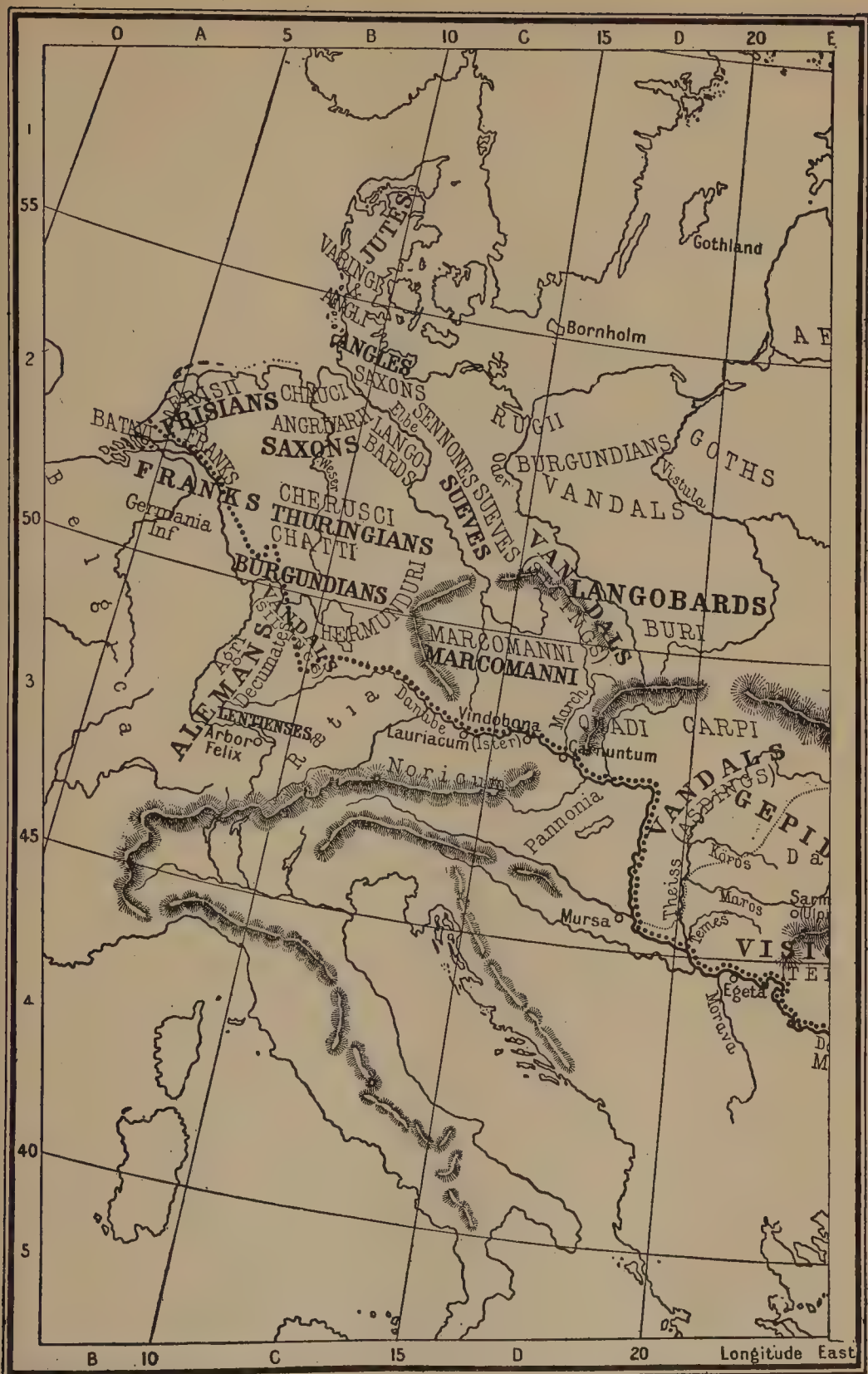
¹ That is, groups tracing kinship through males.

governors were rather directed toward the task of making the province a profitable one for the empire. Consequently, as the imperial power was dissipated, the native population tended to return to its former habits of social organization, retaining only the relics of the Roman customs that had been absorbed as a part of Celtic life itself.

Then came the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Frisians from what are now Denmark and northern Germany. That they came in considerable strength and made themselves the dominant people in the portions of the island they conquered is undoubtedly true, else there had been a more extensive survival of Roman and Celtic elements in the language of the country. There is a tradition, indeed, that the Angles migrated almost in a body, leaving their former homes on the Continent desolate. Though this tradition is probably an exaggeration, it is evidence that the invasions were more than mere military conquests; they had the character of tribal migrations. The men were in part accompanied by families, though this does not preclude the assumption that many of the women or others of the conquered people were absorbed or enslaved by the invaders. This overflow of the northern tribes in migratory swarms was not, as we know, an unfamiliar phenomenon in this period of European history. The Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians merely took boat for a neighboring island instead of following the paths of their fellow tribesmen into the regions of the Continent to the south and west.

The very fact of this migration on so large a scale throws some light on the state of development of the social organization at the time the migration took place. For one thing, it is manifest that a people with a settled and well organized agricultural life, occupying substantial homes of a permanent character, would not easily have severed ties that had bound them for generations to familiar places. This being true, it is safe to assume that the social groups were in a large part held together by bonds of kinship, real or fictitious, rather than by political ties. On the other hand, we must not forget that the very processes of migration and conflict would tend to bring forward leaders who showed ability in solving the problems met in the way and so would stimulate the growth of a military and political at the expense of a purely tribal form of organization.

According to the best authorities we have, the tribes that invaded England, previous to the invasion, were in themselves divided into three social groups based on birth, much like the



THE CONTINENTAL HOMES OF THE GERMANIC INVADERS OF ENGLAND

Scandinavians that had conquered Normandy in the ninth century; the familiar eòrls, ceorls, and churls. The war bands were probably assemblies of nobles and ceorls or freemen, though we need not assume that the invading hosts were not accompanied also by some in a measure unfree and by others of even a lower rank. In addition to the fighting freemen, the tribal chieftain had more intimately associated with him a group, usually of nobles, who had made a pledge of personal loyalty to him. This group, called by one name or another, is common to most of the Germanic peoples in the earlier stages of their institutional life; it is the *comitatus* of Tacitus. We are, then, to imagine these conquering peoples as composed of numerous war bands coming in waves, held together loosely, when at all, under their tribal groupings as Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Frisians, with a larger number of lesser chieftains, each chieftain, with his noble companions, at the head of a band of fighting freemen, all furnishing their several weapons and united chiefly in the expectation of finding compensation for the expedition in the land invaded.

No doubt, in carrying forward the expedition, certain leaders emerged for the time, chosen by one process or another, for the purpose of meeting the difficulties that arose. Examples are Hengist and Horsa and their kind and others with whom we cannot associate even as much as their shadowy identity. After subduing the Celts, the victors naturally settled down temporarily, some of them, it developed afterward, permanently, to enjoy the fruits of the expedition. There is good evidence that the town life that had previously existed was for the most part destroyed by the conquest, though the last word has probably not been said on that subject. It is reasonable to assume that a people who, in their old homes, were still in the process of adjusting themselves to settled agricultural life would have had small need for towns. The more important question concerning the conquest is with regard to the type of rural community that followed in its wake.

On this subject a voluminous discussion has persisted for several generations. Unfortunately for the merits of the question, the discussion has at times taken the form of an almost partizan debate between sympathizers with the French or the German nationality. It has been suggested on the one hand that the Teutonic groups that conquered England settled down in free, democratic communities, and that they were later bereft of their freedom by other conquerors from abroad who held them in subjection until the rise in the course of time of the more recent

machinery of self-government. Another party has contended, in brief, that the organization of agriculture in the form of a community enterprise, carried on by more or less unfree persons under the lords of villas, as introduced by the Romans, was retained afterward by the Celts and later perpetuated by the Germanic tribes. The English communities were thus in the outset not democratic in character, the people having brought their native love of freedom from northern Europe, but were rather shaped in a Romance mould.

It is impossible to understand most of the books that have been written on this phase of English history without knowledge of the existence of this controversy; arguments both weighty and lengthy have been adduced on both sides. But it seems probable from less partizan investigations made in the past generation that neither of these time-honored contentions throws much light on what actually took place, as far as the facts that have been collected reveal it. Migratory peoples would likely not adopt in any large degree a form of social organization radically different from that to which they had been accustomed in their old homes. They would bring with them as a matter of course the skeleton of the organization with which they were familiar. But the very processes of a migration and a conquest and settlement of new lands would tend to induce many changes in this organization. Furthermore, if the people conquered chanced to have a form of community life not radically different from that to which the conquerors were accustomed, it is unlikely that it would be totally destroyed; the conquerors would rather reshape some aspects of their own organization to make it fit better into the conditions prevailing in their new homes.

A process something like this seems to have taken place in the first districts conquered in the eastern counties of England. As the conquering bands under their leaders settled down in the territory from which they drove those of the former inhabitants they did not enslave, the land, being plentiful, was utilized in a manner resembling that familiar to the former inhabitants. It was probably in the outset allotted on some general basis roughly designed to provide for the needs of households composed of groups of kin. These households each occupied a common dwelling which, with its surrounding sheds, closes, stables, and the like, constituted a small hamlet. When, in the course of time, usually at the end of three generations, these hamlets became crowded, some of the members of the group, usually older sons with their families, swarmed into neighboring dis-

tricts and instituted similar settlements. On this household group as a unit rested the primary obligation of supporting such government as existed. The chieftains—perhaps we may call them kings—depended on these households to supply the members of the fighting band, to pay tribute, and to assume responsibility for the penalties owed by one of their members. For the purpose of fulfilling these obligations the households probably soon came to be organized into rough groups of approximately a hundred each. Into the court of this hundred (its origin, both as regards its date and its causes and character, is a matter still in question) the freemen of the constituting groups gathered to take common action and to adjust their disputes. When the earliest laws we have preserved, those of Ethelbert of Kent, were written down, more than a century after the conquest began, these groups of kin were still held responsible for the misbehavior of their members and likewise received a part of the penalty when an offence was committed against one of them. This system of punishing by wergelds or blood money is manifestly only a stage in advance of the time when groups of a like character took the law into their own hands and wrought vengeance on any who harmed one of their number. The actual work of these households was, of course, done on a coöperative basis; one man did not have enough cattle for a plow team. Probably the arable strips were allotted to the several members in order to facilitate a fair division of the harvest. The pasture and waste lands were kept together and used by the members in common. As long as land was plentiful, that which was put to the plow was probably planted constantly in the few grain crops that were grown; when it no longer repaid cultivation it was abandoned for fresh fields.

But we are in danger of assuming that the conquest was simpler and more uniform than it actually was. It is well to keep in mind, to quote the best informed living writer on the subject,¹ that "the Teutonic invaders came over by sea, in small batches, had to fight their way across the island in a war which lasted two or three hundred years, and got mixed up among themselves and with the conquered population in an endless, tangled strife, if one may use the expression. Such a history strengthened their military organization but loosened and dissolved the ties of kindreds and households." On that account, as the conquest extended gradually westward, the resulting communities organized came to have a more or less typical form, adapted

¹ Sir Paul Vinogradoff died after the above was written.

to serve the conditions under which they were established. The conquest itself was manifestly a military enterprise, but the need for military organization did not cease with the occupation of the land; it was essential that the new communities hold themselves in constant readiness to meet the attacks of hostile neighbors. Consequently, if the groups that fared forth together had had a mind to disperse themselves on isolated homesteads, it would not have been a feasible thing to do. Instead, they usually settled in small *tûns* or villages, the inhabitants of which derived sustenance from the land round about. We may safely assume that pastoral pursuits bulked larger than any others in the early life of these communities, and it is not improbable that ties of kinship, real or fictitious, were the original bases for the association of their members. In any event, the members were of a similar social rank in that they were freemen who bore their own arms when they followed the nobles and their war bands on the expedition. They were the chief constituent members of the new communities as they were established, though it was not long before lower social ranks appeared, usually perhaps from the captives of the conquered peoples, though sometimes from the churls who had accompanied the bands in their migrations. On these *tûns* or village communities, as on the hamlets or households in the portions of the island conquered earlier, rested the obligations of supplying the fighting men and some of the revenues of the kings and of assuming a measure of responsibility for the behavior of the members of the group. Their economic organization also was on a coöperative rather than an individualistic basis. Since these villages became the typical form of community organization over a large part of England and so the foundation of later rural life, it is important that we know something of what they were like. Perhaps we can best understand their character by trying to imagine what probably took place in the process of the conquest.

For one thing, there was nobody with enough power to make grants of specific and accurately marked and described parcels of land to the war bands as they ceased temporarily from their fighting and settled down to enjoy the spoils of their conflicts. The bands that had been fighting together probably settled in substantially the same groups, building themselves houses not very far apart, one for each household. Each of these houses would normally have, surrounding it and belonging to it, a small parcel of ground or "close." Some of the conquered land had recently been under cultivation by its former occupants;

some of it was suitable for haying; some was suitable for pasture; much was still woodland or waste. The first task of the group would not be to stake off a definite territorial boundary and lay claim to it. Rather would the members of the group be interested in inaugurating the cultivation of the land already suitable for the plow and in making hay where the grass was growing in a meadow. And so this arable land, which probably even in the beginning was contained in several fields, was allotted to the households in strips, every household, it may be, insisting on a strip in each field. Since the plowing seems to have been done with an eight-ox team, there were obvious advantages in having the strips of considerable length; hence the lineal unit, a fur-long (furrow long). There were no accurate, accepted units for measuring land, and so the "hide" which each household probably received in the beginning represents no definite area; it was merely an allotment deemed sufficient to support a household and its obligations in the village—the land that it would require a full ox team to plow. Later, smaller units came into use. The "bovate" was the eighth part of a hide or the area assigned to one ox; the "virgate," the fourth part of a hide. Finally, the "acre" merely meant roughly a day's plowing. Each household, in addition to its arable strips, one or more in each field, had also an allotment of meadow in haying season. Both the meadow, while hay was growing, and the arable strips, while in process of cultivation, were inclosed by temporary hedges or fences constructed by the coöperative efforts of the members of the community. After the hay was stacked and the crops harvested, this land, like the pasture and waste, was thrown open to the cattle of all. The pasture and waste were open for this purpose all the year, though this part of the land of the community usually had no well-defined boundaries, and the conflicting claims of neighboring villages later caused confusion and friction. Wood and lumber were, of course, cut as needed.

All of these arrangements of necessity involved habitual coöperation by members of the community; that is, by those members who had possessed themselves of the land and who held themselves in readiness to go armed to fight in its defence. The land was thus occupied and organized by the freeholders, but perhaps from the beginning there were those of a lower rank who herded cattle or swine and did other more or less menial work and to whom no strips were allotted. Obviously, in a community like this, there could be no private ownership or control of definite areas of land similar to that with which we

are familiar in this country to-day. Ere long the several households came to lay permanent claims to the arable strips assigned and, under the customary regulations of the village, some of the woodland was cleared and the area of arable increased. This arable all became by practice heritable, and in time the tenant held in it something in the nature of a property right, provided he complied with the terms on which it was held. The early hides were later divided and subdivided. But the custom of common pasturage made the tillage by necessity coöperative. Moreover, the village as a unit was held responsible for its obligations to the larger political groups, and it thus acquired greater importance as the central government became stronger. Its freemen went to the hundred, and later to the shire courts to settle disputes with neighboring villages; as a unit, it sent a quota to the *fyrd*, or army of defence, paid tribute to the royal treasury, and assumed responsibility for the conduct of its members.

Alongside of these communities another type of estate soon began to emerge. As we noted above, the leaders of the invading bands, whom we may now certainly call kings, were accompanied on their expeditions by groups of personal followers bound to them by definite pledges. Perhaps most of this intimate, personal group were of nobler rank than the ordinary fighting freeman. A member of this group soon came to be known as a *gesith*, an Anglo-Saxon word which originally meant traveling companion; a band of these companions associated with a leader—naturally warlike in character on a journey such as that undertaken by the invaders and conquerors of Britain—was known as a *gesithcund*, the members of which in turn came to be called *gesithcundmen*. Now the obvious and easy way for a leader to reward these personal followers was to allot to them, when the invading hosts began to embark on settled life, considerable areas of land. Naturally the *gesith* would not personally engage in its cultivation, but would rather gather about him a settlement of slaves, churls, and other hangers-on, who would make the estate support the establishment. There would naturally be some freemen who would cheerfully cast in their lot with this favored friend of the king, and it is entirely possible that entire villages, earlier settled, later made arrangements with him that were mutually beneficial and that placed them in definite relation to him. Of that more will appear hereafter.

Before we can understand the later organization of English community life, it is necessary that we notice two important factors that were taking form and having influence for the five

hundred years following the Anglo-Saxon invasion: (1) the introduction of Christianity and (2) the gradual emergence of strong rulers having dominion over considerable areas of territory. The second process was helped materially by the first and by a series of invasions from the Scandinavian countries, but for the sake of clarity in presentation we shall consider them as two separate topics.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

We have already noted that Christianity was introduced into England in the period of Roman occupation, and it probably never died out among the Celtic peoples. St. Patrick, who came from Gaul and helped to convert Ireland and later became the patron saint of the island, bears testimony to the existence of contemporary fellow religionists in northern Britain. Missionaries went far and wide from Irish monasteries and established similar religious centers. One of the most famous was that founded in the sixth century by St. Columba on the island of Iona off the coast of Scotland, from which the influence of the Church was extended among the Picts and Scots and later into northern and western England. But the first Christian missionaries sent specifically to the Anglo-Saxons came directly from Rome.

As far as we know, the Teutonic conquerors of Britain brought to their new homes their accustomed forms of worship. They seem not to have developed a very definite professional priesthood, but the names of some of their divinities survive in our names for the days of the week, and some of their festivities were adopted in somewhat modified form by the missionaries who introduced Christianity in order to make the transition from the old to the new religion less abrupt.

The first mission, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, left Rome in 596 under the leadership of St. Augustine. It reached the shores of England the next year and was received with a tolerant hospitality by King Ethelbert of Kent, who had previously married a Christian wife, a native of Gaul. The King and many of his subjects soon adopted the religion of his wife. The result was that this mission marked the beginning of an enterprise which did not cease until, with the aid of Celtic missionaries from the north, by the end of the following century, the whole island had been nominally converted to the new faith. At the

synod held at Whitby in 664, the groups who had been converted by the Celtic missionaries were brought into conformity with the practices of those converted by the missionaries from Rome, and thus the whole British Church became an integral part of the Roman organization. This union of all the people of the island under a single religion was destined to have far-reaching effects, as soon became apparent.

In the first place, its priests helped to enforce peace and to inculcate habits of morality and respect for common rights. Surviving codes used in prescribing penance testify of the manner in which the early Church contributed to supply the lack of local officers of the peace and so accustomed the people to orderly life under the penalty of eternal punishment.

Under the leadership of Theodore of Tarsus, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 668 and served for twenty-two years, the Church in England was brought together in a unified organization made up of a number of dioceses with boundaries drawn more for convenience in ecclesiastical administration than to conform to the territories of the local kingdoms. The Archbishop visited all the kingdoms in his territory and undertook to introduce a more uniform machinery of organization and ritual than had existed while the work of the earlier missionaries was still going on. There is danger in this brief statement that we may get the impression that the accomplishment of Theodore and his immediate successors was more thorough than, in the nature of things, it possibly could have been; but to have the Church administered as a single body was certainly a step of no mean importance in the unification of the inhabitants of England into one people.

This systematic organization of the Church meant more than the introduction of a new type of institution, and one that, because of its wide territorial influence and its Continental connections, soon rivaled if it did not surpass the power that the kings were able to exercise. It meant also the introduction of a new social class, the clergy or *Godcund*, to take its privileged place with the *gesithcund* and others of the favored. Indeed, almost immediately on its appearance, this class was able to claim a position at the head of the others.

This is not strange when we recall that the missionaries of the Church first brought the Roman alphabet to Anglo-Saxon England and made possible the beginning of substantial written records. Hitherto there had been only the Runic alphabet and occasional inscriptions on stones. The first writing now was



naturally done in Latin, but later the native language was used. It thus became possible to write down the laws and customs of the people, and in particular those were written down about which, since they were undergoing change, differences of opinion were likely to arise. We have preserved for us, for example, the earliest recorded laws in a Germanic language, a brief code attributed to the same Ethelbert of Kent to whose household St. Augustine came. We are not surprised, under the circumstances, that the very first clause in this code imposes a penalty of twelvefold compensation for the theft of that which belonged to the Church, elevenfold for that belonging to a bishop, and correspondingly high penalties for the belongings of the lesser clergy, as compared with the penalties for similar offences when committed against laymen.

Nor was this the only advantage that accrued to the Church from its possession of this vital implement of civilization. If the Church was to prosper and do its work, it had somehow to possess itself of means of support, a fact which Archbishop Theodore recognized. He exerted himself to procure endowments in land, the only source of regular income the time afforded. But all of the land that had been settled and brought under cultivation was held by customary tenure under rules that had partly been brought by the migrating groups from their former homes and partly developed to meet the conditions in the new surroundings. Any transfers of these tenures that were made were ceremonial in character, involving time-honored practices and much consideration for the rights of all the members of the groups concerned. These complications did not facilitate the accumulation of the lands wanted by the Church. The ecclesiastical officials had need of a readier method of transfer and of more tangible evidence that it had taken place, once they had persuaded the donor for the good of his soul to make a transfer of his rights. And so the clergy introduced the familiar practice of making written record of these transactions and of the conditions on which they took place. By this means most of the land granted to the Church was held as book land (*book land*) as distinguished from that of which the terms of tenure were merely cherished in the common memories of the members of the community. As time went on, laymen ambitious to accumulate learned the value of having a written record made of the tenures which they acquired, and thus the use of documents as evidence of the transfer of land became increasingly frequent, and the amount of book land became correspondingly larger. In speaking of

book land or of folk land—as that was called concerning the tenure of which no written record had been made—we need to keep carefully in mind that definite and specific areas are not necessarily implied either in one case or the other. What the Church, and later the ambitious layman, wanted was not so much possession of actual land as the revenues that the king or other superior person was accustomed to receive from the community or from those members of the community that occupied the land. It frequently happened that the same land was held by members of the community that occupied it as folk land and was transferred as book land from the king to the Church or to some favored layman. Thus a knowledge of letters helped the favored classes to accumulate more material advantages.

Obviously other uses than the practical ones just noted were made of the learning that came into England with the Church. The growth of the ecclesiastical organization created a demand for an increased number of clergymen, and provisions were accordingly made for training them. Theodore and his associates established a school at Canterbury, his ecclesiastical capital, from which went many of the prominent churchmen of the time. The names of two men who flourished in these early centuries of letters in England are perhaps still worthy of mention. One was Beda (The Venerable Bede), an historian and scholar who lived 673-735, thus overlapping the career of Theodore himself, and whose work as a teacher and writer is evidenced by a list of some forty books, the most important of which is his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The other, Alcuin, was born the year that Beda died and was educated at York, the ecclesiastical capital of the north, becoming later himself a master in the school at that place. Subsequently he was attached to the household of Charlemagne and achieved fame as a scholar.

This interchange of men and ideas with the Continent, evidenced by the career of Alcuin, was one of the most important influences that the introduction of Christianity brought to England. Henceforth all of the Classical civilization and of the religious heritage of the East that the Roman organization had assimilated are factors that cannot be ignored in a study of the history of England. The institutional life of the Teutonic bands in their new homes could not but be influenced by the older and more sophisticated laws and forms of organization that had already been assimilated by the missionaries who brought them their religion and taught them letters. This influence

is as difficult to trace tangibly as it is real and effective; of its existence there can be no doubt.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM AND THE SCANDINAVIAN INVASIONS

One of the most marked ways in which the new religion and all that came with it tended to effect changes in English life was to hasten the unification of the kingdom. We have observed the development of a unified organization for the Church itself, but that was not all. The clergy tended to sympathize with and so to lend assistance to the stronger kings, who, in turn, were able to afford surer protection for the endowments the Church was accumulating. Moreover, the clergy had knowledge of territorial principalities and kingdoms on the Continent more extensive than any then existing in England and of the still more powerful empire of Classical times, which Charlemagne and his successors later attempted to revive. What actually took place in England was a gradual bringing into subjection of the lesser chieftains by the more powerful ones and then a struggle for supremacy among these latter, lasting through several centuries, in which now Kent, now Northumberland, now Mercia, and now Wessex had the advantage. But, even if there were space to do it, no good purpose would be served by tracing here in detail these rivalries.

It is important to note that these struggles among English kings led to changes in the organized political and community life of the people. These changes were hastened, however, and the culmination of the rivalry among the island kingdoms was effected by a series of invasions which England still had to endure before the coming of the Normans described in the last chapter. The two topics are best considered together, since they coöperated to produce the conditions that the Normans faced when they took over the helm of government.

The depredations of the Scandinavian vikings on the coasts of the countries to the south of their native abodes began, as we have seen, in the last years of the eighth and in the early years of the ninth century. These sea kings ventured from their northern homes in long open boats, with high prows and sterns carved with the likenesses of serpents and dragons, each manned by from thirty to sixty men. We have to remember that Christianity was not introduced into the Scandinavian countries until




after the beginning of the ninth century, and, consequently, the Churches and their priests suffered particularly from the first invaders. They plundered Iona in the early years of the ninth century and soon began to make intermittent visits to the eastern coasts of England. In 854 it is recorded for the first time that they spent the winter on English soil. Thirteen years later, a larger body came to Yorkshire and established a little kingdom from which they were never afterward driven. Several years later still, another band conquered East Anglia, and the small kingdoms in the north and east of England passed, seemingly with little opposition, in rapid succession under the control of the invaders.

Only Wessex, the kingdom of the West Saxons, located in the southern and western parts of the island, was finally able to stay the onslaught of the Northmen. There a family of strong kings displayed a signal ability in organizing their people for the fight and was thereby enabled in time to bring all England into nominal subjection to its rule and to claim a vague dominion over Scotland as well. The best remembered of these kings is Alfred the Great, who was active in fighting the invaders in the reign of his brother Ethelred, until the latter was slain in battle in 871, from which year until near the end of the century he was himself king. He fought under difficulties, but finally defeated the Scandinavians and compelled them to accept Christianity. In the treaty which he made with their king, the country was divided, the invaders holding as the "Danelaw" the region to the north and east, while that to the south and west was left under the dominion of Wessex.

Meanwhile, Alfred busied himself reorganizing the means for defence, starting a school for training the sons of the nobles, codifying laws, and otherwise conserving what the long period of strife had left of civilization. Among other things, he set monks to work compiling the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is one of the chief sources of information we have concerning the doings of the English in his time and later. For two generations after his death, building on foundations he laid, his successors went forward with the work he had begun. The kings of Alfred's family became lords of all the lesser kings, who were already disappearing and were soon to disappear entirely, and the country began to have a semblance of political unity. But this unity was based largely on the aggressive character of the kings who achieved it, and it was endangered the moment a weakling came to the throne.

ENGLAND CIRCA A. D. 700

Scale of miles
0 10 20 40 60 80

Mountainous districts
and Moors above 500 feet. 
Woodlands and Fenlands. 
Roads. 



Such an one was Ethelred, called the Redeless or Unready, who became king in 978. In his reign the attacks from the Scandinavian countries were renewed in force, and, when Ethelred organized a wholesale massacre of Danes in England, King Sweyn of Denmark gathered an army and set out deliberately to subjugate all of England. The expedition was successful, and Ethelred was driven from his kingdom. Sweyn himself died in the hour (1014) of his triumph, and Ethelred, who had taken refuge in Normandy, returned to curse his subjects with further evidences of his inefficiency. When Ethelred died two years later, Cnut, Sweyn's younger son, was able to gain the support of the influential men of the kingdom and thus to be chosen as his successor, though not until after Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironsides, had made an unsuccessful effort to retrieve the failure of his father, only to die prematurely with little accomplished.

Cnut, we know from the last chapter, took for wife Ethelred's widow and became one of the great personalities in the world in his time. He held England and a large part of the Scandinavian region under his dominion, but his work, like that of Alfred and his successors in England, was personal rather than organic, and England waited the coming of still other conquerors with a greater genius for organization before she experienced a consolidation of the unification which, in a superficial way, Cnut and the Wessex kings had achieved.

WHEN THE NORMANS CAME

The people in England had come a long way in the six centuries since the migrating bands of Germans essayed the arduous task of subjugating the Britons of the earlier time and of making the land their own. There was now, as we have just noted, a common king for the entire realm. But no peaceful method of succession had been evolved for supplying a new king on the death of an old one, and the power of the king was shared by a group of nobles, most powerful of whom were the families at the head of the large territorial earldoms. Moreover, the king did few things without the advice and acquiescence of a group called his Witan. This group was constituted pretty much as the king pleased, but, for obvious practical reasons, he usually summoned all the important men who would have a natural share in doing whatever might be meditated at the time. There were in

his household certain influential persons or *thegns* who served him in divers capacities and who could not very well be omitted—his chamberlain, for example, who was in charge of his treasure. Nor could he omit his chaplains, who were destined to play important rôles. Being expert in letters, one of them developed into a treasurer and helped the chamberlain keep a record of his trust; another became a sort of secretary to the king and a keeper of his conscience, the remote ancestor of the highest judicial officer in the kingdom, the lord high chancellor. From various parts of the kingdom came earldormen and others who by one means or another had thriven into positions of power and prestige. Always the higher officers in the Church would come, as would the members of the king's immediate family with whom he chanced to be at peace.

On the occasion of the death of a king it was this group whose loyalty had to be won by the kinsman of the deceased ruler who aspired to succeed to the throne; in this crude sense the kingship was elective. There was no established formal procedure for the occasion, any more than there was in the case of a consultation with the king for confirming his policies or acts. Unless the time was ripe for rebellion, whatever a king proposed in his lifetime was likely to prevail; after his death, the most powerful claimant usually possessed himself of the crown. The climax of the custom is seen in the incidents that led to the accession of William the Norman.

The revenues of the king consisted of the income from his royal demesne lands scattered over the kingdom and of the share which the king claimed in the penalties imposed in an effort to keep the peace. He was already strong enough to demand a *wite* above the *bot* which had to be paid to the group against whom the offence was committed. The inroads of the Scandinavians made it necessary to raise frequently and immediately large sums to appease or to oppose the invaders. These sums were obtained by levying on the householders occasional impositions, a levy that was repeated after the kingdom had been redeemed from the invaders, though it was still called the "Dane-geld." This occasional levy more resembled a modern tax than any other revenue the king received.

For his military force, the king still depended on the old obligations of the householders to come on his summons equipped and ready to render service in the territorial army, called the *fyrd* in the Anglo-Saxon districts and the *here* in the Danish. By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, however, the obligation

to render this service had been, in many cases at least, segregated to the holders of definite land tenures; others claimed exemption from it. This popular army was supplemented by a more dependable force, partly mercenary and known by the Danish term, *Hus Carles*, and partly of a feudal character, that is recompensed by definite grants of land.

The king maintained his relations with the shires, the largest subordinate territorial units in his kingdom, chiefly through the agency of an official called a reeve or later the sheriff (shire reeve). It is not easy to describe the duties of the early sheriff because, like so many other early officials, he frequently had to adjust his duties to the immediate needs of the conditions existing in his time. In general, he attended to the collection of any revenues due the king from the shire, such as those arising from the demesne lands and from the administration of justice. He attended the shire court as one of its constituting officers and represented the king in summoning the *fyrð* or *here*.

The shire court was a gathering of all the free men of the shire. All free men were eligible to attend, and a *tûn* was under obligation to have freemen in attendance. This obligation, like that to serve in the *fyrð*, had a tendency to become attached to a definite holding of land. The business of the court was for the most part conducted, as such business is likely to be at all times, by the more important men of the shire. The ordinary freeman, who had not accumulated more than the average of his fellows, found a field for his activity rather in the court of the smaller unit, the hundred. It was a less troublesome and less expensive undertaking to attend the smaller assembly, which met more frequently, and he could usually get his troubles adjusted there. Once they were adjusted, there was no appeal. The hundred and shire courts and the Witan, when acting in a judicial capacity, all used the same procedure. The court assumed no responsibility for determining the facts of the case. It listened to the accusations and the responses, observing that they were in the customary form, and adjudged that one party or the other should offer proof by the ordeal or compurgation.

The ordeal was of several kinds, but all professed to leave the decision of the case with a power possessed of more than human wisdom. In one of the most frequently used procedures, the party doing proof was required, under regulations definitely prescribed, to carry a piece of iron heated to a specified hue a

stipulated number of paces, after which his hand was bandaged. The character of the wound at the end of a given number of days determined his guilt or innocence. The penalty was prescribed in the law. The whole procedure was accompanied by very solemn religious ceremonies, and, according to the theory, the verdict was from a divine source. In many cases it was possible for the accused to defend himself by finding a given number of compurgators or oath-helpers. Probably this was the more common form of trial. These compurgators did not testify to any knowledge of the case in dispute but merely that they believed the oath of the party offering proof. The theory was that the fear of punishment for the sin of perjury would make it difficult for a guilty person to procure this assistance. In some cases it is probable that proof was made by the production of witnesses who could make oath that the statements made by the principals were in accord with things they had seen and heard, but that was not the most common form of procedure. In case of conviction, the group of kinsmen was liable, with the offender, for the wergeld or other money payments.

The smallest community unit, the *tûn*, still retained its early functions of apportioning the arable strips and meadows within its boundaries and of enforcing the regulations concerning coöperative plowing and concerning the use of the waste and woodland. On it probably fell also the task of making the final apportionment of the Danegeld among its members according to their several obligations to pay. Forces were already at work which were destined to transform the character of these communities and to place them and their population in a responsible relation to some important person or overlord. No doubt the obligations of sending military and financial aid to the king on the occasions of the wars of the rival English kingdoms and particularly in the cases of the Scandinavian invasions hastened this process. The members of the village community preferred to assume certain definite obligations to a monastery, an influential thegn, or a thriving gesitheundman, who would in turn undertake to answer the calls of the king, rather than to retain these heavy and uncertain responsibilities themselves. This transition to a feudal organization was obviously made easier by the introduction of written documents to evidence obligations assumed. This use of documents also enabled the king to entrust to monasteries, churches, and trusted men large estates from his demesne lands with the obligation that they render the services and the revenues he needed, and he found this a more productive

arrangement than to retain these lands under the loose supervision of reeves and other similar officials, who could not in the nature of things exercise an efficient oversight.

Nevertheless, we should not assume that there was any uniformity of law, custom, or methods of social organization and land cultivation over all England. The districts where the Danes had settled differed somewhat from the Saxon shires in the south. The very shires themselves were, some of them, old tribal kingdoms with their former boundaries, while others were the more artificial creations of later conquerors. In the east, the smaller land units were, as we have seen, different from those a little farther west, where the more typical village community organized on a coöperative basis prevailed, due probably to the fact that the organization of the conquerors was more military and less tribal as the conquest proceeded. In the east and southwest, again, where the conquest was less thorough, we have a type of community organization much like that prevailing in the extreme east, probably a more or less continuous development from the Celtic society of earlier times. Into these tribal and military groups, obliged by circumstances gradually to organize political institutions, came the Church to teach learning and religion and to hasten the organizing processes. Before these processes were complete; indeed, almost as soon as even nominal political unity was achieved in England, the Normans came and took the helm of government out of the hands of the older ruling class. We have now to consider how they took possession and organized the land.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. i; *Cambridge Medieval History*, I. chs. xiii, xix; II. ch. xvii, III. chs. xiii-xv; W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land*, chs. i-iii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. 1-87; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, I. Bk. I. chs. i-iii.

FOR WIDER READING

F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*; H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*; R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*; H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*; F. Haverfield (Revised by George McDonald), *The Romanization of Roman Britain*; W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, II. 1-44; William Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*; L. M. Larson, *Canute*

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the Great; The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest; B. A. Lees, *Alfred the Great*; D. A. Mackenzie, *Ancient Man in Britain*; F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Essay II; Charles Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, chs. i-xxv; R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, ch. ii; Gilbert Stone, *England from the Earliest Time to the Great Charter*, chs. i-xiv; H. D. Traill (Editor), *Social England*, I. chs. i-ii; J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*; Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, Bks. I-II.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For Roman Britain, indicating the roads and the walls, see *Muir*, f. 30; there is an insert of Ptolemy's map of Britain. *Shepherd*, pp. 38-43, indicates the extent of the Roman Empire when Britain was a province; pp. 50-51 indicate the break down of Roman rule and the beginnings of the Germanic conquest; p. 45 shows the Germanic migrations and conquest, 450-1066. The same points are illustrated, though not so fully, in *Muir*, ff. 1-4. The German and Scandinavian invasions of Britain may be studied in *Muir*, ff. 31-33, or *Shepherd*, pp. 51-60. For English dioceses at the death of Theodore and at the time of the Norman Conquest, see William Hunt, *The English Church, 597-1066*, p. 424.

CHAPTER IV

THE LORDS OF THE LAND

AS THE CONQUEST PROCEEDED

In carrying out his plan of conquest William and those who were associated with him accomplished many things which they had not intended, of which they were not aware at the time, and the results of which they probably never foresaw in any large measure. William certainly did not leave things in England just as he found them, though he professed that it was not his purpose to make changes. It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to assume that the effect of his enterprise was to transfer to England the habits of government and social life to which the Normans were accustomed at home. The explanation of what took place is not thus simple. The truth is, the institutions destined afterward to become familiar as typically English are neither, in a large measure, Anglo-Saxon nor Norman in genesis, but are rather the resultant of grafting a Norman ruling class on a conquered people in England. The very processes of conquest and reorganization involved decided changes, which those responsible for them seldom intended or appreciated but which were none the less real.

The Conqueror, for example, could not long delay his obligation to remunerate those who had joined in his expedition and whose coöperation made possible its successful accomplishment. Thus the most important and immediately noticeable of the changes which the Conquest occasioned was the allotment, while it was in progress and in the years thereafter, of a large part of the land in England to Norman landlords. We remember that the army with which Duke William achieved his conquest was gathered at the price of definite promises of reward. Since the only assets accruing from the expedition with which to fulfil these promises were the conquered lands, as the conquest proceeded, the lands were distributed to those who had participated in the enterprise, the King himself retaining the lion's share. In most cases this distribution of the conquered terri-

tory involved no necessary disturbance of the actual occupiers and tillers of the soil. The fighting men who accompanied William were barons and knights who had little inclination to undertake the actual management and exploitation of landed estates. What they coveted was lordship over settled units wherefrom to obtain the revenues and prestige that lordship implied. The relations established between the conquerors and the people of the invaded land naturally tended to resemble the relations between the same lords and similar tenants in Normandy, since this was the type of social organization with which the conquerors were most familiar. We have noted that those holding the arable strips in the villages in England before the Normans came were already commending themselves to men of influence. The heavy burdens entailed by the strife among rival kings and the struggles against Scandinavian invaders hastened this process. Then, too, some of the thegns probably displayed much industry to accomplish this end in order to minister to their own prestige and importance. When the Normans came, the new lords sometimes simply took over from their predecessors manors already organized and held them on much the same conditions as the former lord. In some cases we know that the English lord himself was able to make terms with the King and thus to be numbered among the new rulers; in these cases the chief difference after the Conquest was the more precise nature of the relations between the King and the lord. The lord swore fealty to William and received his estates as a feudal fief from the hands of the Conqueror; his relations with his own tenants went on much as before.

The Conquest was revolutionary, therefore, not in that it disturbed in a large degree the bulk of the population of England save in the such devastated districts as Yorkshire. It rather imposed on the people a comparatively small body of conquering lords, who in turn were indebted to the King for their newly acquired possessions. The people in the villages carried on the business of tilling the soil and paying the customary obligations and occasional impositions much like they had done before the Normans came. The difference was, they now paid these tolls to Norman lords or to a Norman king.

But William had other difficulties besides paying for the services of those who took part in the original expedition. He had also to maintain an active army throughout the period of the Conquest, which was not finally completed for nearly twenty years, though the actual fighting did not last more than six.

He had afterward to provide himself with a potential armed force on whose services he could depend in any time of need. The natural method of doing this was the one he had practiced in Normandy, which was based on an arrangement that seemed to be fair and comparatively easy to administer. The conquered territory distributed to his followers was allotted on the condition that they undertake to render military service in return for it. That is to say, the obligation to supply to the King's army a given number of knights was the condition of specific grants of land made by the Conqueror. These grants were made largely on the basis of the relations of William with the grantees or the services they had rendered. Robert of Mortain, his brother, for example, got 793 manors; Odo of Bayeux, another brother, 439; Alan of Brittany, a kinsman, 442. These holdings were in most cases scattered in different places over the realm because of the piece-meal character of the Conquest, but William did not seem to be afraid to let some trusted lieutenants have contiguous areas of considerable size; Odo's case is an example of a concentrated grant.

The survey preserved in Domesday Book, made toward the close of the period of conquest in 1086, bears eloquent testimony of what happened in the previous score of years. Some twenty thousand Englishmen, who had formerly occupied positions of power, were replaced by as many men from across the Channel. Into the hands of these newcomers fell not only the crown but also all the chief positions of power and office, most of which were now attached to or involved in lordship of landed estates. The people of England acquired new governors, and these governors became lords of the land, drawing support from its tillage and possessing jurisdiction over its tenants. Henceforth, for several centuries at any rate, the power of direction was in their hands. But, let us repeat, we should not conclude on this account that English institutions were now shaped in moulds imported from Normandy. The conquerors soon became acclimated in their new homes and adapted themselves to their new surroundings. True, the Domesday survey reveals to us some fourteen hundred tenants-in-chief who were then the actual rulers of England. But they faced constantly the task of making their holdings tenable and profitable, which meant that they had to learn how to manage and to derive tribute from established communities of English people. The rulers and the people ruled, alike, learned from each other. The institutional life that resulted in time was neither Norman nor Anglo-Saxon; it was

English, a word we must understand as having a different content from that it has when used of the period before the Normans came, if, indeed, it is wise to use it for that time at all.

THE NORMAN MONARCHY

One of the most important changes in the life of England that came with the Conquest was a new type of monarchy. This change was due more to the character of the actual persons who occupied the throne, the manner in which they attained to their scepters, and the use which they made of their powers than to any different theory of kingship they may have held. It is doubtful whether they had a conscious theory of kingship at all. That the first William was a man of aggressive character and large ability is evident from the industry, the courage, and the capacity for leadership he displayed in organizing his expedition for the conquest of England and in bringing the venture to a successful conclusion. We remember, too, that those who engaged with him in the undertaking and who shared the spoils of victory owed their newly acquired honors and substance to him and held their estates from him. Many of those on whom he bestowed favors most liberally were his kin. Even so, he took care to stipulate that they owed the customary obligations for all the favors he granted.

William himself survived through the period of the Conquest and was thus able to transmit to his successor a unified kingdom with loyal vassals as subordinates, of whose every holding he had a record, with an estimate of what ought to accrue to the King in each case. William's second son, William Rufus, who succeeded him in 1087, was strong enough to subdue those of his vassals who were inclined to favor the succession of his elder brother, Robert, who now became Duke of Normandy. The fact that England was severed from Normandy in the reign of William Rufus and the necessity that the King maintain his right to the throne against opposition tended to enhance in the son some of the aggressive characteristics he had inherited from his father. Although he lacked the qualities necessary to enable him to win the loyalty of his subjects to himself personally, he had that which served a similar purpose, the ability to pit the forces that might have been hostile to him against each other in a way that resulted in the maintenance and even in the growth of the power of the crown. He left the monarchy

stronger than he found it, provided the scepter should descend into hands strong enough to wield it.

The very qualities that made the second William feared by his subjects caused them to regret his passing the less when he fell while hunting, in 1100, pierced to death by an arrow that was probably shot by a fellow-huntsman. Before the King's death, his elder brother, Robert, had pawned the duchy of Normandy to him in order to procure means to go on a crusade to the Holy Land. But his younger brother, Henry, was a member of the fatal hunting party and made haste to Winchester to lay claim to the royal treasury and to the crown. Perhaps we need give little credence to the story in the chronicles of the first William's prophecy on his deathbed that his youngest son, to whom he left no lands, would in time be lord of the estates of both of his brothers and a mightier prince than either of them; it has the sound of being invented after the fact to conform to what had taken place—a specimen of the flattery that frequently accrues to a king.

While William Rufus lay dead in the New Forest, and Duke Robert was delayed in Italy on his way home from Palestine, Henry was making good his claims to the English throne and was beginning to lay the foundation for the future acquisition of Normandy. After he possessed himself of the royal treasury, he began to make terms with the powerful magnates. Since they had suffered from the aggressive measures of William Rufus, they demanded that Henry agree to relieve them of the burdens imposed in the thirteen years of the reign of his brother. Henry made a pledge to do this in the form of a charter in which he promised to restore the good laws of Edward the Confessor as amended by his own father, William I, and to abolish all evil customs to the contrary introduced in the reign of his brother. To cement his possession of the throne, he married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and a descendant of the old Anglo-Saxon house. When, in 1101, his brother Robert, now back in Normandy, challenged his claim to the throne, Henry bought him off without a battle at the cost of promises of a pension of three thousand marks and military assistance. Thereupon, he proceeded to weaken one after another of the more dangerous barons who sympathized with Robert, charging breaches of the law and enforcing penalizing deprivations. Four years later he took the war into Normandy; in 1106 he made Robert a prisoner and took possession of the duchy, having already made himself master in England. Even thus early was

made manifest the power of the centralized kingship in England, when in capable hands.

For thirty-five years after the death of William Rufus Henry reigned in England, years in which he carried forward in a more statesmanlike way the work begun by his father and brother. Thus more than two generations elapsed between the beginning of the Conquest and the death of the Conqueror's youngest son, time enough for the new lords to entrench themselves in their possession of the land and for their heirs to succeed them, so that there could be no thought of driving them out. It is difficult to say what the consequences might have been had not the first two kings after the Conqueror been able to dominate the inheritance into which they came and so to give an air of permanency to Norman rule in England. Manifestly, it was rather their character and prestige than the power of the monarchy itself that effected the result. As yet there was no accepted rule of succession. On the decease of a reigning king, the scepter fell into the strongest hands outstretched to receive it. Consequently, the perpetuation of Norman rule and traditions depended on having ready powerful hands on each successive demise of the crown.

No such hands were ready when Henry I died. His son and heir perished in the wreck of the *White Ship*, on which he was returning from Normandy to England in 1120. His daughter, Matilda, by reason of the prestige of her father, was able to marry Henry V, the German Emperor, in 1114, but her husband preceded her father to the grave by the space of a decade. Her father thereupon undertook to pledge his more powerful vassals to recognize her as his successor. Whether her claim would have been admitted peacefully had the King died with the arrangement in force, we do not know; a doubt was cast on the validity of these promises by the marriage of Matilda in 1129, without the consent of her prospective English vassals, to Geoffrey of Anjou, by whom she had a son destined to wear creditably the name of his maternal grandfather. But when Henry I died in 1135, Stephen, a son of Adela, eldest daughter of William I, hastened to England. While the chief barons of the kingdom were in Normandy engaged in offering the crown to his elder brother, he possessed himself of the royal treasure at Winchester and proclaimed himself king. The struggle that ensued for the next eighteen years between the supporters of Matilda and Stephen tested the character of the institutions which the Normans and their English vassals were building and prepared

the way for the son of Matilda, who followed Stephen. Meanwhile, it was manifest that large results had already accrued from the Conquest and that the monarchy was not the only institution that had experienced important changes in character.

THE COURT OF THE KING

William proclaimed his conquest of England as being in the nature of a suppression of rebellion and insisted that he was of right the lawful king. We need not attribute to him conscious deceit when we recognize that his coming was something different from what he alleged. It meant, as a matter of fact, a change in most of the important institutions in the country. William may very well have been unaware of the difference between the courts he summoned and the Witan of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The reasons for the summoning were in both cases much alike. Just as the kings of former times had sought the advice and coöperation of those of their subjects without whose assistance they could not act effectively, so William and his sons took counsel with the men of power and position who participated in the Conquest. To men of this kind the larger grants of territory were made while the Conquest was in progress, and, in consequence, the court or council of the King was composed of these, his more important tenants. As time went on, and a new generation succeeded to these estates of their ancestors, by the logic of circumstances these holders of the large fiefs came habitually and permanently to constitute the court of the King. Before the Conquest, the Duke had had a similar court in Normandy. This court in England became the group from whom the King usually sought counsel, not from any preconceived disposition to change the character of the Anglo-Saxon central government, but because it was so manifestly the only way for a sensible king to act.

These powerful feudal magnates, with whom the reigning kings were wont to consult, in the same way and for similar reasons constituted the group to whom an aspirant to the crown applied on the death of a king. There was no regular, formal method of election. The question was usually determined on the basis of conditions rather than by rule or theory. For example, Henry in England with the royal treasure in his possession and with friends at hand more readily commanded support than did an absent elder brother, and the magnates

acquiesced in his assumption of the crown. He took counsel with them and made promises in the form of a charter because he wanted their coöperation and support. Both the King and his vassals were more interested in reaching a working agreement than in conforming to an accepted method of election. The advantages of primogeniture as a means of securing an undisputed succession were not yet clearly understood.

The king's court under the Normans, then, was in greater proportion composed of the magnates who held large fiefs directly from the king than was the case before the Conquest. Theoretically, every tenant-in-chief; that is, every vassal who held his fief directly from the king, was a member of this court. Apparently the Norman kings were in the habit of having formal meetings three times a year which all these vassals were expected to attend. We need not assume, however, that the king could not, if he wished, summon whomever he pleased to his court, whether a tenant-in-chief or not; the point is, for obvious practical reasons, he would not usually wish to summon outsiders. For similar reasons, the king leaned more heavily on the holders of the larger fiefs and took counsel with them more frequently than was the case with the smaller. But there was no hard and fast cleavage between the larger and smaller groups; they were aptly differentiated in the second century after the Conquest as "greater" and "lesser" barons. Both were equally potential members of the king's court, but the king found it wise to consult more frequently with the greater than with the lesser. One group acting together had no different power from the other, and there is no evidence that the character of the business transacted was different, whether the meeting was of the larger or the smaller group.

A considerable number of the more important barons accompanied the king wherever he went and were as effectively his court as was the much larger formal assembly that met the three times a year when he wore his crown. And we do well to remember that the journeyings of the Norman kings were not confined to England. William I and Henry I, at any rate, had vassals in both Normandy and England, and many of their barons held estates in both countries. So the king probably did not think of his court as territorial; that is, as belonging solely to either of his dominions. It is much more likely that he thought of his dominions as united by his lordship. But among the members of the court when it met in England were some attendants whose official duties related solely to that

country. First among these functionaries was the justiciar. Where the effective conduct of the government depended so largely on the directive participation of the king it was necessary to designate somebody with authority, in the king's absence, to act in his stead. The possession of territory on both sides of the Channel made it necessary that the king be absent from one or the other of his dominions all the time. In the king's absence his justiciar took counsel with those barons who were not of the royal entourage and dealt with circumstances as they arose.

Other officials more intimately associated with the king's government constituted what is called the household; most of its members usually accompanied him on his journeys. Officials in this group were also members of the king's court. They would probably have been summoned in any case, but, in fact, they usually held fiefs that would have entitled them to summons on that account. They were endowed in this way both because the king would naturally be inclined to reward trusted servants and because a baronial fief was the most practicable method of remunerating those on whom the king depended for responsible services. Exceptions to this rule were the chancellor and the treasurer, who received salaries; being clerics, they also had income from their ecclesiastical appointments. The more important officials of the household were the chancellor, the chamberlain, and the treasurer.

At least as early as the time of Edward the Confessor, the English kings had adopted the custom of affixing a seal to witness the authenticity of documents. Edward, as we know, was trained in the Norman court, though we cannot be certain that he brought this custom from that source. At any rate, when the Norman Duke conquered England he perpetuated the custom. But, regardless of the seal, he was frequently in need of a man of learning to prepare his documents. For this task he usually sought the service of the chief of his chaplains, presumably the most competent and trustworthy man of letters of the court. This same official rather naturally came to be entrusted with the duty of affixing the seal in cases where it was necessary. In time, as lord high chancellor, this secretary was to become the highest judicial officer in the kingdom and was to preside over a court of his own; in the period of the Norman monarchs, he was merely an influential member of the court on whom the king depended for secretarial services and for counsel.

The Great Seal itself was not yet entrusted entirely to the

care of the chancellor; instead it was kept, along with the other treasures of the king, in the treasury in the care of the chamberlain. The title of this latter official harks back to a time when the king, for safety, kept the things he treasured in his private chamber and when few persons besides kings had the possibility of privacy. Ere long a robing chamber was added, and thus we have the origin of two officials in the royal household who are of first rate importance as long as the king has a large measure of personal responsibility in the conduct of the government, the chamberlain and the keeper of the wardrobe. Of the duties of the latter official we shall hear more later. But even by the end of the reign of Henry I the most important branch of the central government and that which was organized and administered with greatest care was the treasury. The treasure itself was then in charge of two chamberlains at Winchester in the vicinity of which place they held fiefs. But the king had long ago discovered the need of an official able to keep accounts and accordingly had added to this staff a treasurer, usually a member of the clergy. At some time between the Conquest and the death of Henry I the method of the abacus was introduced to facilitate the making of calculations when the sheriffs came twice a year to make their settlements. The chequered table on which the counters were moved pursuant to this method ultimately gave the name Exchequer to the highest financial office in the kingdom; it seems to have been first used at some time in the early decades of the twelfth century. But, for the time being, the chancellor, the marshal, and others of the household sat with the treasurer and the chamberlains under the presidency of the king or, in his absence, of the justiciar, in transacting the financial business.

The only important routine business of an executive or administrative character that came before the governing family of the king as a matter of course was the accounting of the sheriffs on the semi-annual occasions when they came to make payments and reports. The volume of this business had grown so large as to require an habitual method of dealing with it. Not so in most other matters. The king and his trusted advisers simply dealt with them as they arose, never knowing or asking whether the business in hand or the action taken was executive, legislative, or judicial in character. The king was simply lord of an extensive domain which he desired to enhance and to manage with as little trouble and as much profit as might be, and he adopted any methods that seemed likely to accomplish the ends

he sought. Most of the things he did conformed to customs that were approved by experience. When, on rare occasions, he tried a new expedient, it was usually a more or less novel condition that tempted him to make the experiment; the impelling motive was, of course, much the same as that which caused him in most cases to follow the beaten path.

The *curia regis* or court of the king thus resembled the feudal courts of the barons in that the suitors in the court over which the king presided were his vassals and in that the method of procedure was similar to that in all feudal courts. But the king's court was, after all, unique, because the supremacy of the king over other lords of the land gave his court a superiority over all other courts and made it a suitable school in which the king and his trusted advisers might learn of the problems of governance, while it served also as a nucleus on which to build a government national in scope.

THE CHURCH AND THE NORMAN KINGS

Rivaling the power of even these aggressive Norman kings and their courts, was the Church. We have observed that England was united for ecclesiastical administration before the whole country acknowledged allegiance to a single king. But the efficiency of the Church as a propagator of morality and religion gradually weakened, until its power now depended mainly on its extensive possessions. On the Continent, as we know, Hildebrand, afterward Pope Gregory VII, took the lead in a movement to retrieve for the ecclesiastical organization some of the qualities and powers it had lost and to gain for it some further powers it had not possessed. The fact that much of the wealth of the Church was held in the form of lands as fiefs from temporal rulers enabled these lords to have a determining voice in choosing ecclesiastical officials. Kings in Germany, France, and England adopted the policy of dictating the choice of bishops and abbots, with the result that these officials lost much of their religious influence and came to be little more than well endowed favorites of the secular princes. Frequently the kings disposed of the clerical appointments to those who would promise for them the largest returns in revenues, with little or no regard for the other qualifications of the candidates for the positions. Although the celibacy of the clergy was theoretically a required rule, most clergymen at the time of the

Conquest were married. Two of the chief things Hildebrand sought to do was to deprive kings of the function of investing bishops and abbots with their offices, and so of effectively choosing them, and to enforce among the clergy the rule of celibacy.

Harold, we noted, acknowledged as archbishop of Canterbury Stigand, who did not have the approval of the reform party in the Roman Church; indeed, he received investiture from a pope of the opposing faction, who was deposed shortly thereafter. William came to England with the express support of the party of reform, and his troops carried a banner that had been blessed by the reigning Pope. By 1070 the Conquest had reached a point that enabled the King to begin a task that he had hitherto neglected; he called a council at which Stigand was tried and deposed. As the Conquest proceeded, Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots were largely replaced by Normans, and, perhaps most important of all, Lanfranc, prior of Bec and abbot of St. Stephen at Caen in Normandy, already a trusted counselor of William, succeeded Stigand as archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc was one of the ablest statesmen of his time and knew the wisdom of coöperating with the king. In consequence, he was able to improve the efficiency of the ecclesiastical administration, to enforce in some measure the celibacy of the clergy, and to enhance the wealth of the Church. Many monasteries and churches were built, and the abbots and bishops tended to become men of character as well as of wealth and power. Ecclesiastical courts were instituted with the authorization of the King, in which the laws of the Church were applied to churchmen, whereas before the Conquest the bishops had merely sat with earldormen in the courts of the shires. For all this, William did not acquiesce in the Pope's claims of supremacy over the ecclesiastical administration in any greater measure than did the Continental kings, and in this view he had the support of Lanfranc and the Norman bishops.

When William, about to die, sent William Rufus to lay claim to the English crown, the son bore a letter from his father to Lanfranc, and it was the venerable Archbishop who crowned him and guided him into safe possession of the throne. The death of Lanfranc several years afterward left a vacancy not easy to fill. For a while William Rufus took the revenues for himself and did not fill it at all. But in 1093 he fell ill, and, in panic at the prospect of death, he decided to appoint to succeed Lanfranc the pious Anselm, Abbot of Bec, who chanced at the time to be in England. Anselm stipulated as a condition

of his acceptance of the office that he should remain in obedience to Pope Urban, who upheld the Gregorian view of the papacy, and likewise that he should be acknowledged as guide and counselor to the King. Unfortunately for the success of the arrangement, William Rufus recovered his health.

The separation of England from the Continent and its distance from Rome made it easy for a strong king to dominate the Church as long as he remained on friendly terms with its resident head, the archbishop. Such had been the condition before the election of Anselm. But the new Archbishop had scarcely received his insignia of office before he was involved in controversies with his royal master. Now it was the question of whether Anselm should journey to Rome to receive his pallium from Pope Urban, who had not been acknowledged by the King; again, several times, it was the question of the obligation of the Archbishop as a vassal of the King to contribute revenues for the royal military undertakings. Ultimately Anselm asked permission to visit Rome to confer with the Pope, only to have his request denied except at the cost of forfeiting the estates he held from the King. On these terms he finally departed the kingdom in 1097 and did not return until after the death of William Rufus and the accession of Henry. Meanwhile, the King was left to use the revenues and offices of the Church as he pleased.

One of the promises Henry made in the charter he granted when he came to the throne was to free the Church from unjust exactions. Pursuant to this promise, the new King proceeded at once to fill several important abbacies that had been left vacant to the profit of the royal treasury and sent a letter to Anselm making excuses for accepting coronation from another hand than the Archbishop and requesting his immediate return to England. When Anselm arrived, Henry demanded that he do homage for the estates of the see, which had been in the hands of the King since his departure. But Anselm, in his residence on the Continent, had adopted the point of view of the party that contended that the right of investiture belonged to the pope, and so he refused to accept it from the King, threatening to leave England again if Henry persisted in the view that investiture belonged to the king. Henry was obliged to make terms with the Church in order to avoid serious trouble. The settlement finally made was in the form of a compromise, which was accepted in 1107 after a prolonged quarrel. By the terms of the reconciliation, in which the Pope acquiesced, the higher ecclesiastical officials were to be elected in the court of the

king and to do homage to him, receiving from him the temporalities of their offices. From the proper official of the Church, they were to receive investiture by the ring and the staff, the emblems of ecclesiastical power. The terms of this compromise were thus substantially the same as those reached on the Continent in 1122 in the Concordat of Worms. So the English Church maintained its relations with Rome, and the English kings continued to face the problems involved in its connection with that powerful Continental organization.

REVENUES OF THE NORMAN KINGS

In few respects was the government of a Norman king more radically different from that of to-day than in the sources from which he derived his revenue and the manner in which it was collected. That "a king should live of his own" was the current assumption, and it was from the king's own demesne that much of his revenue came. That is, those who held land from the king by other than military or other more honorable tenures rendered to the royal stewards and similar officials payments similar to those paid to lesser lords in the kingdom by their tenants. Those who held by the more honorable tenures, involving military or similar service, were under obligations to make occasional payments also. When such a tenant died, his heir paid a relief before receiving investiture of the estate. When the heirs were under age, the king had wardship of the fiefs, which meant that his bailiffs managed the estates and appropriated for his use the bulk of the revenues that ordinarily accrued to the lord, excepting the amount necessary for the maintenance of the minor heir. When in need, the king might call on his vassals for assistance in the form of an aid, though it was coming to be the established custom that aids could be requested as a matter of right only for the three purposes of ransoming the king himself, of knighting his eldest son, and of once marrying his eldest daughter. Some of the knights owing military service were already finding it more convenient to make equivalent payments in lieu of service in person, and the king, though he retained his discretion in the matter, in time came to prefer and to acquiesce in that arrangement. These payments, at first made chiefly by ecclesiastical tenants, were called scutages and constituted a growing source of revenue.

The Norman kings also maintained the custom of levying on

arable lands the old Danegeld. Still another fruitful source of revenue were the profits of justice, fines, forfeitures, fees, and the like, accruing both in the feudal court of the king and from the participation of his officials in the local courts. The extension of the area under the laws of the forest for the ostensible purpose of affording facilities for royal sport gave to the king's officials more arbitrary powers in these regions than in other places. Penalties imposed for special regulations that prevailed in the forests afforded additional sources of income.

The treasury was kept at Winchester from the Conquest throughout the period of the Norman kings, and thither twice a year came the sheriffs to account for the revenues it was their duty to collect. Some of the older royal dues and rents had come to be established at a fixed annual sum and constituted what was called the sheriff's *ferm*; for others accounting was made according to actual collections. After the reckonings with the sheriffs, receipts were given in the form of tally sticks, which were split in two parts, one remaining with the sheriff and the other at the exchequer. Accounts were kept on parchments known as Pipe Rolls. The organization of this machinery of financial administration was much improved in the reign of Henry I by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who for a long time served that king efficiently as justiciar.

THE ARMY OF THE NORMAN KINGS

One of the primary objects for which a Norman king had to make expenditures was his military force, though a medieval army was by no means as costly proportionately as is one to-day. The nucleus of the military establishment in the Norman period was the feudal army. Most of the troops of William I, as we have noted, received definite grants of fiefs in the conquered territory on condition that they render a meed of military service in return. Those who succeeded to these fiefs inherited also these obligations. The land was thus used to endow the fighters in its defence, for when a knight answered the call of the king he came armed and equipped for battle. This obligation might, we know, be commuted as scutage, if the king desired, but the feudal army was always one of the strongest arms of defence in the reigns of the Norman kings.

As the Conquest proceeded, the conquerors built castles or fortified places to serve as strongholds of their new possessions.

Naturally these castles were built more numerous on the borders of the kingdom than elsewhere, since there danger was greatest, but most places of importance had these preparations for defence. The old Tower of London is a monument to this prudent policy of the conquerors. The weakness of this method of defence was that the guardsmen of the castle, like other members of the feudal army, had to be endowed by grants of fiefs in the regions round about. If the lord of a castle elected to rebel against the king he was as much the more difficult to subdue as he was an efficient servant as long as he remained loyal. The king, accordingly, was not unwilling to commute castle-guard into payments in the same way that he did ordinary obligations to serve in the feudal army.

Gradually, however, a mercenary army was coming into existence, maintained from the revenues of the king. The mercenary troops had the merit of being available for continuous service, in contrast with the feudal forces, which owed service limited in both amount and character. True the king might demand a longer period of service from feudal levies than the customary forty days, provided he paid for it, but in that case he was likely to have trouble with restless barons.

The dependence on the feudal army and the growing importance of the mercenary troops did not cause the Norman kings to lose sight of the assumption that they had preserved intact the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. More than once both William Rufus and Henry I summoned the old English *fyrd* to take up arms and give assistance against rebels among their own barons or rival contenders for power. But this force was rather an undisciplined mob than an army, and, even with the simple weapons in use at the time, its power was more in the impact of sheer mass than in intelligent fighting, so it could not long remain a dependable factor. Moreover, it could not be maintained in the field for a considerable period and was thus useful only as a temporary means of defence and not at all as a military arm on which the king could rely to fight battles across the Channel or, in the long run, at home.

Ultimately the king had to depend on the lords of the land for the bulk of both his military power and his revenues, and, when they ceased to render the service required, it was necessary that they supply wherewithal to procure others to take their places. No king could become powerful, therefore, who had not the ability to conciliate or otherwise to win the coöperation of the lords in his court who held the land.

MANORS AND TOWNS

It would be a mistake to think of any of the institutions heretofore described as occupying as large a place in the mind of the average subject of a Norman king as they are likely to have in the mind of a student of history to-day. Both after the Conquest and before it the interest of the bulk of the population in the course of normal lives centered on the things that went on in the local communities in which they lived. This community life itself was in some respects changed by the Conquest. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Conquest hastened the accomplishment of changes already under way which eventuated in the superimposition of a feudal organization called the manor on the older agricultural *tûn* or village community. The process of these changes is not easy to describe. It was not the substitution of one form of organized rural life for another; the older organization was left largely undisturbed and in possession of most of its earlier functions. The village communities did not become manors, though in not a few cases the boundaries of a manor were identical with those of a village community. In some cases several villages were in a manor; in others the manor included parts of several villages, all without destroying the village. It helps to clarify the situation if we remember that the functions of the village were largely agricultural, fiscal, and administrative; the manorial organization simply left these matters alone to be managed as formerly, taking under its own jurisdiction a different type of questions.

When, before the Conquest, a village sought the protection of some powerful lord or of the king himself or when, after the Conquest, all of the land in the kingdom was brought under the lordship either of the king directly or of a mediate lord, there was the same need of an organization to manage the cultivation of the village lands as before. These changes meant no disturbance of the prevailing arrangement for the common control of the arable strips of the village. It was still necessary to allot at the customary intervals the meadow for haying and to supervise the participation of the villagers in the privileges of pasture and waste. The village was still called on to give evidence at inquests, to catch and watch thieves, to mend roads, to help keep up bridges and walls, to witness transactions, to help apportion taxes, and for other similar tasks. The bulk of the efforts of the villagers were directed to their own local affairs. Individuals had the produce of their several holdings less the

payments they were obligated to make, and their rights in that respect were not communal; but the management of pasturage and of the details of haying and cultivation were of necessity coöperative, since the open field system still prevailed. While this form of rural society was typical and widespread in England, we recall again that it existed alongside of private estates, some small and some large, and the free members of the village were always at liberty to dispose of their labor as they liked. Many of them embarked on individual enterprises, and this tendency increased with the growth of urban life.

The introduction of the manor simply meant the acquisition by the lords, usually Normans after the Conquest, of the right to levy dues on the villagers and of jurisdiction over them. The introduction of this institutional change which, as we have said, had begun before the Normans came and was completed in the process of the Conquest had (1) proprietary, (2) social, and (3) political aspects, each of which requires some consideration.

In the first place, the legal theory underlying land tenure was changed. According to the new theory, the rights of the villagers to their holdings was derived from a more comprehensive ownership of the lord, the king himself being the ultimate or eminent owner of all the land in the kingdom. Inside of the manor all rights were held from its lord, which meant that the grant received by the lord from the king, when the king was not himself the lord, swallowed up the rights of ownership the villagers may formerly have enjoyed. All the waste and pasture land, therefore, became the lord's, just as the arable was held from him. These rights, if exercised by the lord to the full extent of the theory, would have meant a serious disturbance amounting almost to dissolution of the life of the village. A compromise, therefore, took shape in which the customary rights of the villagers—pasturage, wood-cutting, and the like—were preserved, unless there was express occasion to disturb them. The lord might levy a toll on these usages, and any new land brought under cultivation belonged to the lord. In practice, the lords found it unprofitable to drive tenants from their estates by denying them customary rights long exercised, and these customs became recognized and later enforceable in the manorial courts as conditions of tenure. Nothing is more indicative of the comparative impotence of the lord in the face of a well-established custom than the persistence of the intermingled strips of the open fields and of the village organizations them-

selves despite their manifest interference with the efficient management of his estates.

Nevertheless, as long as a tenant remained in possession of his holding, he was in a large measure subordinate to his lord. He had to attend the manorial courts, was subject to their jurisdiction, and he owed dues of divers sorts, some payable in kind, some in money, and some in labor of man or beast. The tenants on a manor were of various classes according to their relations with its lord and their obligations to him. Slavery disappeared after the Conquest almost entirely. The three chief classes on a manor were freeholders, villains, and manorial servants. The distinctions between freeholders and villains are not easy to state briefly in terms that are universally valid; it was one of the most difficult questions with which the lawyers of the later middle ages had to wrestle, when it became a matter of large importance. A free man, indeed, might hold by a villain tenure. Both freeholders and villains were likely to owe for their holdings labor and boon work in addition to other regular payments and occasional obligations. "Roughly speaking," says Vinogradoff, "villains were peasants, as free men were knights or rent-paying tenants." The root distinction seems to have been that certain agricultural tasks were esteemed as having a baser character than others, as work with a flail or fork, spreading manure, cleaning drains, or removing refuse, and those obligated to perform these tasks were regarded as holding by the baser tenure. There were, of course, many cottagers; that is, holders of smaller tenements who had no share in a plow team. Legally they were probably villains, though they had smaller holdings and so were lower in the economic scale than that class. The holdings of these smaller tenants usually amounted to a plat of not more than five acres, which was sufficient neither to occupy their time nor to provide for their households. They were thus available to supply a large contingent of the labor needed by the tenants of the larger fiefs and by the lord himself, when he was not sufficiently served by that which was owed as a condition of tenure. But the cottagers apparently had a share in the right to send cattle to the common pastures and to use wood for building, for repairs, and for fuel. There were also likely to be on a manor several other types of tenants slightly different from those we have described.

One more group of the manorial population we must note, however; namely, the stewards and other officers and the servants of the lord. These officials were usually drawn from the

tenants of the manor. Sometimes hunters, skilled artisans, and workmen of a type requiring special training were engaged from other places and paid higher wages or special boons. But a more common expedient in the case of these servants was to endow the employee with a tenement to remunerate him for his services. Some of the members of these supervisory and administrative staffs had to be men of ability and discretion, since on them depended the profitableness of the manor to its lord.

We are likely to get an impression from a description like this that a manor was a large estate on which the lord lived in a more pretentious house than his vassals, presiding in a somewhat patriarchal fashion over their activities, and giving more or less constant personal attention to their affairs. Some lords, to be sure, did live on some manors and participate personally in their management. In the case of the more powerful magnates with widespread holdings, this was manifestly impracticable. The king himself, we remember, was lord of more manors than anybody else in the kingdom. At the other extreme, at the time when Domesday Book was compiled, there were some very small manors. But in the typical case the management of manorial affairs had to be deputed to officials left in charge for the purpose; the lords merely received profits in the form of revenues and services for themselves and the military services they owed to the king for their fiefs.

The manor was a phase of organized community life for its inhabitants, as it was a species of property for its lord, producing for him revenues and constituting a valuable heritage for his descendants. It had also a political character in that the lord held franchises granting to him certain police functions and jurisdictions with the profits arising therefrom. He usually had the right to hold a court in which the tenants of the manor were suitors and which they had to attend. In part this court dealt with the management of the affairs of the manor; it served also as a local agency for keeping the peace, for the arrangement of transactions incidental to conveyancing, and for the settlement of disputes among its tenants.

A besetting danger in any attempt to imagine the social organization in the middle ages is a temptation to attribute to it more uniformity of character than it actually had. As a matter of fact, despite the general similarity of the types of institutional life that prevailed, there was probably much less of uniformity in the organization of society in the middle ages

than there is to-day. There were few rules about anything that were generally valid, and there was almost no such thing as system. Customs, once established, tended to persist and were changed with difficulty, when at all, and similar conditions over widespread territory gave rise to customs that had many things in common, but the details were different and defy description in any save a long and elaborate treatise. The essential point to make here is that the conquerors of England organized their new possessions primarily in the hope of making their tenure permanent and profitable, using in the undertaking what ability they had. In the process of doing this, they became themselves a part of the society of the conquered people and learned much from those they were exploiting, the while they gave a new direction to the organized life of the country. There was a stronger government and a larger element of system and uniformity in its organization after they came than there had been before their arrival, because all the grantees of the conquered estates faced similar problems. This was true, though life in the English agricultural communities went on much as before as regards matters which the villagers had formerly managed among themselves. Some who had formerly been free were now villains, but in the village community they went about their tasks as before the Conquest, freeholder and villain coöperating in these functions on equal terms despite their different relations to the lord of the manor or, in some cases, despite the fact that they were vassals of different lords.

The beginnings in England of urban life destined to prove continuous, like many other things in the history of the country, are veiled in obscurity. Not many of the towns built by the Romans persisted through the Anglo-Saxon period into the times of the Norman kings. The characteristic social life of the Anglo-Saxons, we know, was agricultural and pastoral, and the population subsisted on a minimum of commodities brought in from without the country. They did little, therefore, to develop an urban life of their own to take the place of the Roman towns they had destroyed or permitted to fall into decay. The Scandinavian invasions brought to England a trading people, who were also under the necessity of fortifying themselves. Their supremacy in the country rested on federated groups of towns of which the most famous was composed of the five boroughs, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, and Nottingham. After Alfred's time other boroughs appeared, but the Normans found the typical Englishman still a villager and the *tûn* or village

the characteristic unit of a population the vast majority of which was engaged in agriculture, using the open field system, with a few market towns to provide the legal conditions necessary for the small amount of sale and barter that was practiced.

A rapid development of municipal life followed the Norman Conquest. Some of the towns, previously important, suffered material losses in its process, among them Cambridge, Canterbury, Ipswich, and Northampton. But a period of castle-building followed, and there was a natural tendency for population to accumulate in the vicinity of the castles. Among the group there assembled would usually be traders seeking charters guaranteeing to them the privileges or liberties needed for the conduct of their business. The removal of the bishops to the larger centers in the diocese added prestige and population to the places chosen for the episcopal residence. Then, too, the new rulers brought with them a demand for goods from abroad, which their new possessions enabled them to afford. The increase in trade that resulted stimulated the immigration of aliens, both merchants and artisans. For these and other reasons, it came to pass that the eighty towns or thereabouts that existed at the time of the Conquest, most of them little more than large villages, soon grew in number and importance, until by the time of Henry I, the king was beginning to find them worth conciliating, and merchant guilds were appearing and seeking charters containing grants of privileges. Even so, the development of towns was as yet irregular and sporadic, and these organized communities, like the tenants in rural villages, held their possessions and privileges from the dynasty of the conquerors or from their lordly vassals, both ecclesiastical and secular.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. iii; W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, ch. iv; *A Short History of English Agriculture*, ch. i; A. D. Innes, *A Short History of England and the British Empire*, I. 107-161; *England's Industrial Development*, chs. iii-iv; E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, chs. i, ii, v; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, I. ch. iv.

FOR WIDER READING

G. B. Adams, *The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John*, chs. i-ix; W. J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, I. chs. i-ii; W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. 134-225; H. W. C. Davis, *England Under the*

Normans and Angevins, chs. i-iv; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, chs. i-iii; *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, chs. vi, xv; Kate Norgate, *England Under the Angevin Kings*, I. ch. i; Charles Petit-Dutaillis (W. E. Rhodes, Tr.), *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History of England*, I. chs. vi-ix; R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, ch. iii; Percy Van Dyke Shelley, *English and French in England, 1066-1100*; F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, chs. vii-xii; W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church from the Conquest to the Accession of Edward I*, chs. i-vii; Gilbert Stone, *England from the Earliest Times to the Great Charter*, chs. xvi-xx; William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I. chs. ix-xi; Paul Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*; *The Growth of the Manor*, Bk. iii; *Villainage in England*, second essay.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the conquests and dominions of William the Conqueror, see *Shepherd*, pp. 65-67. For a conventional plan of a medieval manor, see *Shepherd*, p. 104. For a map of the Anglo-Norman empire (1087-1154), see H. W. C. Davis, *England Under the Normans and Angevins*, appendix.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZING THE PEACE

HENRY II AND HIS PROBLEMS

Henry II, known also as Henry Fitz-Empress, became king of England in 1154 on the death of Stephen. His accession to the throne had been stipulated in the previous year in the treaty that ended the long civil war between Stephen and Henry's mother, the former Empress Matilda, who married Henry's father, Geoffrey Count of Anjou, after the death of her first husband. For the next thirty-five years the scepter of England remained in the active hands of this, one of the most famous of her kings, and there is scarcely another generation so full of interest and so significant for the future in all the history of English institutions. The credit which Henry personally deserves for the accomplishments of his reign is not easy to determine. Some of his schemes bear testimony that he was capable of being as errant in judgment as he was lavish in his energy and persistent in his determination to bring his will to pass. But, in a world of notable men, he achieved an empire surpassed in area by only one other in his time, that of Frederick Barbarossa, with whom through his long reign he was contemporary. If he died defeated by a rising king of the next generation, Philip Augustus of France, it was because his enemy was assisted by the ingratitude of the older king's sons and by their eagerness to possess themselves of his dominions.

When Stephen died in 1154, Henry had for three years been in active possession of the territory of Anjou and its dependencies, which he had inherited from his father. In 1152 he had married Eleanor of Aquitaine, after her divorce from the King of France, obtaining with his wife all those lands in southern France that lie between the Loire and the Pyrenees. Before he came to England he claimed and won Normandy as the heir of his mother. He was thus a powerful prince on the Continent without reference to his English territory. This fact affords a key to the explanation of many things that would otherwise be



puzzles in his career. His Continental dominions always furnished him with his most difficult problems; in them he spent a large part of his time; on them he bestowed a major portion of his energy and his resources. There were the scenes of his chief failures and finally of his defeat and death. Probably nobody in his time could have organized these provinces into a state strong enough to survive the organizer—nobody except, perhaps, a king situated as were those who did finally bring all the territory of France together. And we should remember that, while Henry was far more powerful than Louis VII of France, he was after all a vassal of that king and rendered homage to him for his Continental dominions.

It was quite otherwise in England, where he was himself the lord paramount. Even there it is dangerous to attribute to Henry too large an amount of far-sighted statesmanship. We are more likely to get a correct impression of his achievements if we recall the practical exigencies of the conditions he faced in 1154. For fifteen years Matilda and Stephen had contended for possession of the throne, letting the strong government established by the Norman kings fall into decay. In this interval the powerful lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, waxed even more powerful. The demesne estates of the king were dissipated in the strife; no one was strong enough to do justice or to keep the peace. The Church in particular gained in power and prestige in this time of the weakness of the temporal government. It was fortunate in having at its head as archbishop of Canterbury another able monk from the monastery of Bec, Theobald. He was a staunch supporter of Stephen during a great part of his reign, but at last shifted to the side of Matilda and Henry and crowned the latter as king in 1154. To insure the growth of the institution he loved and led, he made his household a center for the training of a group of men to whom he left the task of maintaining and enlarging the claims of the Church to power and influence.

Henry's first task in England was to possess himself of his kingdom. Accordingly, at his coronation, he announced that it would be his aim to restore the "good customs" of his grandfather, Henry I. This restoration took a very practical form. Following the precedent of the Norman kings, he retained as his chief counselor Archbishop Theobald, and for the moment the Church retained the privileges it had accumulated. But he restored the management of the exchequer to Bishop Nigel of Ely, a nephew of the famous Roger of Salisbury who had

organized it in the time of the elder Henry. As justiciar he selected Richard of Lucy, who proved himself to be an able official and who served faithfully through a large part of the reign. Thomas Becket, a protégé of the Archbishop—in fact, a man trained in his school—became chancellor and one of Henry's most trusted officials. Forthwith the new King rid the country of the mercenaries that had been employed in the civil wars and destroyed the castles that had been erected by grants from Stephen in the period of disorder and strife. He reclaimed as a part of the royal demesne those estates that had formerly been so held but that had fallen into the hands of others since the time of his grandfather. By force and threat he compelled the obedience of all of his more powerful vassals who seemed to threaten resistance, among them the King of Scotland. By these activities he manifested his resolution to have in England a peaceful realm.

His immediate purposes and impelling motives in this determination we do not certainly know. But it must have been clear to him in the beginning that he would be absent from England frequently and for long periods. His chief interest at such times would manifestly be to have the kingdom productive of as little trouble and as much revenue as might be. We shall probably not be wrong in seeing in these expectations the chief explanations of Henry's policies in England. He must needs inaugurate good laws and improvise efficient machinery for their execution to keep the realm in order, so that it would require a minimum of his personal attention. He set up good courts, both because the doing of justice proved in itself to be a profitable undertaking and because a people who have guarantees of peace and quiet are more profitable subjects than are those in constant fear for the safety of their lives and possessions. Henry is remembered primarily for the ability he displayed in keeping the peace, and the machinery utilized for that purpose in his reign, with its later development, came to play such a vital part in the processes of doing justice in England that his name will always be associated with them. Meantime, another institution required attention.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CHURCH

The first obstacle that Henry met in his efforts to restore the good customs of his grandfather and to make his realm peace-

able was the Church. More monasteries, it is said, were built in England in the reign of Stephen than in the hundred years previous. This meant in itself an immense accumulation of wealth and prestige. In the Church at large, since the time of Gregory VII, the ecclesiastical government had claimed an ever increasing share in power and had persistently extended its sphere of activity. A period when a weak king was on the throne afforded an opportunity, of which the Church in England was not slow to take advantage, to extend its privileges at the expense of the royal prerogative.

William I, it is true, permitted the bishops to hold separate courts for the trial of cases belonging to the jurisdiction of the Church instead of sitting in the local courts, as had formerly been the practice, but he stipulated that no pope could be acknowledged in England and no appeal made outside the kingdom without his permission. In the meantime, a study of the Roman law had been revived on the Continent at such places as the University of Bologna, and the canon law; that is, the law of the ecclesiastical courts, had taken a more systematic form in consequence and had been introduced into England. The Church courts, however, were lax in punishing clerical offenders, seldom inflicting penalties more severe than depriving a clergyman of his office, which meant that a clergyman who was a criminal was much more lightly punished than was a layman guilty of a similar offence. Stephen granted to the Church courts jurisdiction over all of the clergy, and this was a considerable proportion of the population in the middle ages. In the course of the first ten years of Henry's reign, it was reported to him that there had been more than a hundred murders committed by clergymen, besides other lesser crimes, for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted, because of their freedom from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts. Obviously this condition had to be remedied if good government was to prevail, and Henry and his advisers determined that a remedy should be found.

The King took no action on this question in the life of Archbishop Theobald, partly because he was reluctant to offend a revered counselor and partly because he did not yet have the kingdom sufficiently in hand for the struggle with the Church which he manifestly faced. When Theobald died, Henry procured in 1162 the election as primate of his Chancellor, Becket, who had been, it is true, a disciple of Theobald but who, since the King's accession, had been one of his chief lieutenants and most trusted officials. Indeed, the friendship between Henry

and Becket had a personal as well as an official character, and the Chancellor, profiting by the royal favor, spent more lavishly in the King's service than did his Majesty himself. Henry, not unnaturally therefore, anticipated that he was elevating a servant who would coöperate with him in dealing with the Church, when he made Becket archbishop.

One of the first indications to the King that his plan was to miscarry was Becket's refusal to retain the office of chancellor after he yielded to Henry's persuasion that he accept election as archbishop. The Chancellor had warned the King in advance that he would likely not be a head of the Church such as he desired, but Henry refused to take the warning seriously. He was destined soon to discover that the very qualities that made this son of a burgher a loyal servant of himself, while on royal missions, would also make him magnify his ecclesiastical office and strive, even against the opposition of the monarch, to retain for the Church all the privileges it had claimed.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the question at issue was whether the Church or the royal government should be supreme in the kingdom. Henry had determined that the case should be decided in favor of the King and had hoped that Becket would coöperate with him in devising a relation between the Church and the monarchy that would secure that result. Becket, now that he was the responsible head of the Church in England, was equally as determined in his view that the Church was supreme in its province and in his resolution to yield no jot of its claims to power.

The first point on which the King found himself at variance with the Archbishop was when, at Woodstock in 1163, Henry proposed that an aid formerly levied and retained by the sheriffs be given into the royal exchequer. Becket refused to acquiesce in this arrangement as far as it concerned revenues from land of which he was lord. This opposition helped to prepare the King for the Archbishop's attitude when a Bedford clergyman, who had been accused of the murder of a layman but who had cleared himself in the ecclesiastical court, refused with insulting language to appear before the King's justice and answer to the same charge. When Henry demanded that the accused answer for this insult to himself in the person of his justice, Becket replied that the King should seek a remedy for this grievance in the ecclesiastical court, since laymen could not be judges of the clergy. In the issue thus joined, Becket represented the views

of the reformers among the clergy. But they were views to which no king ambitious to organize and to dominate his realm could assent. It was a revival in a more intense degree of the old quarrel between Anselm and Henry I. Becket adopted more or less consciously the point of view of his predecessor in office, and Henry propounded again the question of his grandfather: "Would the bishops observe the ancient customs of the realm?" They answered that they would "saving their order," which was, of course, a refusal.

Ultimately, in January, 1164, Becket, finding some division among his fellow-churchmen, publicly made the promise Henry desired, without the qualifying phrase. Thereupon, Henry caused the ancient customs in question to be recorded in a document that has come down to us as the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.¹ This document was an effort to state as Henry understood them the practices that prevailed before the growth of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England. There was ground for most of the King's claims in the customs of his royal ancestors. The trouble was, the practice had been different in the more recent past. It is unlikely, therefore, that Becket ever seriously meant to acquiesce in Henry's interpretation of the settlement of the points at issue between them. The King's proposal, in brief, was that, in the first place, clergymen accused of crime should be taken before a secular court and made to answer to the charge. After that preliminary procedure, the accused would be transferred to the ecclesiastical court for trial. If convicted there and degraded from the priesthood, the offender would then be remanded to the secular court for such punishment as might be imposed for the offence. The document declared on the further points at issue that the right of presentation to a living, even when the dispute was between two clergymen, should be tried in the king's court; that none of the higher clergy could go out of the kingdom without the king's permission; and that appeals could not be taken to the pope, the king's barons excommunicated, or their lands placed under the interdict, unless the king himself should acquiesce in the procedure.

Had Henry been satisfied with a moderate victory and willing to let time bring its gradual accretions of power to the king with corresponding losses of power to the Church the quarrel might have ceased here. But affairs on the Continent called the King, and he seems to have determined to settle once for all the

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, No. 13.

question between the Church and himself, at any rate, as far as the quarrel concerned Becket personally. We cannot trace here the long series of dissensions that ensued. Finally, in the year 1170, a sort of truce was agreed upon, ignoring most of the points in dispute, under the terms of which the Archbishop, who had been several years in exile, should return to his office and to the King's territory. Henry was in France when Becket finally landed in England. Scarcely had he arrived, when he began to give evidence that on his part the quarrel was still in process. When the news of these actions of Becket reached Henry, he gave way to an outburst of temper and is said to have denounced those enjoying his favor because they could not rid him of that one troublesome priest. Thereupon four knights of his household journeyed to England and slew Becket in his cathedral.

The death of the Archbishop in this manner hindered the further success of Henry in his quarrel with the Church. Becket, dead, was rapidly transformed into Saint Thomas. The King was under no misapprehension as to the position in which the ill-judged enthusiasm of his unwise lieutenants had placed him. He sent to the Pope offering to submit to whatever might be decreed after an examination of the facts. Meanwhile, he sought to reinstate himself with the Church by the conquest of Ireland. The Church in that country was still regarded as schismatic, and so it would be esteemed as a service to the pope to bring it into the fold. The conquest was already in process by Norman adventurers under the leadership of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, popularly known as Strongbow. In the autumn of 1171 Strongbow went to England to seek the coöperation of Henry, who had resolved to make an expedition in person. By Christmas of that same year he was in Dublin. The island was not conquered in any real sense, but Henry claimed seigniorship over it and later tried to give it as patrimony to John, his youngest son.

The expedition did, however, provide an interval for cooling the heat of excitement that followed Becket's murder. Henry, on his return, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint, which was to become one of the most frequented shrines in England. He was obliged to surrender in the matter of the trial of clergymen and of making appeals to Rome; in other respects, the customs of the realm in the disputed matters remained essentially as they were stated at Clarendon.

THE PROBLEM OF JUSTICE

An immediate task that confronted Henry II and his collaborators was the restoration of peace to the land and the people and the improvising of machinery for making justice prevail. In his efforts to perform this task Henry achieved his most pronounced success, and the judicial machinery he helped to set in motion was destined to culminate in institutions that long survived his empire. The work done in his reign in organizing the business of doing justice and in making it primarily the function of the king and his court has made Henry's name memorable wherever the English people have carried English law and English institutions. Just how much of the credit for this work belongs to Henry and how much of it ought to be apportioned to his predecessors on the throne or his fellow-workers in the task of ruling England, like Richard de Lucy and Ranulf Glanvill, we do not know. To Henry, at any rate, is due credit for willingness to assume responsibility for reforms, even where he did not initiate them.

For the sake of clarity, we shall regard as separate topics the work done in Henry's time for the improvement of the judicial machinery and his policies as regards the executive and administrative aspects of the government. But we should guard ourselves against the assumption that Henry and his contemporaries were conscious of these distinctions. They probably thought about their problem as a task of dealing with the conditions that confronted them in the way most likely to make the kingdom peaceful and profitable. It did not occur to them to ask whether the functions that needed to be served were legislative, executive, or judicial. Their intentions were pragmatic; they looked for results, and the test of their policies in their estimation was whether they would accomplish the purposes they had in mind. That the development of judicial machinery and methods destined to persist for centuries and to become cherished patterns in the fabric of English institutional life is associated with Henry's reign is probably due rather to the fact that his most pressing task was to devise means for making and keeping the peace than to any conscious intention he or his coworkers had of projecting permanent institutions.

While the quarrel with the Church was still in progress, two years after he had stated his own claims in that quarrel in the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, Henry took a further step toward the pacification of the kingdom. The document in which this

measure was promulgated, issued from the same place as the other, with the express approval of his important tenants-in-chief, was called the *Assize of Clarendon*.¹ We need not assume that this was the first of Henry's efforts to pacify his realm or that this document marks the beginning of the methods of procedure it prescribed. Indeed, we know that most of the methods had been used, occasionally at any rate, in previous reigns, and the assize itself leaves the impression that a part of the machinery that was to be utilized was already in operation.

In brief, the scheme was to designate and send out over the kingdom trusted justices from the King's own court to take the prestige and power of that court directly to the shires. Preliminary to the coming of these justices, the King "with the consent of all his barons, for the preservation of the peace and the keeping of justice" enacted that "inquiry should be made through the several counties and through the several hundreds, by twelve of the most legal men of the hundred and by four of the most legal men of each vill, upon their oath that they will tell the truth, whether there is in their hundred or in their vill, any man who has been accused or publicly suspected of himself being a robber, or murderer, or thief, or of being a receiver of robbers, or murderers, or thieves since the lord king has been king." Men thus accused were to be sent to the ordeal by the king's justices, and it was the duty of the sheriff, if a justice was not soon expected in a shire, to send to the nearest justice and arrange for a trial as the justice might desire, keeping the accused in custody in the meantime. All men accused by this method were to be tried in the king's court, and it was distinctly specified that in such cases "no one shall have court, or judgment, or chattels except the lord king in his court before his justices, and the lord king shall have all their chattels." The King went even further, stipulating that a man with a "bad reputation" and an "evil testimony from the public," when caught with stolen goods, should not be permitted to go to trial by the ordeal. Similarly, the right to trial was denied to one who had once in the presence of lawful men acknowledged the commission of any of the crimes enumerated but who later wished to deny it. In fact, the King went further still and instructed his justices to banish from the land within eight days any who passed successfully through the trial by ordeal but who were "of very bad testimony and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and legal men."

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 14.

In these measures, Henry and his advisers showed that they were aware of the ineffectiveness of the administration of justice then prevailing and gave evidence that they at least suspected that the methods of trial in vogue would never be wholly dependable. The innovations they sought to introduce, however, were supplementary to the methods then in use, and it was expressly stated that in the case of those "arrested otherwise than through this oath" it should be "as it has been accustomed and ought to be." The substance of the innovations was, in the first place, that the King asserted his jurisdiction over the crimes mentioned where steps had not been taken to deal with them in the traditional manner and claimed the right to try and punish them, collecting for himself all the incidental fees and penalties accruing therefrom. In the second place, he substituted for the procedure that had formerly preceded the ordeal the simple expedient of having selected men from the community answer the question of fact, whether there were in their locality men accused of being criminals or receivers of criminals. In this procedure is the germ of the grand jury of to-day. Its preliminary verdict against the accused thus obtained could still be removed by a favorable result from the ordeal, though the King gave evidence, as we have noted, that he was not wholly pleased by this method of trial. In the early years of the next century (1215), the Church forbade its priests to officiate at the ordeal, and, after a series of experiments, the king's courts in England devised the expedient of summoning a second or "petty jury" to pass on the preliminary verdict or accusation of the first or "grand" jury and thus complete the process of trial.

But deeds of violence were by no means the only species of offences which troubled England when Henry came to the throne. The long period of disorder and the accompanying frequent changes in lords of the larger estates made the tenure of those of lesser rank somewhat uncertain, and many injustices resulted. If the King was to insure a maximum of contentment in and income from his realm, it was important that he provide machinery for the adjudication of these disputes and of other similar cases as they might arise. The simple expedient of reducing the question to one of fact and of leaving its determination to selected men of the neighborhood was utilized in this type of cases also. As cases of different types emerged, suitable machinery was devised for dealing with them in this way. Many tenants alleged that they had been recently dispossessed

of their land. Here was a fact that would not have escaped the attention of representative men from the locality. So, when a complaint was brought to the king's justices, the determination of the fact was left to a jury of the vicinage, and the land was restored to the complainant if the verdict was that he had been dispossessed as he alleged. Cases of this character were dealt with under the authority of what was called the assize *novel disseisin*. Another type of complainant alleged that on the recent death of an ancestor he had been deprived of the succession to the land of the deceased. The king's justices would here also summon a jury of the legal men of the community to testify whether the ancestor had died possessed of the land, awarding it to the complainant in case the verdict was affirmative. The assize providing for this procedure was called *mort d'ancestor*. The assize *darein presentment* provided a similar procedure for settling the right of presenting or nominating to positions in the Church, the right of presentment being awarded to the one who, according to the decision of the jury of neighbors, had exercised it on the occasion of the last preceding vacancy.

These three were called the possessory assizes. They may have been inaugurated by the King and his advisers on some special occasion, but we have no definite record of the action if it was so, nor can we fix the date when the procedure was first used. We cannot be sure that they were not used in the previous reign; we only know that the increased efficiency of Henry's justices made the new methods a more widespread practice than had been the case before. These assizes are indicative of the character of Henry's work as pacificator. He offered a remedy wherever there was serious difficulty, the remedy being in the nature of an agreement to guarantee things as they were until an adjustment on a more permanent basis could be made. The verdicts of the neighbors under the possessory assizes went no further than the determination of the facts in the points submitted and left untouched the question of the rightful ownership of the land. For that question too Henry offered in his court a method of adjudication in the more complicated procedure of the Grand Assize; meantime, he protected the *de facto* tenant in his possession. The assize *utrum* applied to another type of cases, numerous in the period of readjustment after Stephen's reign and not infrequent previously; namely, the question of whether a given tenement was held by lay or *frankalmoin* tenure; that is, whether, if held by a church, it was held free of the ordinary feudal obligations or owing them.

This, like the other questions, was one of fact, for the determination of which no better method was yet available than the testimony of a jury of men from the vicinity.

The introduction of these new methods of trial served to enhance both the power and income of the king, since he retained for his own court a monopoly of this procedure. A trial by jury could be had only with the king's express permission and before his justices, and the favor was granted only on the payment of a consideration. Litigants were willing to pay this consideration because the king's court offered a more expeditious and a better brand of justice than could be obtained elsewhere. The right to obtain a trial by this method was obtained in the form of a writ which was purchased from the king's chancellor. Once the custom was established of using this process to bring disputes before the king's court for adjustment, it is easy to understand that it would be extended and would encroach on the business formerly done in the courts of the feudal lords and in the local courts to the profit of the feudal lords. Two of the most familiar writs in use, in addition to those for the petty assizes, were the writ of right and the writ called *praecipe*.¹ The writ of right was addressed to the lord of the court having jurisdiction in the case directing that justice be done in the matter in dispute and stating that if it was not done a justice would be designated under the authority of the king to try the case. By this procedure, the jurisdiction of the feudal lords was recognized and respected; the doing of justice was simply expedited by offering to the complainant an alternative when the lord was slow in taking action. The procedure under the writ *praecipe* was different; in that case the king disregarded the jurisdiction of the subordinate court and directed the person to whom it was addressed to restore to the purchaser of the writ the land in question or else appear before the king's justice and show cause why he should not restore it. The result was to bring additional business and fees to the court of the king and to lessen correspondingly the business of the feudal courts.

The rapid increase in the amount of business done by the royal courts had two important results that were probably not foreseen by those responsible for it. It was soon impracticable for the members of the *curia regis*, even the small group that was habitually with the king, to do the entire judicial business of the court as an incidental part of their other duties as ad-

¹ For an example of the writ called *praecipe* see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 20.

visers of and coworkers with the king. The adjudication of disputes concerning the possession and rightful holding of land gave rise to a volume of litigation that called for a degree of expertness in the justices dealing with it and for the spending on it of a larger measure of time than the more influential barons, even those accustomed to act with the king in judicial matters, could afford to spend. It was likewise necessary that the itinerant justices make their journeys more frequently and at more regular intervals than had formerly been the case. These ends appear to have been achieved by the creation of what we may, not inappropriately, call a professional court, probably in the year 1178. As first selected by the king, this court consisted of two clergymen and three laymen, and it was to serve as a central judicial body to hear all the complaints of the kingdom. It is probably the early form of what was later known as the Court of Common Pleas. In addition to the duty of serving as a permanent central court, at least one of the justices from this court seems to have been a member of the group of itinerant justices on each circuit, doubtless for the purpose of making sure that the king's court in its local meetings was conducted according to the rules that prevailed in the central body. In whichever form it met, it was the court of the king, and, when the sheriff in the shire issued the necessary summons for the purpose, it was so specified. It was the court of the king taken to the shires and not the king's justices participating in the old shire court.

In addition to this new judicial machinery, made necessary by the increase in the volume of business done in the king's court, the justices soon felt the need for greater uniformity in laws and rules of procedure. A beginning toward supplying this need was made in Henry's reign, probably by one of the most noted of his justices, Ranulf Glanvill. In 1163 the King made Glanvill sheriff of Yorkshire. After holding in the interim other responsible positions, he became, in 1180, justiciar of England, evidence enough that Henry had found him an able, trustworthy, and faithful servant. The book attributed to him, which Maitland was inclined to think more probably the work of Hubert Walter, a successor of Glanvill in the office of justiciar in a later reign, was at any rate written in Glanvill's time and while he was justiciar. It was the first of a series of legal textbooks destined to play an important part in shaping the character of English common law. The writer evidently knew something of the Roman law, but he does not seem to have

followed the foreign model. Much of what he set down was probably his own theorizing rather than a description of actual principles and distinctions commonly used in the royal courts. But he concerned himself entirely with the law of the king's court and not with that of the feudal or local courts. For that reason, his book, which became popular and was widely copied, was an admirable nucleus about which to group the precedents of the courts as they accumulated in succeeding generations. The result was a growing body of law common to the whole kingdom, wherever the litigant had access to the font of royal justice. This law in time overshadowed what it did not absorb of the older customary law administered in the local courts and thus became the common law of the realm long before the king and his colaborers in the task of government began to make additions to it in any large volume in the form of what we know as statutes.

THE ROYAL ARMY AND REVENUES

The work of organizing the peace in England was made possible by the ability Henry displayed in reviving and improving the strong central government established by the Norman rulers after the Conquest. Two essentials of any government of this size and moment are military power and revenues with which to maintain it. The purely feudal army, though they never abandoned it, soon proved its unsuitability for the purposes of the Norman and Angevin Kings. It was primarily designed as a nucleus for the defence of the country in which the knights who composed it resided. But all of the Norman and Angevin kings had possessions on both sides of the English Channel, and from their point of view it was highly desirable at times to utilize as much as possible of their English power to forward their undertakings on the Continent. This end could not be easily served as long as the military service owed by the holders of English fiefs was rendered in person for limited periods. On this account, the kings resorted to various devices to transform a defensive army owing service for a limited period into one that could participate in all the king's wars for longer periods. Not more than five or six thousand knights were owed in England, and even this number was never actually in service. Instead, barons owing a given number of knights for a limited period sometimes arranged to send a smaller number for a longer period, or, as we have seen, to make money

payments called scutage in lieu of any actual service at all. In many cases, by Henry II's time, the baron did not send to the service of the king the knights he had enfeoffed; he sent instead mercenaries, which he employed himself with revenues obtained from the enfeoffed lands. This arrangement was sometimes necessary, since many of the knight's fees were held by more than one tenant, each owing only a part of the service of a knight. The king was already beginning to perceive that it was not wholly to his advantage in the long run to accept equivalent payments in lieu of actual service, in that the payments were likely to become permanently fixed at sums insufficient to employ as many mercenaries as knights had been owed, and that despite the growing tendency of the number of knights expected to decrease as compared with the number theoretically owed. In order to find a remedy for this tendency, Henry, in 1166, caused an inquiry to be made to determine the number of knights actually enfeoffed as compared with the number for whom service was owed from the fief, apparently in the hope that he might establish a better basis for commuting service and so of increasing his revenues to enable him to procure the needed knights. But the investigation availed him little; the feudal army was declining in importance, and it was becoming apparent that the king would have to depend increasingly on other arms.

But we know that no king of England ever placed his entire dependence for military service on the feudal army. Even the Scandinavian and later Anglo-Saxon kings had begun to employ mercenaries, and the tendency was to increase the proportion of that type of soldier in the royal army. We have seen, too, that the Norman kings, on more than one occasion, had to call to their assistance, sometimes against rebels among their own vassals, the *fyrð* of the pre-Conquest kings. Henry of Anjou was similarly mindful of these potential forces, which could be made ready for summons in time of need. In fact, he went even farther in making these forces available than had his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. Under the law of the old *fyrð*, only freeholders of land were liable to serve, and the customary exemptions made the service light. Henry tried unsuccessfully in the early part of his reign to obligate his barons to send a knight for each knight's fee subinfeudated. The actual obligation to which they adhered had been fixed in the course of the distribution while the Conquest was in progress, and there were now, a century later, many more knight's fees than when William made his famous survey in 1086. Failing in the first attempt,

Henry, in 1181 in the *Assize of Arms*,¹ ordered not merely that every one holding a knight's fee have in hand as many prescribed outfits of arms and armor as he had knight's fees in his demesne but also that all other free laymen and burghers have arms varying according to their several financial ability. Each one was to swear faith to the king, taking oath that he would bear these arms in his service "according to his order and for the protection of the lord king and his realm." It was made the duty of the king's justices on their peregrinations through the kingdom to determine by juries of freemen those who ought under the terms of the assize to have arms and to enforce obedience to its provisions. But this militia, like the *fyrð* and the feudal levy, was useful chiefly at home and for defence. While a portion of the feudal levy went to the foreign wars, the main dependence of the king there, as far as his English resources were concerned, was the mercenaries, which meant that the military power of the king depended in no small measure on his income.

A ruler who spent as much of his time as did Henry II at war was thus obliged to give attention to the improvement of the machinery for collecting revenue. Roger of Salisbury had already done his great work in giving shape to the exchequer as a department of the royal government. His nephew, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, assumed the mantle of his uncle soon after Henry came to the throne and carried forward the work that Stephen had permitted to fall into a state of disorganization. Richard Fitz-Neal, son of Nigel, became treasurer in 1158 and held the office for more than a generation. Under his administration, the work at the exchequer was systematized, and much of the routine work and of that requiring expertness and skill gradually fell to the lot of men who gave a larger proportion of their time to the task than was possible for the more influential members of the king's court. In this way, the men in charge of the financial machinery as of judicial business tended to become personal appointees of the king and so more loyal to his interests than were the greater barons, who constituted the bulk of his effective court. To Richard Fitz-Neal we owe a remarkable account of the exchequer as it was organized in his time, a narrative almost unique among the books of the middle ages. It is called the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* and was probably written as a sort of book of instructions for those engaged in the work of that department of the royal government. It supplies in the field of

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 17.

finance information similar to that supplied in the field of law by the book attributed to Glanville.¹

The chief function of the exchequer in Henry II's time, as in any other time, was to receive and disburse the king's revenues according to instruction and to keep accounts of the transactions. The machinery in Henry's time was somewhat more elaborate than it had been in the time of his grandfather, but it was essentially the same. Richard Fitz-Neal merely built the superstructure of which Roger of Salisbury had laid the foundation. The sheriffs came from the shires twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, to give an account of their stewardship. With the sheriffs came bailiffs or reeves from towns and stewards from honors, in fact all the officials obligated to make payments into and an accounting to the exchequer, though many of the lesser officials doubtless sent their accounts and their payments by the hands of the sheriffs.

In normal years; that is, when there was no scutage, Danegeld, or aid, a little more than one half of the revenue was in the form of the sheriff's *ferm*, which had been completely established as early as the reign of Henry I. The items included in the *ferm*, which the sheriff paid in a lump sum that came in the course of time to be fixed without much variation, were the rents from the royal manors in the shire and a few others, such as the proceeds accruing to the king from the local courts. In addition to the *ferm*, the sheriff had also to account for the revenues arising from the king's court and the incidental feudal revenues such as those from reliefs, marriages, wardships, escheats, and the like. Certain towns also paid lump sums into the royal treasury in the nature of *ferms* for the several boroughs. Besides these ordinary revenues, which naturally did not suffice for the needs of a warlike king, the exchequer received on occasion income from extraordinary sources. One of these was the scutage paid, as we know, in lieu of service due in the army. Then the king, like other feudal lords, had the right to ask "aids" of his vassals in a time of need, though the aid was supposed to be a voluntary payment by the vassal. Custom, we know, had established three occasions when an English king might request an aid; namely, on the knighting of his eldest son, on the first marriage of his eldest daughter, and for the ransom of his own person. Aside from these customary occasions, the aid had no determining conditions and was therefore a tempting means for enhancing the

¹ A convenient translation of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* is in E. F. Henderson's *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.

income of a needy king. Of a similar character were the tallages levied on towns and vills on the royal demesne and the gifts or aids levied on religious houses and prelates. These were all special exactions and were not a part of the normal income of a king.

The sheriff was a disbursing officer as well as a collector of revenues. The accounting which he made at the exchequer semi-annually, therefore, was of monies spent as well as of those collected, and he naturally had to show his authorization for the expenditure. These responsible duties made the sheriff an important officer, and the lucrative income that it afforded caused the office to be coveted by the powerful men of the shire or by the favorites of a weak king. But the efficiency of the king's government and its reputation with his subjects depended so largely on the character of these officials that an active monarch like Henry II took pains to see that they rendered him loyal service. Returning to England in 1170, after an absence of four years, he ordered that an inquiry should be made for the ascertaining of specified facts concerning the practices of the sheriffs. As a result of this inquest, most of the sheriffs then in office were dismissed and their places filled with men trained in the more professional tasks of government in the king's court, either in the exchequer or in the courts of law, who were more likely to have a jealous regard for his interests. The sheriff was thus, for the time, preserved as the effective representative of the monarch in the shire and so played his part in centralizing the government, supplementing in this work the labors of the justices of the king's courts on their journeying through the realm.

We should bear in mind that these visiting justices coöperated with the sheriffs to make real and definite the contacts between the central government of the king and the substantial persons in the shires. It did not occur to either the king or his advisers to restrict the office of the justice or the method of inquiry by jury to what we of a later age are accustomed to regard as judicial business. In matters relating to the collection and administration of the revenues, and in fact in all matters pertaining to the good government of the kingdom, it was the function of the king's justices, as they went to and fro, to make inquiry through selected men of the localities concerning any prevailing conditions that might call for remedy. Both the *Assize of Clarendon* of 1166 and the *Assize of Northampton*,¹ in which it was extended and reënforced ten years later, make it amply clear

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 16.

that the King made little or no attempt to discriminate between the judicial and executive functions of his justices. They were simply his agents, sent to take his power to the provinces and to apply it in promoting the interest of the central government and, incidentally, of the inhabitants of the country, as far as the latter had an interest in the prevalence of peace and order.

Two further sources of revenue, which bulked larger in the middle ages than in later times, though they were not destined in the end to become vital matters in the government, nevertheless are of too great importance to be omitted. They were the Jews and the royal forests. It has been admirably said that in the period from the Conquest to the end of the reign of Henry II the Jews were "fleeced and tolerated." The first considerable influx of Jews into England seems to have been in the reign of William Rufus, who recognized in them a means for his own enrichment. A new immigration in the reign of Henry II led to the disarming of the members of the race in 1181, which left them at the mercy of Christian mobs. In order to understand why they would naturally suffer under these circumstances, we only have to keep in mind the functions they served in society.

To charge interest for the use of money was at that time regarded by the Church as sinful, and so it was illegal and not a business in which a pious follower of the Church could engage. This rule was not so illogical as it may at first seem. In a society as largely agricultural and feudal as was that of the early middle ages, there were few undertakings in which borrowed capital was likely to be utilized in a productive manner. Spend-thrifts were, therefore, the most frequent borrowers, and financial disaster usually followed in the wake of extensive borrowing. The chance of this result was increased by the high rates of interest made necessary by the hazardous nature of the business. The rate was rarely, if ever, less than thirteen per cent. under the most favorable circumstances, and cases were not infrequent where it was from eighty to a hundred per cent.

Despite the disrepute which thus belonged to the business of lending money, it was inevitably a growing business because of the increase in trade, due to the more intimate contacts with the Continent that followed the Conquest, to the rise in consequence of trading towns, to the Crusades to the East, and to the general tendency of the men of substance to acquire and enjoy luxuries. This business, in which Christians could not lawfully engage, was thus left to the Jews who, being already without the fold of the Church, had nothing to lose on that score. Manifestly it was a

business that could not well be carried on without the coöperation and protection of the king, and it is quite as manifest that a king would be unlikely to give this coöperation and protection without some share in the profits. The Jews were practically at the mercy of the king, but the king's court enforced the collection of debts due to the Jews in order that the king's treasury might receive a share in the profits of their business. An appreciable portion of the king's revenue came from this source in the time of Henry II.

The royal forests, which are estimated to have constituted approximately one third of the territory in the kingdom, were in theory hunting preserves for the king's use. That is, certain specified animals in these forests were reserved for the sport of the king and his companions. The more important of these "beasts of the forest" were the red and fallow deer, the roe, and the wild boar. At the time of the Conquest much of the territory in England was still unsettled and covered with woods, but we are not to assume that all the districts within the forests were untenanted or that the king in every case took advantage of his right of sport. The royal forests are of interest here in that they constituted a source of revenue for the king. This revenue accrued because the tenants of the lands in the forest were accountable to the king for the wood they used for fuel and for timber beyond a certain quantity. If swine were pastured on the mast afforded by the woods, the king's agister collected remuneration for that privilege. Those who desired to clear the wood from land and put it under cultivation paid for the privilege and a rent to the king thereafter; if a field was inclosed against the beasts of the forest, that, too, was productive of rents for the king.

The forests were administered under laws peculiar to them and not under the common law that was already taking form in the king's court. Offences against the laws of the forest by its tenants or by tenants of lands adjoining the forest were tried under the supervision of the king's justices, and the forests were policed by a group of special bailiffs called variously, according to their duties, wardens, foresters, verderers, agisters, regards, and the like. In the *Assize of the Forest*¹ at Woodstock, in 1184, Henry, with the assent of his court, recited and emphasized his determination to enforce the laws of the forest, warning those who offended to place "no trust in the fact that hitherto he has had mercy because of their chattels"; in the future when

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 18.

they were convicted of these offences "full justice" would be "executed."

In all of the measures summarized in this chapter, let us repeat, we do well to attribute to Henry and to those who worked with him not a premeditated attempt to change either the laws or the institutions of the kingdom, least of all any far-sighted building for the future. They faced the task of reducing the country to order and of making it acquiesce in and contribute to the promotion of Henry's plans on the Continent, and they simply exerted themselves to improvise means to secure that end. If the result was to lay foundations for many things important in later English institutional life, it is a testimonial of their efficiency in serving their own day and generation rather than evidence that they had extraordinary foresight.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. iv; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. 162-190; W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 3-18; F. W. Maitland and F. C. Montague, *A Sketch of English Legal History*, ch. ii; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, I. ch. v; F. E. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law* (Second Edition), I. ch. vi.

FOR WIDER READING

G. B. Adams, *The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John*, chs. xii-xvi; *The Origin of the English Constitution*, chs. ii-iii; H. W. C. Davis, *England Under the Normans and Angevins*, chs. vii-x; Hubert Hall, *Court Life Under the Plantagenets*; W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, I. chs. ii-iii; II. 107-169; Kate Norgate, *England Under the Angevin Kings*, I; II. chs. i-vi; F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, chs. i-iii; R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, chs. iv-viii; J. H. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, chs. i-xxii; E. S. Roscoe, *The Growth of English Law*, chs. i-ii; J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 215-316; L. F. Salzman, *Henry II*; W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Time of Edward I*, chs. viii-x; Gilbert Stone, *England from the Earliest Times to the Great Charter*, chs. xxi-xxiii; William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I. ch. xii.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For a map of the Angevin empire see Muir, f. 35 or H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, appendix. For a map illustrating the possessions of the English kings in France at various times, 1154-1485, see A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. appendix.

CHAPTER VI

THE LORDS UNITE AND REBEL

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE BARONS

As a result of the efforts of Henry II and his collaborators to keep the peace and to carry forward his ambitious plans, there emerged gradually in England a more solid basis for unity among the substantial people of the kingdom than existed in any country on the Continent. This unity was not founded upon somewhat artificial feudal or family ties or upon the extraordinary ability of aggressive rulers, as was the case elsewhere. It had a permanent basis in the courts which the king created and sponsored, which administered the same law throughout the kingdom and which offered a brand of justice that his subjects were willing to pay for the privilege of sharing. The unity of England was thus becoming organic in the royal government, a fact which made it increasingly less easy for local groups to prevail against the king, even when the scepter was in weak hands. In the face of this growing unity and of the resulting enhancement of the king's government, the power of the greater lords tended as a matter of course to grow correspondingly less. Having served as necessary allies of the king in the time when the conquest and organization of the country was in process, rendering assistance without which that work would scarcely have been possible, they were now, in turn, having to submit to the government they had helped to create. The governmental organization typical in the zenith of the feudal period had served its purpose in its day; the day of strong kings was now at hand. The reign of these kings was destined to be comparatively short; ere long, to keep this power, they would be under the necessity of enlisting the coöperation and support of other forces in the kingdom. Meanwhile, the feudal lords were unwilling to yield their privileges to the king without a struggle.

There is no better evidence of the solid character of the work of organizing England done in the reign of Henry II than the

fact that this work survived the reigns of that King's two sons. Since the time of William I, every English king had at one time or another found his power challenged by rebellious barons. Whether Henry intended it or not, the work of organization done in his reign involved a limitation of the powers and a lessening of the privileges of the lords. In former times these important subjects had felt their grievances as individuals or as small groups, and the king, by granting special favors to other individuals, had been able to divide the barons as a body and so to maintain his own supremacy. The lords came together only on his call and acted together only as his counselors. Even a weak king served as a unifying principle, almost the only one that had hitherto existed, and the court or council was not yet itself a sufficiently formal body to cultivate in its members the habit of acting together or a capacity for finding a common ground of action. But the judicial and administrative innovations in the reign of the second Henry subjected the barons to what they came later to regard as common grievances. The excessive exactions made to support the projects of Henry's sons, Richard and John, who in turn succeeded him on the throne, intensified in the barons who remained in England the feeling that they had whereof to complain. The long absences of both Richard and John from the kingdom while these excessive levies were made in their names, and for purposes that resulted in little advantage to England, furnished opportunities for the lords to discover common grounds of action.

Before his coronation, Richard had pledged himself to undertake with Philip Augustus of France an expedition for the relief of Palestine, then under attack from Saladin, the Saracen chieftain. After months of preparation, the expedition finally set out in April, 1190. Before that time, Richard had undertaken the twofold task of setting his house in order for the period of his absence and of raising wherewithal to provide for the necessities of his journey. When he visited England for that purpose in the summer of 1189, he speedily disappointed the friends who had adhered to him in his quarrel with his father, and sought instead the coöperation of those who had remained loyal to the old King. Ranulf Glanvill, he took with him to Palestine, and that famous Justiciar died before the return of the expedition. He sought to bribe his youngest brother, John, into quietude by restoring to him his lordship of Ireland, of which he had been deprived since 1185, by giving to him in marriage Isabelle, the heiress of the important earldom of Gloucester, by granting to him entirely

control without the necessity of rendering an account to the exchequer of the shires of Derby, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, and by granting to him other estates we need not trouble to enumerate here. His half-brother, Geoffry, he made archbishop of York. Before his departure he extracted from both John and Geoffrey a promise that they would remain out of England in his absence. To raise money, Richard sold offices at every turn. In fact, all of the favors in the gift of the king were bestowed on high if not the highest bidders. In return for a large sum, he released the King of Scotland from many of the conditions of vassalage imposed on that monarch by Henry II and so gained freedom from threat of war in that quarter.

The government of the realm in his absence, he left to William of Longchamp, a Norman of low birth, who became chancellor, and to Hugh, Bishop of Durham, a cousin, who probably paid a considerable sum for both the office and the favor with which it was accompanied. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory. Richard got no farther than Normandy before Longchamp and Hugh quarreled, with the result that Longchamp became for a time the King's chief representative in England. But Longchamp was lavish in his display and naturally was not popular with the older lords of the land, and so ultimately he had to be deposed by a representative whom Richard sent for the purpose. Meantime John, who had violated his promise not to visit England in the absence of his brother, indulged in a quarrel with Longchamp and sought to make friends with his brother's barons and with the citizens of London, even agreeing to sanction the formation of the city into a commune.¹ John's actions were obviously more in his own interest than in behalf of his absent brother, whose cause he had little inclination to serve.

Of Richard's expedition we need say little here. It failed in the purpose for which it was undertaken, though it gave him a place as a hero in song and story as Richard the Lion Heart. Other princes became jealous of him on that account, and Philip Augustus of France, leaving Richard in Palestine, returned home for the purpose of strengthening his own forces in the absence of his rival. He made an alliance with John and was prevented from invading Normandy only by the reluctance of his vassals to despoil the possessions of a crusader in his

¹ London was the only commune ever established in England, if indeed it was ever actually one. The commune was a familiar form of medieval arrangement on the Continent whereby a town obtained the status of a feudal lord, holding its privileges of the king on an equal basis with other feudal lords. See J. H. Round, *The Commune of London*.

absence. The news of these proceedings caused Richard himself to abandon the expedition and to make the best terms he could with Saladin, who shares with the English King the honors of their fruitless struggles.

From the point of view of the people of England, the most significant thing about Richard's expedition was the capture of the King on his return journey and the demand by his captors that a ransom almost prohibitory in amount at the time be paid for his release. This disaster to their rival gave encouragement to the plots of Philip and John, who sought to encourage his captors in their demands. But Richard's aged mother and the justiciars of his dominions set about raising the money to effect his release. Ultimately this end was achieved, and the King returned to his throne in March, 1194. The episode is of primary importance in our study because of the new expedients for raising money improvised in procuring this ransom. Among the new sources of income was a tax on arable land, in some ways similar to the Danegeld, called hidage or carucage from the common terms used to designate units of plowland. This tax was assessed on the villages on the basis of the Domesday survey and apportioned in the village by its members. As a matter of right, a substantial aid was taken from all who owed military service, since it was an occasion when all agreed that an aid was due. The precedent of the Saladin tithe was followed also, and a fourth part of the revenues and chattels of all laymen was called for, with the same proportion of the temporalities of the clergy and a tithe of their spiritualities. Even the plate and the treasures of the churches themselves were commandeered; such orders as the Cistercians, which possessed no plate, surrendered the wool clip for the year. Even so, the sum raised fell short of the impossible demand for one hundred and fifty thousand marks. Enough was raised, however, to appease those who held the King and to procure his release. The government in few other European states could probably have stood the strain. That in England emerged from the period of Richard's preparation for his departure and the troubled years of his absence still strong enough to face this overwhelming emergency, in spite of threats from John and Philip.

These two enemies of Richard were planning to divide his Continental possessions between themselves. John wrote urging his English followers to rebel, while Philip undertook the invasion of Normandy. But Hubert Walter, a friend and disciple of Glanvill, who had recently, on Richard's nomination, become

archbishop of Canterbury and justiciar of England (1193), suppressed the rebellion, and the court declared John's lands forfeit to the King. When Richard reached England in March, 1194, he was received with enthusiasm even in London. Indeed, so loyal did he find his island kingdom that he tarried there only long enough to sell again the offices and honors and to levy, with the consent of his barons, a heavy scutage; in May he left England never to return, bent on retrieving and defending his Continental dominions. Hubert Walter, in whose hands he left the government of England, was not above enriching himself at the King's expense and was by no means a statesman of high rank, but he displayed ability in raising the money Richard needed for his wars in Normandy, and was his loyal servant according to the prevailing standards.

In forwarding this enterprise, Walter increased the grievances of the barons against a day of reckoning with Richard's brother. But he carried forward also the work of his own former master, Glanvill, by creating in the shires local officials called coroners, chosen by the suitors in the shire courts, whose duty it was to determine what matters arising in the shires should be reserved as pleas of the crown. This measure had the effect of diminishing the arbitrary power of the sheriffs, many of whom had purchased their offices and were more interested in securing a return on their investments than in promoting the ends of justice. He utilized officials chosen in a similar manner to collect and to procure a new assessment for the collection of the hidage granted to Richard for the war in Normandy, though this did not preclude some shires from compounding for their hidage in a lump sum. In any case, this invention furnished the King's government with a new contrivance for increasing its power at the expense of the privileges of the barons. A somewhat new type of tenant served in these capacities, one who was neither a major baron nor a small freeholder; the latter had almost ceased to attend the shire courts. These new services were rendered to the king by tenants of a rank between these two extremes of the freeholding class. Many of them were tenants-in-chief of the King and therefore had a common interest with him in suppressing lawlessness and fraud, from which they were themselves not the least sufferers.

But Hubert Walter could not satisfy Richard's need for revenue, and he was saved from assuming responsibility for the last effort of the King to replenish his funds by the demand of the Pope that the Archbishop of Canterbury be released from the

secular office of justiciar. Accordingly, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter succeeded to this office. Richard had not realized all of his hopes of regaining his Continental dominions, though he had displayed characteristic military ability in the attempt and had succeeded in delaying the achievement of the ambitions of his French rival, when he died in 1199 of a wound inflicted by one of his own vassals.

Now that Henry II's youngest son had come into the inheritance he had so long coveted, Philip Augustus naturally cooled in his friendship for him. In John's nephew, Arthur, he found a rival claimant for John's dominions, as he had found in John a rival to Richard, and so the same old battle went on. Arthur ultimately fell into the hands of his uncle, and there is a tradition that John slew him with his own hands. Even so, Philip went forward with the task of consolidating France into a single kingdom despite John's persistent if ineffective resistance, the while Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, assisted by Hubert Walter, had the thankless duty of raising scutage after scutage and of increasing the sums demanded from whatever source. Instead of living of his own, which was the traditional case of a medieval king in normal times, it came to appear that John counted on the revenues formerly regarded as extraordinary as a part of his regular annual income. He extorted five scutages in the period from his accession to the throne to his return to England after the loss of Normandy in 1204. In 1205 he demanded another for the avowed purpose of resisting an invasion of England, but when the barons, many of whom had deserted the King in Normandy in 1203, found that he meant to renew the struggle across the Channel, they refused to participate in the undertaking. They were led in this refusal by William the Marshal, who had been one of the most active and influential of the magnates in coöperating with Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter in governing the kingdom in John's absence. But the death of the Archbishop now precipitated new difficulties for the King.

The reluctance of John's English barons to continue making sacrifices for his Continental wars was increased even more by the ill success of the cause they were asked to serve. Lacking the military ability of his elder brother, he was driven back step by step until, in 1204, he lost Normandy itself to Philip Augustus. Thus passed from control of the English house the duchy from which William the Conqueror set forth on his great adventure.

JOHN AND THE CHURCH

As was the case with all of the strong kings after the Conquest who preceded him on the throne and with others who were to come after him, John had a quarrel with the Church, a quarrel destined to affect materially subsequent events in his reign. On the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205, the King nominated for the vacancy his own trusted friend, John de Grey, then bishop of Norwich. Meantime, some of the members of the chapter of the church at Canterbury had secretly elected one of their officials and had sent him to Rome to receive the pallium, thus reviving the old dispute about the freedom of election. Other members of the chapter, less inclined to invite trouble with the King, met with the bishops of the province according to the usual practice and elected the royal nominee, who also went to Rome seeking investiture.

The papal see at this time was occupied by Innocent III, one of the ablest of all the popes, and he declined to confirm either nominee. Instead, he invited John to send to Rome a commission representative of the bishops, the chapter, and the crown and prepared to act for them in the matter of this election. The King accepted this invitation and sent a commission that he thought would insist on the claims of his own candidate. Innocent, however, succeeded in outwitting John and persuaded the commission to elect, in lieu of the candidates previously proposed, Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, but a man who had not spent much of his life in his native country. John was naturally disappointed at the outcome, though his attitude had nothing to do with the merits of the Archbishop chosen, who was a man of admirable reputation in the Church and one whom Innocent might very well have thought likely to be acceptable to all parties as a compromise choice. John decided to resist; he charged the commission with bad faith, thus evidencing his determination to defeat the choice of the Pope. He professed ignorance of anything Langton had done to merit the preferment except to spend a large part of his life out of England; he threatened the Pope with a loss of revenues derived from England, adding the suggestion that English bishops were competent to settle ecclesiastical litigation in their own courts.

When Innocent did not yield to these threats and the bribes that accompanied them, John sent soldiers to take possession of the rich estates of the monks of Canterbury, driving most of

them into exile. The Pope, in turn, threatened the kingdom with the interdict, and John offered to submit on conditions that contained a saving clause similar to that used by Becket under somewhat different circumstances. Innocent declined to accept this offer, and John defied him to do his worst, proclaiming the lands of any ecclesiastic who obeyed the interdict under the circumstances to be subject to confiscation. The interdict, which lasted in England for five years after it was imposed in 1208, was a weapon that had already obliged Philip Augustus of France to make terms with the Pope. Its effectiveness lay in the fact that it prohibited the normal celebration of the sacraments of the Church and so touched every class of the population on the most important and solemn occasions in social life.

John carried out in a relentless way his threats against the property of the Church. All of the bishops fled the country except John de Grey and Peter des Roches. The latter was a favorite John had brought over from Poitou and whom he had recently elevated to the see of Winchester. Many of the influential laymen were either passively or actively sympathetic with the King in these measures. The large sums which he received by the spoliation of the churches caused him to exact less from them to apply toward the task of defending the kingdom. This task was now becoming more difficult, since trouble threatened on both the Scottish and the Welsh borders. Nevertheless, John was able to maintain a semblance of peace until Innocent took his next step in his efforts to bring the King to terms.

The decree of excommunication, which was finally promulgated in the later months of 1209, made the King an outlaw in the eyes of the Church and released his subjects from their obligations of allegiance. The result was to increase the dangers which threatened the King, particularly from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. John's position now depended on the power of his army, and the measures he adopted to defend himself did much to retrieve the reputation he had earlier lost in Normandy. But the spoils of the Church did not suffice for the needs of these campaigns that were now necessary, and the alternative service in the field tended to stir up opposition among some barons who had before followed the King. One after another, plans that seemed promising to the King came to naught, and, in 1213, Innocent induced Philip of France to make ready to invade England for the purpose of enforcing on John the sentence of deposition.

Innocent probably had no very real desire that Philip actually invade or conquer England, but the French King took the enterprise seriously. John replied with a counter-move, which seemed more humiliating and disgraceful to Englishmen of a later generation than it actually was. It was, in fact, a defensive measure, and one destined to be effective, adopted to save the kingdom from occupation by the French. In brief, the King submitted to Innocent in a manner not uncommon in those times and received his kingdom as a fief from the Pope as overlord, promising to pay annually the sum of one thousand marks, but assuming no feudal obligations beyond the payment of this sum. The complexion of the invasion projected by Philip was changed entirely in consequence. To invade the dominion of a vassal of the head of the Church was not the same thing as invading the lands of a deposed monarch, whose dominions had long been under the interdict. Even the barons, who were already meditating hostile action, now thought it better to delay embarking on the undertaking. But John, having settled his dispute with the Church, could not resist the tempting thought of invading France in the hope of regaining some of the territory he had lost. That enterprise was the rock on which the split with the barons finally came.

THE VICTORY OF THE BARONS

Both Langton, whom the King had of necessity recognized in his submission to the Pope, and the old Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, endeavored to persuade John to adopt measures for the pacification of his island kingdom before embarking on enterprises across the Channel. The body of the barons in England had already begun to manifest symptoms of a growing capacity to work together independently of the King. In 1201 some of them at a meeting at Leicester voiced a determination not to go with the King to France unless he first remedied their grievances. In 1205, at the behest of a meeting of the magnates, John swore to preserve the right in England and, in the same year, was obliged to forego the invasion of France on their express wish. Again in 1207 and 1212 there were repeated evidences that the common burdens which John's government had imposed on the great men of the realm had bound them together in a sort of loose unity and had made them aware of their potency when acting in a group. There is little doubt

that the frequent calls for their service in the field and the aggravated financial exactions entailed by wars on the Continent were the chief factors in stirring alive in the English magnates this embryonic consciousness of their common interests. Furthermore, the distribution of wealth and privileges among a horde of favorites from across the Channel did not tend to discourage this tendency toward unity on the part of a large and influential number of the barons of England.

When John, having at length obtained absolution from the Church, summoned his vassals to proceed with him to Poitou in an effort to regain his lost dominions, some barons offered a plea of poverty; others alleged that they did not owe service across the Channel; both groups declined to go. The King thought to shame them into the undertaking by embarking without them, but they persisted in their refusal and were now more completely united than ever in a common fear that John might use against them the mercenaries he had enlisted for service on the Continent. In fact, the King seems to have been prevented from adopting this policy by the threat of a second excommunication, which came from Langton. The recalcitrant barons were also saved from punishment in the royal court, though they were doubtless legally in the wrong in their refusal to attend on the summons of the King, by the presence and good sense of the old Geoffrey Fitz-Peter as justiciar. Before the end of the year (1213), however, Fitz-Peter died and was succeeded by John's favorite, Peter des Roches, a Poitevan.

Although Pope Innocent had no sympathy with the opponents of a king who was now his own vassal, Langton was kindly disposed toward the barons and suggested that they adopt as the basis of their demands the charter granted by Henry I on his coronation in order to conciliate the lords of his day (1100). John still hoped that he might avert the domestic crisis by the successful outcome of an enterprise on the Continent and sent hither what force he could to coöperate with his allies against Philip, following it himself in the early months of 1214. The army which he took was largely composed of mercenaries, and he had little help from his barons. The calamitous defeat of John's allies at the battle of Bouvines in July, 1214, left the French King free to attack John himself, and so the English King, after using the assistance of the Pope to make as favorable terms as he could under the circumstances, returned to his discontented subjects across the Channel.

Though John was disappointed and humiliated, he returned

to England in a mood far from conciliatory and proceeded forthwith to demand an unusually large scutage in lieu of the service his barons had failed to render in person on his expedition to the Continent. The barons from all sections of the kingdom were thus stimulated to take steps to make a common cause of their grievances against the King, many of them of longer standing than the date of the beginning of John's reign. Their leaders met at Bury St. Edmunds and pledged themselves with an oath that the King should have no peace henceforth until he had confirmed the charter of Henry I. They appeared before John in full armor and announced this action in the early days of 1215. Meantime, the King had sought in vain to divide or otherwise thwart his enemies. In November, 1214, he made an effort to purchase the support of the Church by a promise that it should in the future have the right of free elections to vacant sees, without intervention on his part to delay or prevent it. But his offer was not accepted, and the influential churchmen remained in sympathy with the other barons. The dispute dragged on until Easter, the King having the support of only a few barons and bishops, chiefly his kinsmen or creatures of his favor. The barons, with some two thousand knights and other lesser men at arms, now marched on London and entered that city on May 17. London, we remember, claimed the status of a commune on the basis of a grant made by John in his brother's absence, a grant which he had more recently confirmed and extended in an effort to secure the support of the city for the cause of the King. Nevertheless, the gates were opened to the baronial party, and London made common cause with the rebels.

Langton and William the Marshal, who had acted the part of mediators on the occasion of the ultimatum in January, continued to serve in that capacity. In the end the King recognized his helplessness for the time and asked for terms. The demands of the rebels, now much elaborated from the original charter of Henry I which Langton had earlier suggested as a basis, were set forth in a document which still survives. The actual redress of these grievances granted by John is to be found in a document of a type with which the people in the middle ages were familiar. It is useless to compare it with public documents of later times or to try to fit it into classifications of which its authors were unaware. It is a medieval charter, not a modern constitution, statute, or treaty. Its promises, exacted by his rebellious barons from John as the

price of returning to their allegiance, were simply stated in the most solemn and binding manner with which the men of that time were familiar.

No more illuminating comment can be made on the character of the promises contained in this charter, destined ever afterward to be called *The Great Charter (Magna Carta)*, than a statement of the fact that they are far too many and too tedious to be enumerated here.¹ Almost without exception they provided for a definite remedy for specific grievances from which the rebels were suffering or had suffered. There is scarcely a generalization in the whole document and scarcely a single attempt to state a principle. Because most of the grievances from which the barons suffered had developed in the relations between themselves as vassals and the king as overlord, a majority of the questions dealt with in the charter are feudal questions. Indeed, more nearly than anything else, it undertakes to restate some of the feudal customs in England as they had been practiced before the Angevin kings departed from them in their efforts to strengthen the central government and, later, to garner extraordinarily large sums into the royal exchequer. It tended inevitably, therefore, to hark back to the past and to decree a return to the older ways. The chief novelty in the document is the machinery proposed for its enforcement, which must, consequently, receive further attention. The bulk of the content of the charter represents an attempt to do what men with a position long established in society have sought in vain to do in other generations; namely, stay the processes of social change.

How, then, has this effort of the barons to delay the growth of a strong central government as a defence of themselves against what they regarded as unjust exactions come to have so high a place among the world's constitutional documents? The explanation is easy. Men of the succeeding generations could cite these definite promises of the King as a basis of their claims for a redress of grievances. Afterwards, other groups of Englishmen in later centuries, feeling themselves aggrieved by kings of another house, returned to this first major document of terms imposed for the time on an English ruler by his subjects and sought in it ammunition to support their own contentions. They naturally found that for which they sought. In this way, cer-

¹ For a convenient translation of *The Great Charter* see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 29. W. S. McKechnie's authoritative work, *Magna Carta* (Second Edition), contains the Latin version and a translation of each chapter in the document with an accompanying exegesis.

tain famous chapters in the document of 1215 have been interpreted as sanctioning trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, control of taxation by parliament, and even free trade, none of which causes the barons of the early thirteenth century could have had any conscious intention of serving.

One is tempted to wonder, on the other hand, why, having John at their mercy, the barons were satisfied to demand that in the future the King collect only a "reasonable relief," instead of abolishing that and similar exactions altogether. The reason is clear, when we reflect that the barons, who were John's vassals, had also vassals of their own of whose existence they give evidence in the charter by recording their own obligations to act toward them in the same spirit that they demanded of the King toward themselves. Manifestly, the barons could not hope to profit by the system should they destroy it. Their own vassals had in the king a source of appeal for assistance to enforce against them; they had, it is true, to depend on themselves, but they knew better than to make war on an arrangement organized so largely in their own interest. They simply wished to return to the happy time before the court of the king began like a monster to devour the business which they felt belonged of right to their own, using for the purpose such writs as that called *praecipe*, which the charter sought specifically to forbid for the future, and before the king's needs made him so greedy in his exactions that scarcely any of their holdings seemed altogether safe from his rapacity. But, like most persons who seek to enforce a return to former ways, they were doomed to disappointment. While most of their demands were legal, according to the customs that had formerly prevailed, the future was on the side of the king's government.

Nevertheless, the work of the barons in 1215 was of more than ordinary significance. We can scarcely follow the most eminent American student of the great document in this generation in saying that from one point of view "the importance of Magna Carta can hardly be exaggerated."¹ It reflects, thinks this authority, the twofold character of the feudal contract, the fact that both lord and vassal had obligations to each other. So it was based on the assumption that the king himself was bound by obligations beyond his own power to control, and thus subject to the law. But this notion of a law superior to the government belongs to American rather than to English constitutional doctrine. Since it was not an idea about which men in the thirteenth

¹ G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, p. 128.

century thought at all clearly, and since the solution of the issue ultimately adopted in England took a somewhat different form, we do well not to attach too much importance to this manifestly correct implication, that a feudal king was under the law. The importance of what took place in 1215 was, rather, that the barons were able to find a common ground of action and to give a practical demonstration of the fact that, united, they were more powerful than the King.

The weakness of the charter was the machinery provided for its enforcement, but the most revolutionary fact of all was that the barons realized the necessity of creating some machinery for this purpose. The machinery they devised consisted of a committee of twenty-five lay lords, including the lord mayor of London, which was to perpetuate itself by coöptation. It was to be the function of this committee, which was chosen entirely from among John's opponents, to adjust the claims and complaints of the King's vassals. For this purpose, John agreed, in case of a dispute, to coöperate with the barons in procuring an oath of obedience from his subjects to the twenty-five in preference to himself. But here the peaceful character of the machinery broke down. For the twenty-five had no recourse against the King's government save to make war on it by force of arms. In order to enforce the charter, the barons thus undertook to legalize rebellion against the established government, an arrangement open to obvious objections and incapable of application. But the remarkable point is that the barons were able to act together and that they saw the need of machinery for enforcing their rights, not that they were unable to devise at once a workable contrivance.

John probably never intended in good faith to comply with the terms of the charter, while some of his barons, on the other hand, regarded the settlement as too favorable to the King and defied the authority of the twenty-five. But the charter had not been submitted for approval to John's overlord, the Pope, and Innocent annulled it in the late summer of the year in which it was granted, as derogatory to the crown, as extorted by force, and as unjust and unlawful in content. He much wanted the King to fulfil his vow, taken while the struggle with the barons was in progress, to go on a crusade, and he now offered in France remission of sins to any knight who would go to the rescue of a would-be crusader hindered from keeping his vow by factious subjects. When Langton refused to excommunicate the barons who held out against John, the Pope suspended the Archbishop.

But this intervention from Rome did little to win influential friends for John in England. The barons ceased giving recognition to the King's officers. Ultimately they too sought assistance in France, asking Louis, son of Philip, to claim the throne of England on the ground that he had just married Blanche of Castile, John's niece. Prince Louis, accordingly, invaded England in May, 1216, with some eight hundred ships carrying an army of twelve hundred knights besides infantry, munitions, and supplies. John was left with the support of only a few men of influence, including William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, the papal legate, Gualo, and a dwindling force of mercenaries. Nevertheless, he did not despair and began to organize a campaign of defence, which showed some signs of effectiveness when Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, was able to defend Dover. But the King did not live to see the end of the struggle; he died after a short illness in October and left the kingdom to his infant son, Henry.

Thus passed in the nadir of his fortunes one of the least esteemed kings of England. The playwrights of a later time, including the supreme dramatic genius of the nation, were nevertheless able to see in his career something of the heroic. He defied the Church and persisted in his determination to fight the Continental enemies of his house and his kingdom, being apparently thwarted in this undertaking by a lack of coöperation on the part of his subjects. When circumstances in a later time again seemed to call for the defiance of the Continental Church and resistance to Continental enemies, it was not unnatural that this medieval king should be refurbished to personify a spirit he would probably have little understood. Soberer historians incline rather to the view that it was due to his own lack of sound judgment and of similar qualities becoming a statesman that John lost the support of the barons within his dominions, both on the Continent and in England, and so was obliged to make humiliating terms with the Church and with his own subjects in turn, and finally to die offering ineffective resistance to a foreign army invading his kingdom.

THE SUPREMACY AND DEFEAT OF THE BARONS

The death of John relieved the twenty-five barons of their functions and also made necessary some arrangement for carrying on the government during the minority of Henry III. This

latter responsibility was assumed by the old Earl of Pembroke, now an octogenarian, who had to assist him the Papal Legate and the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. The lack of a single directing hand and the presence of foreign invaders in the land inclined these temporary possessors of authority to a tolerant attitude toward those barons who were willing to renew their allegiance to the cause of the King. Gradually opposition to the invaders was consolidated, and by September, 1217, Louis was obliged to abandon his project and return to France.

After the departure of Louis, the Great Charter was remodeled somewhat in favor of the barons and reissued. In the *Charter of the Forests*, issued at the same time, all afforestations made subsequent to the accession of Henry II were canceled, and the laws of the forest were somewhat ameliorated. But Pembroke found it no easy task to recover for the King from those who had helped to defend them from foreign invaders castles and demesnes that had belonged to his predecessors. He sent itinerant justices to make inquiry concerning infractions of the King's interests and to suppress petty lawlessness, but he died early in 1219, leaving an unfinished task to his collaborators, who were now joined in their undertaking by Peter des Roches. The Papal Legate, Pandulph, into whose charge Pembroke had committed the young King, was unable to work in harmony with the Justiciar and Peter des Roches and left to them the entire responsibility of the regency. Within a year or two Hubert and Peter also parted company, and the Justiciar assumed control of the government. In 1227 he proclaimed the young King to be of age, but before the end of the following year he had quarreled with his royal master. In the end the Justiciar was dismissed (1232) after a long list of accusations had been made against him, and his office, destined never again to be so powerful, was bestowed on one Stephen Seagrave, a knight of little character or reputation.

At the suggestion of Peter des Roches, himself bishop of Winchester, who now gained the King's favor, the treasury was entrusted to his nephew, and the new treasurer was forthwith made sheriff of a score of shires and given besides other offices that carried no small emoluments. In fact, almost every substantial post in the government was entrusted to some Poitevan friend of Peter, and thus Henry had begun by 1232 a policy that was in part instrumental in dissipating any support he might have had from his barons. After the death of Peter, despite the dissatisfaction aroused by the favors bestowed on

and at the behest of that foreign magnate, Henry added to his offence by seeking to grant the see of Winchester to William of Valence, his wife's uncle, while his half-brother either received favors from him or made claims on him which tended further to bring him into disfavor with the barons, who felt that these extensive grants to aliens were at their expense. In 1241 Peter of Savoy, uncle of the King's wife, came to England bringing in his train a troop of relatives who thereupon shared with him royal favors on a scale so lavish that it had much to do in bringing ultimate disaster to their benefactor.

But the King was not the only ruler laying claim to a share in the revenues of the kingdom. The Pope also was seeking new sources of income, and he naturally looked to England, as one of his fiefs, to serve as a source of supply. Ecclesiastical tithes were demanded at intervals. Another source of papal income from England that caused widespread complaint among native ecclesiastics was the development of the system known as "provisors." Under this plan the Pope granted the succession to a benefice before it was vacant, thus setting aside the rights of the proper electoral bodies and securing places for many officers and favorites of the papal court who, when they came into them, performed any duties attaching to these English positions by cheaper substitutes.

Both the King and the Church had their difficulties increased by the rise in prices that was slowly taking place in this period. This rise was due in part, no doubt, to the introduction of luxuries from the East as a result of the Crusades. But the increased inter-communication in western Europe itself encouraged a corresponding growth of trade. The consequent fabrication of articles of commerce made inevitable a larger volume of business and so need of larger sums to supply the wants of the King and the Church in their normal functions. Added to these difficulties was the fact that Henry, following the example of his father, undertook to retrieve the losses of his house on the Continent and to retain there the possessions not already lost, though he lacked his father's stubborn ability in suppressing opposition at home. Henry's difficulties were probably enhanced, as compared with those of his father, by the consciousness of power in the baronial group kept vivid by recollections of that which had taken place at Runnymede.

What the barons lacked in the early part of Henry's personal reign was a leader. This want was later supplied in the person of Simon de Montfort, curiously enough himself a foreigner,

youngest son of the elder Simon, the leader of the crusade against the Albigenian heretics. The younger Simon came to England to claim the inheritance of his mother, who was the daughter of the English Earl of Leicester. In less than ten years he had become one of Henry's most favored friends and had married a sister of the King. But he soon quarreled with his royal brother-in-law, and he went first on a crusade and later served Henry in Poitou and Gascony (1248). His service in the latter province was in some respects effective, but it was so lacking in tact that the King yielded to the complaints of the discontented and substituted for Simon there his own son Edward (1254), now a lad of thirteen. Thereupon Simon returned to England and was soon a member of the rising party of opposition to Henry.

The crisis which came in the spring of 1258 had been long brewing. Henry had repeatedly, in times of need, promised to observe the Great Charter granted by his father and the Charter of the Forests granted by himself, only to disregard his promises when the circumstances that gave rise to them were no longer urgent. As early as 1244 the magnates seem to have devised a scheme for enforcing their will on the King, based somewhat on that proposed in 1215 to hold John to his promises and yet differing therefrom. The more important officers of state were, under the suggested arrangement, to be appointed by the great council composed of the barons and were always to accompany the King. But the plan was never put into effect, and so we have no knowledge of how it would have worked with a monarch who was perpetually at variance with his council. One difficulty was that, in expecting that Henry could carry on the government with no more than his feudal revenues, as kings of former times had done, the barons were demanding the impossible, yet they were as unwilling to suggest sources from which he might supplement his income as they were for him to use the methods of extortion of which they complained.

In 1254 Henry committed what was perhaps his crowning act of folly in letting the Pope persuade him to accept for his second son, Edmund, the crown of Sicily, a crown which had to be won before it could be worn and which thus called for large additional expenditure from an exchequer already empty. When the great council, now beginning to be called a parliament, came together in April, 1258, it refused to grant the desired revenues unless the King made definite reforms in his government. A commission consisting of two dozen members, one half named by

the King and the rest by the barons, was appointed to formulate the desired reforms. This commission reported in June to an adjourned meeting of the council at Oxford a sort of constitution which is known as *The Provisions of Oxford*.¹ In brief, the government was to be placed in the hands of a commission or council consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of fourteen other members selected by a committee of four from the original twenty-four. As chosen, this council was largely sympathetic with the views of the barons as against the King, and Montfort was one of its members, as he had been a member of the baronial group in the twenty-four. This council was itself to be responsible to the great council or parliament, which was to meet three times a year or oftener if necessary. In order to make this frequent meeting of the parliament feasible, it was provided that twelve members might be designated to attend and to act for the whole number on these occasions in order "to spare the cost of the commonalty." Not satisfied with practically depriving the King of all power, the barons made all the great officers of the kingdom—the justices, the treasurer, the chancellor, and the like—responsible to and subject to the control of the council. The shire courts were to be reformed, and the sheriffs were to be appointed from the substantial landlords resident in the counties rather than from among the royal favorites, diminishing farther the royal power.

As soon as Henry evidenced his helplessness by accepting this revolutionary scheme, his appointees to the great offices of the kingdom were removed and their places fill by nominees of the baronial council. When one Poitevan lord seemed disinclined to yield to the demands of the baronial group, Simon de Montfort at once voiced the ultimatum: "You may take your choice between giving up the royal castles which you hold and losing your head." Under these circumstances, many of the King's relatives and favorites found it wise to flee the kingdom and seek refuge elsewhere. Thus the new government was instituted. It lasted long enough for peace to be made with the French King (1259) whereby for a sum of money Henry renounced, with some stipulated exceptions, the ancient titles of his house to the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine. The sacrifice was more apparent than real; the territory had already been lost by the incapacity of the English kings, and the terms of the treaty were in reality favorable to England. The English King still held of the King of France

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 34.

Gascony and the cities and dioceses of Limoges, Cahors, and Perigord.

Within a few months after the new order was established, Earl Simon and another member of the baronial council, the Earl of Gloucester, had quarreled. Then, at the October parliament in 1259, "the community of the bachelors of England," probably the substantial knights in the shires, presented a petition to Prince Edward, the heir-apparent to the throne, alleging that the baronial party, now that power was in its hands, was delaying reforms promised to their class. It is uncertain whether this move was instigated by Edward himself or by Montfort, who appears to have urged these reforms as against the opposition of Gloucester. These complaining knights were the natural leaders in the shire courts, and candidates for power in England in the future would find in them useful allies. By remaining on their estates instead of going to war, they had thriven to positions of power locally, and the tendency of the kings to use them as agents in keeping the peace and in administrative capacities had stimulated in them a growing consciousness of their importance. Next to the high ecclesiastics and the barons themselves, they constituted the most influential class in the kingdom. *The Provisions of the Barons*,¹ issued at Westminster in 1259 in response to this demand made on Edward, which granted many of the requests of the knights, was in reality little relished by the bulk of the baronial party. The result was a realignment of factions that gave a somewhat different direction to the struggle.

The King naturally identified himself on this issue with the Earl of Gloucester, while Edward for the time threw in his lot with Simon de Montfort. Henry procured from the Pope release from his oath to support the Provisions of Oxford and dismissed the Justiciar recently appointed by the baronial government. When, however, the King's foreign relatives began to return, and he proposed to send a general commission of financial inquiry through the kingdom, betokening a new demand for revenues, Gloucester again made common cause with Simon, while filial ties ultimately impelled Edward to adhere to the cause of his father. It is unnecessary to follow the dispute in detail through the next several hectic years, with the numerous intrigues and changes in alignment. As Edward rose in influence in his father's party, and the relatives from across the Channel became less prominent, the royal cause gained in strength. In 1263, after

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 35.

a visit to his brother-in-law, Louis IX of France, better known as St. Louis, Henry proposed that the settlement of the whole dispute be left to that King. Louis had proved himself a worthy successor of Philip Augustus and had carried forward with a minimum of violence the work of unifying France, so successfully begun by the earlier King. His decision of this case, known as the Mise of Amiens and rendered in January, 1264, was in every point in favor of the royal contentions. The Provisions were to be quashed, and the King was to assume again his former control of the government.

This decision had the effect of drawing together the baronial party, and instead of serving as a basis of peace it led to open war. At the battle of Lewes in May, 1264, Simon defeated the royal army, and both Henry and Edward fell into his power. The scheme of government contained in the Provisions of Oxford was again reinstated and the government conducted for the time under the direction of Simon de Montfort. Meanwhile, a threat of invasion by the King's relatives from their places of exile across the Channel and the activity of the Pope made it necessary that Simon take steps to defend the country. He summoned, of course in the name of the King, not merely two knights from each shire court, as he had done before, but, repeating another of his own precedents of an earlier year, he summoned also two citizens or burgesses from the more important boroughs to take counsel concerning the state of the kingdom.

As usual, at a show of force, Henry took oath to observe the charters and the Provisions of Oxford, as did his son. But the barons were soon as little satisfied with the rule of Simon as they had been with that of the King. Furthermore, while Simon's sons, who were in positions of importance under him, had inherited little of the ability of their father, Edward had already gone far toward learning statesmanship from the disastrous mistakes of his sire. Escaping from his guards in the latter part of May, 1265, the Prince collected an army, and before the end of the year he had defeated Simon and his sons at the battle of Evesham, where the great Earl lost his life. This battle was but the beginning of Edward's successes, and within two years a peace was concluded that was destined to end this phase of the struggle for power in England. The whole scheme of limiting the power of the king contained in the Provisions of Oxford was thrown overboard, though some of the specific reforms that had been agitated were embodied in the Statute of Marlborough, which was the final act of settlement.

Thus the period of rebellion by a united baronage came virtually to a close in the same century in which the lords had discovered that by uniting they could impose their will on the king. The trouble was that, having practically dethroned the king, they had, of necessity, to find some substitute to carry on his work as overlord and to assume the functions of government that a series of strong kings had taught them by experience to demand as advantageous to all concerned. It was scarcely likely that one of their number would in the long run be more successful in performing this task than would a king; it profited little to exchange a king for an earl performing the functions of a monarch. And a feudal kingdom with no better directive agent than a council of lords was as little capable of functioning and of maintaining itself in the thirteenth century as a hydra-headed government has proved itself to be at all times.

The King's son, Edward, who now became the most influential man in the kingdom, knew from observation and experience both the strength and the weakness of the baronial party. He needed only a normal quantum of ability and common sense to enable him to restore the monarchy to a position of power and at the same time to go far toward rendering the barons incapable of repeating what they had done in the reigns of his father and grandfather. To these tasks Edward addressed himself and thus made his reign one of the most notable in the history of any kingdom. Meantime, after the peace was made, he knew better than to linger at his father's court. He went, accordingly, with his uncle-in-law, Louis IX, on a Crusade and distinguished himself on the field in the Holy Land. In the period of his absence both his uncle and his father died, men who had played important rôles in the history of their several countries. Even so, Edward had done his work so thoroughly before he left that he had nothing to fear, and he did not reach England until nearly two years after he had been proclaimed king.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, chs. v-vi; *The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John*, chs. xvii-xxi; H. W. C. Davis, *England Under the Normans and Angevins*, chs. xi-xix; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. ch. vi; Edward Jenks, *Edward Plantagenet*, chs. iv-vii.

FOR WIDER READING

G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution*, chs. iv-vii; J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England During the Middle Ages*, ch. ii;

Somerset Bateman, *Simon de Montfort*; W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta* (Second Edition); S. K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III*; Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, II. chs. vi-x; *Richard the Lion Heart*; John Lackland; *The Minority of Henry III*; F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, chs. ix-x; G. W. Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*; J. H. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, chs. xxiii-xxxi; *The Dawn of the Constitution*, chs. iv-x; W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of Edward I*, chs. xi-xvi; William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, II. chs. xii-xiv; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Medieval Administrative History of England*, I. ch. v.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the crusades of Richard and Philip Augustus, see *Shepherd*, pp. 70-71. For maps illustrating conditions in England and in London and vicinity in the reigns of John and Henry III, see *Muir*, f. 34, and *Shepherd*, pp. 74, 75; on these maps the campaigns of Henry III and Simon de Montfort may be studied. Maps illustrating the topographical conditions and the campaigns that resulted in the loss of Normandy are in F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, frontispiece, p. 12, and two maps in the appendix. See also the map of the possessions of the English kings in France in A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. appendix.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF LAW AND NEW CANDIDATES FOR POWER

THE LAW AND THE LAND

Edward's lack of anxiety for the safety of his crown, when the death of his father found him absent from England on a crusade, is not the only evidence we have that the factional quarrels among the ruling groups in the reigns of his father and grandfather had not caused the disintegration of the machinery for doing justice and enforcing the peace which was the most lasting product of the rule of the Angevin kings. As regards the English law itself, its most eminent historians characterize the reign of Henry III as "an age of rapid but steady and permanent growth. At the end of that period most of the main outlines of our medieval law have been drawn for good and all; the subsequent centuries will be able to do little more than to fill in the details of a scheme which is set before them as unalterable."¹ The royal courts, by the quality of the justice they dispensed, had established themselves in the esteem of suitors eligible to command their services. By the middle of the thirteenth century the increase in the king's judicial business was rapidly bringing the high courts—namely, the courts of King's Bench, of Common Pleas, of Exchequer, and the Chancery—to what was long to be their final form. The Court of Common Pleas, which had found such favor that the Great Charter stipulated that it must be held in some certain place, had become the appropriate tribunal for trying ordinary civil suits between subject and subject. The term "King's Bench," or "Bench," by Edward's time was used to signify a court held theoretically *coram rege*; that is, in the presence of the king and with his active participation, but its membership was already, in part at least, professional judges. This court still followed the king, and separate records were kept of its proceedings and of

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (Second Edition), I. 174.

the proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas, but the types of business peculiar to each court were not yet as wholly differentiated as they later came to be. The exchequer functioned also as a court, and in the reign of Henry III an officer called the chancellor of the exchequer made his appearance with the duty of presiding over the court and of keeping its seal. We should not on this account conclude that the administrative and judicial functions of the exchequer were distinguished. As yet, no very clear concepts on these subjects existed. But if a question of general law, as distinguished from what was called "the course of the exchequer," was involved in a case under consideration, the barons of the exchequer might be instructed to associate with themselves in their action the justices of the two benches. The chancellor himself had scarcely yet begun to preside at a court of justice, though the chancery was sometimes called a *curia* or court. Its chief function, however, was to issue the writs necessary to bring cases before the royal tribunals. These writs, in some cases, could be had for the asking; in others, they were matters of privilege, and a traffic in them was a source of income to the king.

Perhaps more important in their immediate service to the people at large were the courts held by the king's justices, who were empowered by temporary commissions for the purpose and who journeyed through the land, taking the power of the king to the farthest shire in the kingdom; sometimes a commission for holding a court was issued to a local magnate, though this practice did not become widespread. In the course of Edward's reign regular methods were perfected for disposing of many cases locally in the king's courts as thus established to save the necessity of having the litigants journey to Westminster or to the point at which the king chanced temporarily to reside. Justices were designated and sent periodically on their circuits.

A noteworthy result of the increase in the business of the king's courts and the growing volume of the records kept on their several rolls was the opportunity thereby afforded for formulating the body of law common to all the land. There was not yet much of what we now call statute law, and the few departures from established customs made by the king and his counselors, if they prevailed in practice, soon became merged in that part of the law which had no conscious origin. Even a royal justice might still proclaim that the king himself was subject to the law, a doctrine which made difficult the establishment of any normal machinery for serious legislation. No doubt

many customs formerly local in character were made laws of the land by becoming a part of the law enforced by the royal courts, but it is difficult to trace illustrations of this process. Perhaps also English law was influenced by the revival of the study of the Roman law; more likely, it was affected by the existence of ecclesiastical courts enforcing the canon law, which was in large part Roman law, alongside of the royal courts, while English law was in its formative period.

But, after the work of Glanvill in the reign of Henry II, the longest single step toward the formulation of a common law for England was the much more elaborate, though similar, treatise of Henry of Bratton, or Bracton. As early as 1245 Bracton was serving as a royal justice, and he served in one judicial capacity or another throughout a large part of the rest of his life. In 1267, shortly before his death, he was appointed on the commission to hear the complaints of those who had taken the side of Simon de Montfort. Whether the book on *The Laws and Customs of England*, which is attributed to him, was published in his lifetime, we do not know. The more important point is that it was apparently based on the prevalent customs of procedure and on the laws enforced in the royal courts. Having access to the rolls of these courts in his capacity as a justice, Bracton copied from them some two thousand cases which have come down to us in the form of his notebooks. These important documents were discovered little more than a generation ago and have been published. From this material and from Bracton's book itself, it is evident that the author knew more about the practices of the English courts than he did about Roman law. He seems to have been familiar with the work of Azo, a famous lawyer of Bologna, and he unquestionably used some of the Roman sources. But the records of the practical application of rules of English procedure, in cases that arose amid English conditions, gave character to his work and made it a never-failing aid to English lawyers of succeeding generations, the while it helped to preserve a native flavor in the English law itself.

The work of Bracton was completed before Edward I came to the throne, and the book was remarkably successful for the time, becoming the basis of most of the legal literature of Edward's day. In fact, there are no texts coming from Edward's reign that are much more than epitomes or summaries of the work of Bracton. Thus, before the accession of the King who has sometimes been called the English Justinian, the kingdom had

royal courts administering a law common to the whole realm with suitors coming in search of justice from its farthest bound. This steady growth of the machinery for doing justice, which had first begun to take form in the reigns of the first Henries, makes it clear that the government of England was much more stable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than the constant strife among factions of the ruling classes is likely to give the impression that it was.

In some respects, nevertheless, Edward merits the title that posterity has bestowed on him. His crusading expedition and the measures he had adopted to suppress the rebellion against his father before setting out left the royal exchequer empty and the King in debt. Moreover, the period of factional strife in the reigns of John and Henry III had occasioned a disarrangement of the normal feudal ties and a dissipation of the royal estates. Within a little over two months after he returned to England, in an effort to retrieve some of these losses, Edward ordered an inquiry into the franchises held by his vassals resembling in part the Domesday inquest of the first William. The results of this investigation are recorded in the compilation known as *The Hundred Rolls*. In many cases an entire hundred was reported as having become an appendage of the manor of some lord who received the revenues formerly payable to the crown. Other similar encroachments on the royal rights and revenues were numerous. After giving mature consideration to the conditions revealed in these rolls, Edward and his advisers announced that those who claimed the franchises and privileges thus recorded might hold them for the moment, but that the justices of the royal court on their next visitation through the shires would conduct a strict inquiry by what warrant (*quo warranto*) those privileges were held that ought normally to belong to the King. The magnates, who by this measure faced the loss of lucrative privileges, objected to the announcement of the King that they would be deprived of any franchises for which they could not show an express grant from him. In fact, Edward soon discovered that he would not be able to enforce the measure as completely as he had planned and agreed, as a compromise, to leave in the hands of tenants, regardless of whether they could show evidence of royal grants, any franchises enjoyed by themselves or their ancestors since the time of the accession of Richard I. That date thus became established in English legal procedure as the "time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

Edward's legislative efforts were not exhausted by this attempt to retrieve ground lost by his predecessors. He retained in his service as his chancellor and chief legal adviser Robert Burnell, who had long been his friend and who was one of the ministers in charge of the royal interests after the death of Henry III and before the return of the new King. It has been said of him that as Hubert de Burgh, prominent in the reigns of Richard, John, and Henry III, was the last great justiciar, so Burnell was the first great lord chancellor. Edward failed, though he made several attempts, to procure the appointment of Burnell as archbishop of Canterbury, but he was able to enrich him with many other offices and estates. This was the manner in which a king of the time normally rewarded a friend whom he trusted, and Burnell seems to have justified his master's confidence by rendering signal service in formulating the most extensive body of legislation attributed to any medieval English king.

This legislation dealt with both the terms and the machinery of land tenure and with regulations for keeping the peace. Most of the laws for enforcing contracts and regulating the holding of chattels awaited the development of a society that needed them. Land tenure was already rapidly assuming the character of property, and the political and military obligations characteristic of the earlier feudal period were giving place to compensatory payments. The things most coveted were opportunities for economic exploitation, and these were also the things the King sought to guard most carefully. Since the Church was a never-dying organization, its tendency to accumulate land decreased the income accruing from reliefs, wardships, and similar feudal incidents. Therefore we find Edward, in 1279, trying to enforce what is called *The Statute of Mortmain*,¹ an effort to prevent further accumulation of lands in the hands of ecclesiastical orders. But Edward was as much interested in the terms under which his lay tenants held as he was in preventing the churches from accumulating land. In the statutes of 1275, 1285, and 1290, called respectively the first, second, and third statutes of Westminster,² many of the customary laws and practices of land tenure were restated, and some new departures were made. *The Statute of Westminster; the Second* contained the clause known as *De donis conditionalibus* because it legalized the practice of entail; that is, of granting land so that it could

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 40.

² Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, Nos. 37, 42, 45.

not be alienated from the heirs of those who held it. *The Statute of Westminster*; the *Third* is known also as *Quia Emptores*, in that it made illegal the subinfeudation of fiefs other than those held directly from the king and provided instead for the right of alienation of these fiefs, so that the new tenant would assume the same relations to the lord as the old. These three statutes were in each case published by the King after consultation with the ruling magnates and in some respects were designed to remedy difficulties which the barons had experienced with their tenants. But their tendency, in the long run, whether foreseen or designed by the King or not, was to lessen the feudal element in land tenure and to leave land held more largely as property. Perhaps the chief immediate interest the King had in the matter was to bring order out of the confusion that existed, so that his revenues from the land would be larger and more stable.

The same motives, in part, actuated him in the measures he took to improve the machinery for protecting life and property. In *The Statute of Winchester*,¹ in 1285, he elaborated and amplified the existing means for keeping the peace. Local units—towns, hundreds, and shires—were made answerable for crimes committed within their bounds. The gates of walled places were to be closed between sunset and sunrise and regular watches kept. Highways leading from one market town to another were to be widened and the undergrowth cleared from their sides for the space of two hundred feet so that robbers would have fewer facilities for hiding. Finally, *The Assize of Arms* of Henry II was revived, and the weapons required to be in the hands of various orders of the population were again enumerated, increases in the requirements being stipulated in some cases. The king's justices were instructed to present at stated intervals any evidence of default in these requirements they noted in their journeyings.

But merely to restate and reëmphasize the law, with important modifications in detail, was not enough. Bracton testifies that, toward the end of the reign of Henry III, the judges on the bench were not of as high a type as had been the case formerly. Since all royal officials of that time were inadequately paid and depended for increased remuneration on their ability to enrich themselves by methods that would now be regarded as indefensible if not positively criminal, weakness in a monarch was likely to lead to intolerable license among his subordinates. It is not surprising, therefore, that so careful a ruler as Edward

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 43.

found it expedient to take remedial steps. A commission with Burnell at its head investigated conditions and made a report revealing what Maitland terms "England's one great judicial scandal." As a result, two out of three of the judges of the King's Bench and four out of the five judges of the Court of Common Pleas were removed from office. Five itinerant justices and a host of other officials were similarly found guilty of various offences and dismissed.

Along with this improvement in personnel went an improvement in procedure that was in part the result of experience and in part made necessary by the increased volume of business the courts had to transact. The list of writs was becoming fixed and stereotyped. The jury had practically come to be the accepted agency for finding facts, and the legal procedure was largely based on that assumption. To facilitate the work of the courts, a definite legal profession was making its appearance, both pleaders and attorneys. In earlier times the power to appoint an attorney was a privilege acquired by royal grant for a special reason; litigants were heard in person in the courts of the earlier middle ages. But by 1292 we find the King directing the justices to provide a certain number of attorneys and to give them the opportunities to follow the court and the exclusive right to practice before it. This emergence of a legal profession tended to promote a greater uniformity in both law and procedure and to furnish candidates equipped to give good service on the bench. One result was that the function of doing justice came in time in a considerable measure to be differentiated from the more miscellaneous tasks of the king's government.

EDWARD AND LANDS WITHOUT ENGLAND

To his contemporaries the events that bulked largest in the reign of the first Edward were his relations with the Church and with the lands outside of England, and it was in these aspects that his reign was least successful. He succeeded, after the expenditure of much blood and pains, in conquering Wales and in bestowing on his hapless son, the second Edward, the title Prince of Wales, an honor which the current heir-apparent to the British throne still inherits. But nowhere else were his achievements in any wise permanent. Most of the Continental empire that claimed so much of the attention of the stronger

Angevin kings had already been lost to the growing French monarchy, so Edward found the chief field for his activities on the island of Britain itself rather than across the Channel. Nevertheless, he delayed his return to England for his coronation in order that he might visit Paris and do homage for what was left of the fiefs his predecessors had held of the French king. Disputes were already brewing that were to diminish these possessions still further. Edward had to be satisfied for the time with a rather vague and indefinite understanding with Philip III, the French King, in order that he might make haste into Gascony to suppress a revolt among his own vassals there. After laboring at that task through the winter of 1273-74, he still took time to pause on his way home long enough to arrange a peace between the merchants of London and the subjects of the Count of Flanders, who had long been at odds. On the death of Philip III and the accession to the French throne of Philip IV, called Philip the Fair, Edward in 1286 went again to France to do homage to the new overlord of his Continental dominions and to use the prestige he had by this time acquired to make peace among warring Continental princes. But Philip the Fair was a more aggressive monarch than his predecessor had been, and he was soon scheming to enlarge his own power at the expense of his English vassal. Soon after Edward returned to England, summoned by the urgency of conditions in that country, Philip began to seek occasion for a quarrel. For a large part of the rest of his reign Edward made vain plans to return to France and to press this quarrel to a conclusion, but trouble with the Church, with Wales, with Scotland, and with his own vassals interfered, and he was never able to do more than send his brother on an unsuccessful venture, and a little later himself to lead a fruitless expedition into Flanders. Time was on the side of the French monarchy. Other subsequent English kings were to lead expeditions, some of them not wholly unsuccessful, into France and to lay claim to the crown of France itself. This claim was based on the fruits of a marriage between Edward's son and Philip's daughter (1299) which served as the basis of a truce between their respective fathers. But Edward I himself spent his major efforts on the island of Britain.

Before the death of his father, Edward led an army against Llewelyn of Wales, who had been a friend and ally of Simon de Montfort and who was a scion of a family that had long been a thorn in the flesh to the English kings. The policy Edward afterward enforced in Wales seems to have been, in part

at least, a result of the experience he gained in this early campaign. The Welsh were still predominantly Britonic Celts, descendants of the early inhabitants of Britain, who fled before the invading hosts of Germanic conquerors and escaped into the mountain fastnesses in the western part of the island. The social organization still tended to be tribal, and settled life had not taken the form it had in the central and eastern English counties. In order to guard against the possibility of a compact, unified Welsh kingdom, the earlier English kings after the Conquest encouraged some of their discontented barons to invade Wales and to carve its territory into so-called "Marcher" lordships, which were held by the swords of the conquerors, who remained also nominally vassals of the English overlord. The strong central government, which we have observed gradually emerging in England, did not extend to these Marcher districts, and the lords of these districts ever threatened to become formidable rivals of the king. They and the Welsh alike were dangerous allies of rebellious lords in England, as both John and Henry III discovered, but they served, nevertheless, as buffers against the portion of Wales that was yet unsubdued.

Edward I made it a part of his policy to devise methods, which we cannot follow in detail, for procuring the lordship of these Marcher districts for his friends and relatives, perhaps the nearest to a safe arrangement a king in his time could make. When Llewelyn refused to take an oath of allegiance to Edward on his accession to the throne, the King marched against that Prince, on the ground that he had previously agreed to hold his principality as a fief of the English house. This campaign was successful and brought peace for the moment, but the war was renewed in 1282, Edward apparently waiting patiently until he could find Llewelyn in the wrong. This time the Welsh leader was slain and his following dispersed.

Edward now undertook to organize and pacify Wales. He built castles to serve as centers for keeping disaffection in check. He insisted on the incorporation of the Welsh bishoprics in the province of Canterbury, making the Welsh Church one with that in England. He proclaimed his infant son Edward, who was born in Wales and who could not, as the father said, "speak a word of English," Prince of Wales. But this was meant more as a title of honor and distinction than of power. The Statute of Rhuddlan, proclaimed in a parliament held at that place in 1284, declared in its opening words that Wales had ceased to be a mere fief of the English crown and had now

been "annexed and united . . . unto the crown of the aforesaid realm, as a member of the same body." The four shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Flint were created from the dominions of Llewelyn in north Wales. A system of courts on the English model was introduced, though Edward was wise enough to understand that some of the tribal methods of procedure would have to be outgrown as the people learned by experience the superiority of the new. These measures applied to less than half of Wales, and the southern part of the country was still in possession of the Marcher lords. Nevertheless, a beginning had been made that was to result ultimately in the unity of Wales and England. The case was different in Edward's relations with Scotland.

Indeed, so completely did Edward fail in his undertakings in the northern kingdom that it is plausible to argue that one of their chief results was to induce a habit of friendship between the Scottish and the French kings lasting until after the close of the seventeenth century. Unlike Wales, the kings in Scotland had early succeeded in combining, loosely to be sure, the rather diverse tribes that peopled the country into a more or less unified feudal kingdom. For a little more than two centuries there had been close family alliances between the kings of Scotland and England. At one time, in the reign of Henry II, William the Lion of the northern kingdom had been obliged to do homage and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the English King. But many things had happened since. Margaret, sister of Edward I, had been the first wife of Alexander III of Scotland (1251). Their daughter, Margaret, married Eric, King of Norway, and gave birth, before her death, to another Margaret, later known as the "Maid of Norway," who was a mere child when her grandfather died in 1286. Edward's first idea was to marry the young Margaret to his own son, a few months her junior. Unfortunately for this arrangement, the maid died from the effects of her voyage from Norway to Scotland. Since there was no clear lineal heir to the crown, the succession was left in dispute, the descendants of the daughters of David, brother of William the Lion, being the aspirants. The question was between the claims of John Balliol, grandson of David's elder daughter, Margaret, and Robert Bruce, son of his younger daughter, Isabella. Edward, who had acquired a reputation for just dealing so widespread that his services had been sought for the adjudication of disputes between powerful princes on the Continent, was called on to arbitrate. Incidentally it is

worth noting that the voluntary submission of the question to him as arbiter prevented him from claiming the right to adjust it as one of his prerogatives as overlord of the country. But he could not well refuse the proffered task.

The question was investigated by a commission nominated in part by the two claimants and in part by Edward. The final decision was in favor of Balliol, which was probably in accord with the prevailing laws and customs. The new King did homage to Edward, thus recognizing the feudal seigniority of the English King. Naturally questions soon arose concerning the extent of the obligations thus incurred, as, for example, the making appeals from Scotland to Edward's court in England. When trouble with the French King was imminent in 1295, Edward called on Scotland for assistance as a matter of right. The first result was to drive Balliol to make an alliance with the French King and thus to add Scotland to the number of Edward's foes. A second result was that Edward was obliged to leave the conduct of the war on the Continent to his brother, Edmund, while he undertook the subjugation of Scotland. The defeat of Balliol meant, of course, the forfeiture of his crown under the feudal law, but it did not mean the pacification of Scotland, as Edward hoped it might.

The next revolt in that unhappy kingdom was led by William Wallace. Although not one of the more powerful Scottish magnates, and regarded by Edward as a freebooter, that picturesque character soon gathered a formidable following and succeeded in defeating the nobleman that Edward had left in charge of the country. Edward himself came to the rescue and by a skilful use of archers defeated Wallace at the battle of Falkirk in July, 1298. While he was seeking a reconciliation with his own nobles for the prosecution of the war in the following year, word came that the Pope had decided to end the struggle by claiming Scotland as a fief of the papal see. This claim probably facilitated Edward's task of finding support in England for the war against Wallace. The Scottish nobles finally surrendered in 1304, and in the next year Wallace was captured and executed. But troubles in Scotland were not yet at end.

Robert Bruce, grandson of the Bruce who had been Balliol's rival, now appeared as a leader of the Scottish cause and was crowned king in 1306. The war against Bruce which ensued was the last in which Edward engaged. Old and ill, he was dauntless to the end and gave orders that his body should accompany his troops until the conquest of Scotland was con-

cluded. But this direction, like Edward's personal efforts, was in vain. After his death in July, 1307, his son and successor left the conduct of the Scottish war to his subordinates and made haste himself to return to the southern part of England to make sure of his claim to the crown. For the space of the next seven years Bruce made steady progress in his efforts to possess himself of Scotland, despite the opposition of the trained garrisons left in the southern part of the country by Edward I to oppose him and the assistance rendered to them by many Scottish nobles who were still unwilling to support Bruce. By 1314 Bruce was making ready to besiege Stirling, the last stronghold of the English power. The disgrace involved in the utter loss of his father's conquests, thus threatened, stirred Edward II to action, but to little purpose. Bruce, profiting by the mistakes that had brought disaster to Wallace at the battle of Falkirk, administered to the English army at Bannockburn in 1314 a defeat so thorough that the independence of Scotland was assured for generations. Meanwhile, the English kings had been experiencing trouble at home as well as abroad with results that were important for the future of the country.

PARLIAMENT AND THE NECESSITIES OF KINGS

Scarcely a king of England has ever been more constantly in need of increased revenues and so more dependent on the coöperation of his subjects in carrying forward his projects than was Edward I. From the time of his return from a crusade which had cost more in debts to meet its expenses than it had accomplished in practical results to the disappointing year of his death amid his vain efforts to make good his claim to Scotland, Edward was almost constantly engaged in enterprises that called for larger expenditures than could be provided from his normal sources of income. Circumstances thus obliged him to spend what ingenuity he had in devising new sources of revenue. The reforms he inaugurated in the methods of doing justice and in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom had as one of their impelling motives a desire to increase his revenues. The same motive was in part influential in procuring for the Jews harsher treatment from Edward than they had received from previous kings. The custom had been, as we know, to protect these people, who were incapacitated from playing a normal rôle in feudal society by their inability to take a Christian oath,

in the un-Christian vocation of money-lending in order that the king might himself share in the exorbitant profits. Lately persecution had been added to extortion as the common treatment meted to the professional money-lenders of the kingdom. Those who contracted debts under the severe terms then customary naturally had little kindness of feeling toward their creditors. Therefore, the barons acquiesced readily when Edward, in 1290, actuated in part no doubt by the religious zeal of his mother and himself, issued an edict expelling all the Jews from England and declaring forfeit all of their property except their personal belongings. Thereby the King obtained immediately a large sum, though he deprived himself of what had formerly been a source of steady income. The place of the Jews as bankers was soon taken by the Italian merchants, who had for years been doing a steadily growing business in England, and the banking family of the Frescobaldi soon came to be as cordially disliked as the Jews had been and had the King more at their mercy. In his declining years even the first Edward was obliged to entrust to them the collection of the revenues accruing from the customs in order to induce them to make loans necessary to keep his troops in the field.

At the very outset of Edward's reign (1274) a tax on wool, hides, and wool-fells designed for export was granted to the King as a permanent supplementary source of revenue, a grant henceforth to be known as the "Great and ancient custom."¹ This was the income that the King mortgaged to his creditors. He found his subjects wary about increasing the amount of this grant, however, and it was not increased permanently, as the original grant had been made. He was sometimes able to induce the merchants themselves to contribute to supply his needs by the process known as *maletolte*, by which the King seized every fifth sack of wool and demanded that the owners redeem it by the payment of a stiff tax, if tax be a proper term to describe this method of extortion. It was certainly a method of taxation not likely to become popular.

Throughout his reign Edward I was almost constantly at variance with the officials of the Church in England. He was unsuccessful in his efforts to procure the election of his own nominees to its positions of power, and he, therefore, strove as far as possible to dislodge the Church from its position of privilege and in particular to procure from its resources the revenues he so perpetually needed. When the Pope in 1296, in the bull

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 38.

Clericis Laicos,¹ forbade the clergy to submit to taxation by temporal rulers, Edward retorted with an edict depriving the clergy of the protection of the law. On many occasions and with divers excesses he obtained temporary possession of the temporalities of the religious houses. At his death the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had seldom been on friendly terms, was in exile.

From all of these sources the King obtained revenues in substantial sums to supplement his income from feudal incidents and dues, which many of his subjects were still old-fashioned enough to think sufficient for the legitimate needs of the government. But the most noteworthy source from which Edward obtained revenue in a manner different from his predecessors was a tax on movable property levied throughout the kingdom by the authority of knights and burgesses summoned for that purpose at intervals which grew increasingly frequent as the needs of the King increased. The gradual decay of the feudal machinery in its political and military aspects and the natural increase in population had led to the emergence of a type of landholders who were coming more and more to regard as their own property the land they held. They set a greater store on the accumulation of wealth than on the possession of power and found their chief opportunities for political activity in the shire courts. The growth of trade and the consequent introduction of a more luxurious mode of life had stimulated at the same time the growth of towns dominated in the main by men who were accumulating wealth by engaging in commerce. The increasing influence of the merchants is seen in *The Statute of Acton Burnell*² (1283), otherwise known as the Statute of the Merchants, which was designed to facilitate doing business on credit by providing a method of collection, if the debt was attested in a proper manner. It was unreasonable to expect that a king would permit these two groups to escape without making contributions to his needs, especially when he could offer so plausibly the argument that they shared the common danger faced by the kingdom. Manifestly the feudal magnates were not unwilling that these new sources of revenue should be tapped.

Edward, as we have seen, was not the first to summon knights from the shires and burgesses from their boroughs to give counsel and to provide more material assistance. Simon de Montfort had done it in the reign of Henry III. But a primary point to

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 47.

² Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 41.

keep clear is that the essential reason why Edward now summoned these representatives was in order that they might hear the needs of the King and facilitate the contributions of their several constituencies. They did not tarry long, and they brought little of wisdom that was accepted in counsel until they learned by experience how to formulate any demands they desired to make and to present them with the support of substantially the whole group as a preliminary condition of the contributions they were summoned to grant. Before we can understand the long story of the way in which these forces, first summoned to help, finally remained to rule, it is important that we understand the character of parliament as it existed in the reign of the King who began to summon it as an habitual practice.

With the king's court we are already in some measure familiar. Now a parliament was originally, as the etymology of the word indicates, simply a parley or colloquy of the king and his court. In the common speech of the time, the court itself came not unnaturally to be called a parliament. But we must not expect to find Edward I and his advisers as discriminating as are the more careful political writers of to-day as regards the functions proper to be exercised by this parliament or court or consistent in prescribing the personnel of its membership. Above all, we need to be on our guard against the assumption that it was a primary task of parliament to legislate. It is probable that Edward's parliaments would have denied that they had any capacity for or intention of legislating as we understand that term. Law was still something scarcely capable of being made by the actions of men; the king's court rather undertook to discover and to apply it. It is this assumption underlying this concept of law that made plausible the medieval theory already noted, that the king himself was subject to it. This theory manifestly loses its validity as soon as we admit that the law can be changed at will by the king or by a body in which the king is one of the chief participating members.

Parliament in the reign of Edward I was primarily a court, and the records of the court in his reign which have been preserved indicate that it was a court he did not originate. Documents of that time are not very precise in the use of terms, and it might be possible to find exceptions to almost any general statement made concerning the composition or the functions of the body that some later authorities call "the High Court of Parliament." It was essentially the old Norman and Angevin *curia regis*, with some additions to its membership, with an

increased volume of business, and with several centuries of experience. As we have seen and as will appear later, the ends of justice were now also served by several other courts, and special aspects of the king's business were attended to by still other groups, who might or might not attend the parleys held by the king and his "high court." There seem to have been no consistent rules concerning the membership of this court or its methods of doing business. As was usually the case in the early history of an institution, the tendency was to deal with questions requiring immediate action in whatever manner seemed likely to the participants to lead to desired results.

After the rolls or records of parliament began to be kept—and we have many of them from the beginning of the reign of Edward I—the method of procedure seems to have been for litigants to gain the attention of the court by a petition instead of by a writ, as was the case in the regular courts of the common law. In order that the petition might be made ready, the custom was to proclaim in advance the proposed time of holding a "parliament." In the reign of Edward I as many as three were sometimes held in a year. Then it was the duty of certain designated officials to assort the petitions, sending to the chancellor, the exchequer, the court of common pleas, or to some other proper body a majority of them normally a part of its business, reserving for the consideration of "parliament" only those matters that seemed to require it. The cases thus reserved for special action might involve a restatement or a reversal of law or procedure or a hastening of the processes of justice in cases previously brought before other courts by the customary writs. A frequent recurrence of cases in individual petitions might lead to general remedial action. In this way, things were done that may with propriety be termed acts of legislation or administration, but a large proportion of the business was rather judicial in character. The court itself, let us bear in mind, made no such classification of its activities.

These regular and frequent meetings of the king's court were called "parliaments" in the records kept of their proceedings. But there were beginning to be held in this period other less frequent and more formal meetings of the king's court with selected persons specially summoned for the occasion. These meetings were not at first called parliaments, and no official records were kept of their proceedings. Most of those who ordinarily participated in a "parliament" were summoned to these meetings to give counsel, though some were summoned who might

not attend the "parliament." The knights and burgesses were summoned to attend assemblies of the latter type and not the "parliaments." The functions of these assemblies seem to have been to provide the king and his more immediate associates with the supporting authority and with the more material resources needed to carry on the affairs of the kingdom, especially in times of more than ordinary danger. As regards the knights and burgesses, there is no doubt that their chief function, in the reign of the first Edward at any rate, was to speak for the shire or town from which they came in promising revenue to supply the king's need. They probably participated in the proceedings largely by a silent acquiescence in the requests made and by taking back to their constituent groups renewed knowledge of the needs of the king.

From the nature of the business transacted in the sessions of the king's court known as "parliaments," it is clear that many suitors from diverse parts of the kingdom would attend the sessions. When the assemblies specially summoned to give counsel and provide ways and means became frequent, before long the advantage of having the time of the meeting of the specially summoned assembly coincide with that of a "parliament" was apparent. Between 1275 and 1298 there were at least fifteen sessions of the "parliament" when the business is recorded on the rolls. There were held in the same period nine of the assemblies summoned by special writ, of whose business no roll was kept. Manifestly, if suitable freeholders with petitions to present to "parliament" for themselves or in behalf of their communities were journeying to court for that purpose, it was a hardship to require within the space of a few months others to make the same journey to attend the specially summoned assembly. If knights or burgesses who were bearers of petitions could be found eligible to be charged with the task of answering the writ of summons sent to the boroughs and shires through the sheriffs,¹ it was a matter of economy and convenience to make one journey serve the double purpose. This could be done if the king would take care to summon the extraordinary assemblies, now rapidly becoming habitual, in the time appointed for the meeting of the court in parliament. This he began to do in the closing years of the thirteenth century; 1298 is the first year in which we have conclusive evidence that it took place. Once the practice was inaugurated, it became the customary

¹ For examples of these writs see Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 46.

procedure and seems to have been continued through the remainder of the reign of Edward I. The chief business of the meeting was still that of the older "parliaments," but the procedure of the new assemblies began also to find a place in the official records. The knights and burgesses were still summoned only when circumstances made their coöperation essential and probably never in this period became necessary to constitute a parliament; they were always summoned when taxes were to be voted. This power to give or to withhold revenue was the lever by which the knights and burgesses in the end obtained the power to legislate on other subjects also. Edward I certainly had no inclination to share his power more than was necessary with these new groups, whose assistance he found himself obliged to seek. Time and circumstance, not the political wisdom or foresight of the King, were to make these entrants on the political scene more powerful than the monarch himself.

THE GROWING MACHINERY OF THE CROWN

Being an able king, Edward I tended to depend on the counsel of those immediately associated with him, and in them he placed most of his confidence. The strength of the government of the kings in the later middle ages rested rather in this group composing the royal household than in either the magnates or the knights and burgesses. In fact, it was already clear that the magnates were likely to furnish the king one of his most difficult problems by their jealousy of his growing power. The household, on the other hand, was composed of those whom the king delighted to honor and to whom he looked for coöperation on all occasions. It is this royal household which most differentiates the government of earlier English monarchs from that of a later day and which makes difficult, if not entirely inutile, a comparison of the government of a twentieth-century king with that of his medieval predecessors.

Just as the existence of parliament as a legislative body in the sense familiar to-day was inconceivable in the time of Edward I, so the existence of any systematic organization of the executive government was equally beyond his ken. The growth of the royal income, we know, had long ago made necessary the establishment in the exchequer of machinery for receiving and keeping account of the royal income. In a like manner, the success of the king in acquiring the function of doing justice made neces-

sary the device of machinery of adjudication, including, on the one hand, the establishment of courts of professional judges and, on the other, of a secretarial office under the management of the chancellor to provide the writs necessary to bring business before the royal courts. All of these officials were originally taken from the intimate entourage of the king and did not cease to be his trusted advisers when they acquired specialized functions. But in the course of time these officers developed a conventional habit of procedure, and the king's subjects came to depend on them as a normal part of the government, which they were unwilling for him to change according to his personal whim. By this process these functionaries became what we may call officers of state rather than mere members of the king's entourage as they had been by origin.

But there was still much left for the determination of the circle constantly about the king. In fact, it would be a mistake to assume that the king's established courts were his only machinery for doing justice or that the exchequer accounted for all of his revenues. And when the chancellor discovered that the bulk of his time was occupied with the more formal affairs of the government, the king found another secretary to carry on his less public business and to have custody of a second seal, called the "privy seal," for signifying the royal authority in these matters. All the while, the whole task of making war and of maintaining the normal military establishment, aside from its feudal elements, was performed by those immediately associated with the king. From the same source issued the correspondence of the king with his rival contemporary monarchs. The exchequer, as an office of government, had primarily the task of collecting the allotted revenues and of accounting for them. Once they were in hand, they were spent by the king through the machinery of his domestic organization. Most of the factional disputes of the later middle ages are unintelligible without some knowledge of the organization of this inner circle, who collaborated with the king in doing his work.

The two most important divisions of the royal household were the chamber and the wardrobe. We need not enumerate all of the many officials in these organizations in an attempt to indicate their several functions. The chamber had its stewards and chamberlains along with an array of clerks. The more dignified officers of the wardrobe were the keeper or treasurer, the controller, and the cofferer. Later, as we shall see, the keeper of the privy seal was to emerge from this same organization. Both

the wardrobe and the chamber, as we know, were in their earliest forms what their names imply, but they had long since outgrown their original quarters. The entire machinery of the king for carrying on the affairs of government, including the making of war and the provision of sustenance for the army of followers ever in his train, was included in these organizations. In them most of the trusted officers of state, such as the chancellor and the more important officials of the exchequer, were likely to receive their preliminary training. The important functionaries in these organizations were naturally the king's most intimate associates and the officials on whom he leaned most heavily. Nothing is more indicative of the changing character of the ruling class that was in process, even in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, than the tendency of the king to summon for these services men more prominent for their efficiency in administration than for their previous influence or family connections. It was still the rule for a man in the favor of the king, as these functionaries would be, to use his opportunities to accumulate wealth and power for himself and thus to achieve a position among the magnates. Even so, it was of the greatest significance for the future that the actual day-by-day management of the affairs of the kingdom was in hands of professional officials of this type. They established themselves in favor by building up the machinery of administration and by keeping it intact, and the organization that they were developing in these years proved in the long run to have more vitality than either the monarchy itself or the powerful magnates who disputed with the king its control.

Besides the courts of the king—the parliaments and the other assemblies already described—the king in these years was wont to seek advice also from a group called the council. Here again our desire for precise definition is liable to lead us to assumptions that would not be in accord with the facts as they existed. Sometimes this council was composed simply of the influential members of the royal entourage; sometimes all the influential magnates in the kingdom were also called into consultation. Naturally certain important officials such as the chancellor, the keeper of the wardrobe, and the like were almost invariably in attendance. Probably the composition of the group varied to suit the circumstances under which the meeting was held or the character of the business to be transacted. But, however many or few those in attendance, the group was a council, and the validity of the business transacted was not called in question

because of the absence of influential members. A medieval king seems to have been more interested in doing the task at hand than in observing the technical forms of procedure that came in later times to be cherished as safeguards of political rights. He thought more in terms of the personalities whose coöperation was immediately necessary to accomplish the end sought than of a fixed machinery of government. This machinery, for the most part, developed to perform functions that the necessities of the time made manifest; it was seldom fashioned in advance according to a general plan. This was probably just as well, for most of the few experiments in devising general governmental machinery tried in this period proved in practice to be unworkable.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The reign of Edward II witnessed a revival of the strife between the landed magnates and the king. It had been dormant throughout the reign of the first Edward, who, as we know, had taken the lead in suppressing the rebellion against his father. It was ready to break forth openly again toward the end of his life because of the almost complete failure of his policies in his declining years. The most competent recent student of the subject concludes that no medieval king "handed to his successor so heavy a task with such inadequate means to discharge it"¹ as Edward I handed on to Edward II. And not even those most favorable in their estimate of the character of Edward II represent him as a worthy son of his able sire. In no part of his reign of a score of years (1307-1327) was he the dominating figure. In its first period he was chiefly influenced by his favorite friend, Peter Gaveston, from whom his father, before his death, had sought in vain to wean him.

The accession of the new King and the substitution of the members of his own household as Prince of Wales for some of the influential officials in the household of his father facilitated a reconciliation with estranged magnates such as the Earls of Gloucester, Hereford, and Norfolk. Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been in enforced exile, returned. The young Earl of Lancaster, destined to be a leader of the opposition to the King, was among those who witnessed the charter creating Gaveston Earl of Cornwall. But these promising conditions were soon beclouded, in part no doubt by the actions of

¹ T. F. Tout, *The Place of Edward II in English History*, p. 38.

Gaveston, but in part also by the ruinous load of debt and the consequent confusion in the government that had resulted from the failure of the policies of Edward I. Gaveston unquestionably added to difficulties already sufficiently great. He was a native of Gascony, and he now attached to his train a swarm of his kinsfolk, who shared with him the royal favor and the revenues so badly needed for the more legitimate functions of the government. Gaveston himself seems to have been so puffed up by his own good fortune that it was easy for him to win the enmity of the magnates. The result was a union of more influential members of the nobility against the King, which, in 1308, induced him to consent to the exile of his favorite.

The removal of Gaveston helped matters very little. The royal household was the stronghold of a court party that furnished any king in the later middle ages with a formidable line of defence. The magnates, sensing this situation, demanded a reform in the household as the price of permitting the return of Gaveston, a price which the King's fondness for his friend induced him to pay. Unfortunately for the King, Gaveston had not learned prudence in his period of absence, and the united barons under the leadership of the Earl of Lancaster now proceeded to impose more severe conditions. The favorite and the other foreign hangers-on at the court were banished from the kingdom, and a group of barons, called the "Lords Ordainers," was appointed to reform the machinery of government. According to the ordinances promulgated by this group in 1311,¹ the King was still to be nominally in power, but his chief ministers were to be chosen from the barons in parliament. The management of the finances was to be kept strictly in the hands of the exchequer, and the officers of the wardrobe were not to receive those revenues which had formerly gone directly to their custody. The chancery was to be solely responsible for the issue of the writs belonging to it and was to be freed from the infringements which, it was asserted, the wardrobe had been making on its business. The privy seal, by the use of which much of the alleged encroachment of the officers of the wardrobe on the functions of the officers of state had been facilitated, was now to be taken from the hands of the controller of the wardrobe and kept by a clerk specially designated for that purpose. Finally, it was stipulated that the chief officers of the household as well as the chief officers of state should be chosen by the barons.

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 51.

It was unreasonable to expect a medieval king long to abide by a promise to acquiesce in regulations of this severe character, and it is not surprising that Gaveston was soon again in England. The supervision of the chancery, the exchequer, and the common law courts by the barons might have been tolerable; not so their attempt to manage the affairs of the royal household. Yet it was in the machinery of the household that the chief sources of the royal power lay. Consequently, the resistance of the King was now more stubborn than before, and he was soon favored by a division in the ranks of the barons that was destined to last through the remainder of his reign.

The barons, victorious in the civil war that followed the return of the favorite, captured Gaveston and entrusted him temporarily to Aymer, Earl of Pembroke, with instructions to keep him safely. Despite this pledge and in the absence of Pembroke, the Earls of Lancaster and Warwick caused Gaveston to be put to death. Pembroke felt that his honor had been affronted, and henceforth he and his partizans had little love for Lancaster and Warwick. A temporary truce at this time enabled Edward to lead his disastrous expedition to Scotland, which culminated in the battle of Bannockburn. The failure of this enterprise favored the cause of Lancaster and the barons, who wished to enforce the ordinances of 1311, and the Earl assumed practical control of the government as chief counselor of the King. But, like others before him and still others who were to follow, he found the entrenched officers of the royal household harder nuts than he was able to crack.

Following the comparative failure of the extreme measures of Lancaster, Pembroke gradually took the lead in forming a more moderate group among the barons, who associated themselves with the officers of the household, and Lancaster was unable to stand against them. Having both the King and the court party on their side, these more moderate barons undertook again the reform of the household. Their aim was to restrict its functions to the normal task of managing the domestic establishment of the king. Even in this sphere it was to be under baronial control. But it is difficult to thwart entirely a natural development of governmental machinery. What happened was that the activity of the king's household was transferred from the wardrobe, which had been restricted in its functions, to the chamber, previously a subordinate department, which was now placed in the hands of the young Hugh Despenser as chamberlain. As the moderate party of barons gradually lost its grip

on the situation, Despenser grew in favor with the King and in influence in the government, so that he came to occupy somewhat the same position in the last phase of the reign of Edward II as Gaveston had occupied in the first.

But Despenser was a man of more ability than Gaveston. Like most medieval magnates, he had few scruples about accepting for himself any honors and wealth he could obtain by his privileged position, but he did reorganize the government and obtain the repeal of the ordinances. The royal household now took substantially the form that it kept until its functions in the government were taken over by offices of state. Many of the improvements suggested by the experience of the lords ordainers were retained, the most spectacular of which was the separation of the privy seal from the wardrobe. The result of this in the end was that this seal came to be a sort of fifth wheel in the governmental machinery, and the honor of keeping it is now a sinecure. In order to carry on the royal business the king found it expedient to make increasing use of another small seal which came to be known as the signet, thus retaining the substance while giving up the form of power.

The success and growing power of the Despensers, father and son, won for them the enmity of other powerful magnates, among them Roger Mortimer, Baron of Wigmore, whom they captured and imprisoned. Mortimer escaped from the Tower, where he was confined, and went to Paris, finding favor there with Edward's queen, who later became his mistress. Isabella, the Queen, had been deprived of some of her family estates through the influence of the Despensers, and she was in her native country seeking help to compel their restitution. Ultimately, in 1326, she and Mortimer were able to invade England with a considerable army from the Continent, and they found sufficient support among the enemies the Despensers had made to enable them to capture the King and to rid themselves of the Chamberlain. They induced Edward to resign the throne in favor of his minor son, Edward III, in whose name Isabella and Mortimer ruled the kingdom until 1330. The deposed King was secretly murdered at their behest after his abdication. Mortimer had himself created Earl of March and showed so manifest a desire to make himself the supreme figure in the kingdom that he soon excited the jealousy of the other magnates. They waited only until the young King was old enough to take the lead, which he did in 1330, at the age of seventeen, after the birth of his son, the future Black Prince. Mortimer was set

upon and done to death, and the King and his barons took over the management of the government.

These factional struggles in the reign of Edward II afford additional evidence of the remarkably stable government machinery that had gradually taken form under the strong rule of the Norman and Angevin kings. This strength was now coming to consist more and more in the professional clerks and other more important officials who devoted their entire time or the bulk of it to the work of the offices of state or of the royal household. These officials were becoming more interested in the work of their offices than in the faction to which they might be responsible for the moment. In consequence, the conduct of the government was much the same regardless of who was at its head. In the days of Edward II especially, it was on the whole good. It is possible that the struggles for control tended in some respects to make the machinery itself more efficient and less wasteful. The routine officials were naturally recruited largely from the burgesses or the knights and lesser barons or from men having the points of view of these classes, and they were thus more inclined to sympathize with the king than with the magnates. Since the court was assuming this character, the representatives of the knights and burgesses in parliament, as they became aware of their power and influence, tended in the long run to be more sympathetic with the king and his household than with the parliamentary barons in their long, though losing, contest in defence of their privileged position.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. chs. viii-ix; Edward Jenks, *Edward Plantagenet*, chs. viii-xiii; John Mackintosh, *Scotland*, ch. v; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, I. chs. iii-iv; A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, chs. ii-iii; J. F. Willard, "The Assessment of Lay Subsidies, 1290-1332," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1917, pp. 283-292.

FOR WIDER READING

J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England During the Middle Ages*, ch. iv; P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, I. Book iii; W. W. Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, chs. i-iii; William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Fifth Edition), I. 261-298; J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II*; N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System*, chs. viii-xiii; L. W. V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers*, chs. iv-v; W. S.

Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, II. ch. iii; Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law*, I. ch. vii; J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, chs. xviii-xxxiii; William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, II. chs. xv-xvi; T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward II*, chs. vii-xiv; *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, II; *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History*; Edward the First; Kenneth H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, chs. i-viii; J. F. Willard, "The Taxes Upon Movables of the Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III," *English Historical Review*, xxviii. 517-521; xxix. 317-321; xxx. 69-74.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the struggles of Edward I with Wales and Scotland, see *Shepherd*, p. 74; *Muir*, ff. 34, 36. The same subjects may be studied on maps of Scotland and Wales in A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. appendix. K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, appendix, contains maps of Wales, southern Scotland, and northern England, which illustrate the same points in greater detail. For the field of the battle of Bannockburn, see Charles Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 572, and A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. 304.

CHAPTER VIII

SHIFTING OF POWER AND THE PEOPLE

THE ENGLISH MAGNATES AND THE FRENCH WARS

During the next century and a quarter following the deposition of Edward II (1327), England had only five kings. The name of none of them is remembered for the initiation of any constructive achievement in the development of the country or of its institutions. The last of them, Henry VI, was almost an imbecile and, for a period, was insane. One of them, Richard II, was deposed by rebellious magnates (1399). The only two whose names are writ in large figures on the pages of history, Edward III and Henry V, are remembered more for imprudent undertakings destined to ultimate failure than for accomplishments permanently worth while. Their adventures were narrated at length by contemporary chroniclers, who delighted to tell of their prowess. They live in song and story as military leaders, but they won battles rather than campaigns, and it is arguable that in the long run England fared better in the failure of their enterprises than she might have had they succeeded.

The intermittent struggle in France, begun by the third Edward (1337) and ended in the reign of the sixth Henry (1453), is popularly known as the Hundred Years' War because a century elapsed between the time when Edward claimed the throne of France on the ground that he was, through his mother, the rightful heir and the final loss of all of the French possessions of the English king save the port of Calais. In these wars English fighting men won such battles as Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) in the fourteenth century and Agincourt (1415) in the fifteenth, battles the fame of which will live in English history as long as war is an adventure in which men take pride. As armies go nowadays, however, not a large number of men were engaged on either side, only a few thousand. The temporary successes of the English in the fifteenth century were due in no small degree to the division of the French magnates into factions, one of which was more partial to the English invaders than to its own king. In the earlier decades of the

wars the English had the additional advantage of the experience they had gained at home fighting against the Welsh and Scots under the leadership of the first Edward. They had come to place less dependence on the efforts of the familiar armed knights of chivalry, who must needs go to war on horseback accompanied by several attendants, than on the archers with their long bows and deadly arrows and on hired mounted men. Against the arrows of the long bowmen, the French knights again and again found themselves helpless and disorganized because of their inability to manage their wounded horses. Indeed the archers won for the English the most famous naval battle of the wars (Sluys, 1340), and that despite the blundering of their commanders who, following ancient tradition, deemed it more important to have the sun in the eyes of their enemy than to have the wind in their own favor.

The part played by the archers in these wars hastened the decline in importance of the aristocratic, feudal warrior and is indicative of the character of the new army that was gradually taking shape. It would of course be a mistake to think of either soldiers or leaders in this army as consciously actuated by feelings of patriotic loyalty to England as their country. These powerful emotions belong to later centuries. By this time, however, the ties of personal relationship and loyalty that bound the earlier vassal to his lord had grown into others that were much less real. The place of knights who served in fulfilment of the conditions of their tenure had, as we know, gradually been taken by mercenaries. During the heroic times of the third Edward and his royal son, the Black Prince, and of the fifth Henry, the chief dependence of the king for troops was on a combination of mercenaries and a feudal army of a sort. Under this arrangement, certain magnates bound themselves to the king to serve him with a force of fixed strength for a stipulated period at a fixed rate of compensation. When the contracts were made within the kingdom, as was done by Edward III, the army was composed of the king's own subjects, but this was not the invariable rule. The army was thus tending to become increasingly professional, and so more expensive, by the same changes that made service in it less honorable in the esteem of the magnates of the land. It needed only the contriving of weapons making possible the use of gunpowder with small arms to complete this process of transforming war from the avocation of knights and gentlemen into the serious, bloody business for common men it was soon to become. As early as 1344 the

English king seems to have had among his artillery stores saltpeter and sulphur for the manufacture of powder, and six "gonners" among his men. But the effective use of these deadly implements waited for a later time; they played but little larger part at the close of these wars than at their beginning.

The henchmen maintained by the more powerful lords to supply the king with the troops that he needed and that they had contracted to furnish naturally served in other ways the interests of their patrons. These hangers-on wore the badge or livery of the magnate they served and were likely to be more loyal to him on whom they depended for sustenance than to the king. When it came to a matter of open dispute between the king and the magnate, the cause of the king usually suffered. The machinery for the administration of justice, built up at so much pains by the strong kings of earlier times, sometimes suffered also. These paid retainers, wearing the livery of their patron, would appear in court to terrorize the officials in order to procure a decision of cases in favor of the lord whose interest they were enlisted to serve. This growing evil, called "liveries and maintenance," began to be pronounced from the period of the wars in France.

The diplomacy of these wars was as futile as the fighting. True the claims to the French throne asserted by Edward III and Henry V were not finally abandoned until George III reluctantly agreed to yield the point to the revolutionary French nation centuries later. But they were always questionable claims in law, and in fact they could have no more validity than could be enforced by the might of the kings who made them. Perhaps Edward III did not hope to obtain more than the ancient domain of Henry II, and a considerable portion of that territory was allotted to him in the Treaty of Britigny, in 1360, after the successful campaigns of the Black Prince. According to the Treaty of Troyes, which Henry V won in 1420, the crown of France was to fall to him at the death of Charles VI, who then reigned. But Henry preceded Charles to the grave by the space of two months, and the war was renewed, with Henry's loyal brother, John, Duke of Bedford, fighting a brave but in the end an unsuccessful battle to hold for his brother's son what the father had gained. Scottish and other foreign troops were enlisted to serve the cause of the French King. Then a new reënforcement demoralized the English and inspired the French at the very time when the English organization was becoming overconfident from habitual success and so was beginning to lose

its efficiency. A French peasant maid, Jeanne, more familiarly known as Joan of Arc, proclaimed her conviction that she had heard divine voices calling her to lead in ridding France of its invaders. In desperation the supporters of the unimpressive claimant to the crown enlisted her support. This evidence that a super-human force was engaged in the conflict did much to inspire the French troops and to dishearten the English. After a period, the Maid was captured and burned to death (1431), having first been tried and condemned as a witch. But the fortune of the French King did not again sink quite so low, nor were the English leaders ever again able to attain quite their former prestige. The French factions united, and by the end of the reign of Henry VI Calais was all of their former greatness on the Continent that remained in possession of the English.

Meanwhile, the English magnates, who were in the main the sponsors of these wars and who supplied the troops for their conduct, were gradually assuming a character quite different from that of the barons of Norman and Angevin times. Edward I, by finding husbands for his daughters among the great men of his kingdom, gave evidence of his understanding that English kings needed to strengthen themselves at home. Edward II, by bestowing on his younger brothers the earldoms of Kent and Norfolk, carried this tradition a step farther. Edward III, with a larger family of legitimate children than fell to the lot of most medieval kings, left a brood of descendants, many of whom followed in the path thus marked out and so brought most of the powerful English nobles into the royal family circle. The resulting rivalries and jealousies promoted anything but peace in the family. Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third Edward's third son, married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and great-grandson of Roger Mortimer, the first Earl of March of Edward II's time and the paramour of that Edward's queen. Their granddaughter, Anne Mortimer, married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, second son of Edward, Duke of York, Edward III's fifth son, and left among the nobles who descended from them both the fourth and fifth Edwards, among the kings, and in addition Elizabeth, wife of the seventh Henry, whose reign was destined to mark the dawn of a new day for the English monarchy. Edward III's fourth son, John of Gaunt, Shakespeare's "fair Lancaster," took for his first wife Blanche of Lancaster and was made duke of that palatinate. He later wed two other legal spouses before the end of his long and varied career, one of them an English woman. As a result

of all these marriages, he left descendants destined to play no mean parts in the notable adventures of their times. The fourth Henry, who, in 1399, deposed John's nephew, the second Richard, was Lancaster's son by his first wife, and the fifth and sixth Henrys were descendants from them in direct line. The Beauforts, John's descendants by his third wife, whose children were deprived by statute of any claim to the crown since they were born before the marriage, supplied some of the ablest lieutenants in the service of their kinsmen and shared in the spoils and in the manipulation of the government of the kingdom, and Beaufort blood flowed in the veins of the Tudors.

As far as there was any political issue involved in the factional struggle that tended to become almost constant as the large landed estates drifted into the hands of these scions of the royal family, it was the same issue that divided the ruling magnates in the latter part of the reign of the second Edward. When the king was capable, he was likely to gather around him as the officers of his household competent and loyal friends who constituted the most powerful group in the government. But the constant wars made more necessary than usual frequent appeals for help and coöperation to the magnates and to the other groups who were accumulating wealth and were therefore represented in parliament. The magnates in particular thus developed jealousy of the trusted lieutenants who had the king's favor, while these lieutenants usually yielded to the temptation to enrich themselves at the royal expense and thus to achieve a permanent position among the privileged magnates. As an illustration of this process, Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere in the reign of Richard II (1377-1399) had careers similar to those of Gaveston and Despenser in the reign of the second Edward. Since the essence of power in the government resided in offices like the chancery, the wardrobe, the household, and the exchequer, which had the responsibility in large part for determining policies and for the conduct of affairs of war and state, control of these offices was naturally the bone of contention among those ambitious for power in the kingdom. As yet there was no workable machinery by which these offices could be made answerable to the wishes of a large group, and so the government was likely to be strong when the king himself had the energy and the ability to take the helm or when he had trusted advisers to take it in his name and weak when the magnates asserted their power and undertook to rule without the king as a directing personality.

After the early successful period in the reign of the third Edward, who, in the latter part of his reign, had the assistance in the military field of his eldest son, the Black Prince, the magnates had control for an interval in which much of the prestige achieved by Edward was lost. Richard II, son of the Black Prince, having been deprived of his ministers, Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere, and obliged to submit for a season to direction from a committee of the magnates called "Lords Appellant," afterward retrieved his position and for almost a decade (1389-1399) was king in fact as well as in name. On the death of his uncle, John of Gaunt, in 1399, he made the serious mistake, one of many he had made in the decade, of withholding from the heir the Lancastrian estates. The result was a rebellion of the magnates, which placed on the throne, in lieu of Richard, the Lancastrian heir, Henry Bolingbroke. Being thus beholden to those whose support had won his crown, Henry IV sat uneasily on his throne. Ultimately he found able lieutenants in his half-brothers, the Beauforts, one of whom, John, was chamberlain from the beginning of the reign. But the second Beaufort, Henry, seems to have had the brains of the family; he became chancellor in 1403, bishop of Winchester the following year, and gradually the dominant personality in the government. It was his work in a large measure that made the way possible for the reign of the fifth Henry, Shakespeare's "Prince Hal," who seems, however, to have as little deserved the evil youthful reputation the chroniclers gave him and the dramatist adopted as he deserves credit for accomplishing anything permanently constructive in the institutional growth of the country over which he reigned so brilliantly. It was his good fortune to have an able brother, John, Duke of Bedford, to whom to leave the management of the affairs of his own son, Henry VI, when he left him a minor with tasks far beyond his limited ability. The dramatist seems to have supplied apt words for the latter well-meaning, ill-fated king, when he represented him as saying as disaster approached:

... What is in the world but grief and woe?
 O God! methinks it were a happy life,
 To be no better than a homely swain;
 To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
 To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,
 Thereby to see the minutes, how they run,
 How many make the hour full complete;

Ah, what a life were this! how sweet! how lovely!
 Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade
 To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,
 Than doth a rich embroidered canopy
 To kings that fear their subjects' treachery!

But the adventures and rivalries of these kings and their royal relatives belong rather to the past or to their immediate times than to the future. The Englishmen whose labors were to signify in the generations to come were more interested in other matters than they were in these dynastic disputes or in vain claims to the French throne. But it was in part the embarrassment of the ruling magnates and of the royal family caused by these imprudent undertakings that afforded opportunity for the ruling class of later generations to climb the first rounds of the ladder to power.

THE RISE OF TRADE

By the fourteenth century the increased ease with which wealth could be accumulated had begun to change the character of English society. In the previous centuries the population had been composed predominantly of farmers and graziers, for the most part organized into manorial groups that were largely self-sufficing. The towns that existed were scarcely more than large-sized villages. The widespread introduction of luxuries and the accompanying increase in the quantity and uses of money facilitated the accumulation of wealth by those who had the ability to possess themselves of the land and to make it produce. The resulting growth of trade, in turn, enabled the merchants who engaged in it to accumulate also.

The Normans, we recall, in the process of their conquest, destroyed some of the beginnings of town life that had appeared under the rule of the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians. As towns began to take on new life under the feudal régime of the new rulers, the townsmen, like most other groups or individuals in that society, held their privileges either of the king himself, if they were on the royal demesne, or of some other lay lord or ecclesiastical foundation. In any case, as a rule, the townsmen soon found themselves struggling with their overlord for certain privileges, which were usually evidenced, when granted, by a charter. The most common of these privileges were: (1) the right to make payment of their obligations to

the king or overlord in a lump sum known as the "farm of the borough," which could then be apportioned and collected by the burgesses themselves; (2) the right to hold a borough court to adjust disputes among the burgesses; (3) the right to elect officials for the government of the borough; (4) the right to bestow freedom on a villain who had resided safely in the borough for the space of a year and a day; (5) the right to have a gild merchant; and (6) other privileges varying from borough to borough and from time to time in the history of the same borough. In some cases these privileges were granted in return for the payment of needed sums to the king or lord in a time of stress; in others they were wrested from reluctant hands by one or another appeal to force. The first Richard found the selling of privileges to his boroughs a fruitful method of filling his coffers preparatory to his Crusade. However obtained, the charter in which these privileges were stated was a treasured document, and the privileges became cherished rights.

The function of a town in the middle ages was to procure, or to contrive and then to supply to the inhabitants of the country the commodities in use that were not produced on the manors themselves. Before the towns had grown to a size sufficient for performing this service effectively, the foreign goods consumed were usually distributed to the several communities over the kingdom by means of fairs. "Foreign" goods, as that term was used then, meant goods brought from another part of England as well as goods brought from without the kingdom. At no time after the beginning of the period in which we have recorded knowledge of the country had its inhabitants been totally without commodities from across the Channel. Charlemagne, in the Anglo-Saxon period, promised protection to English merchants and asked the same for traders from his own realms. The Scandinavian invaders, we know, supplied the people of the island with goods from the outside in still greater volume. And the coming of the Normans naturally meant the development of tastes among the English lords resembling those among the similar class across the Channel.

The earlier fairs seem to have been in part religious festivals, but the gathering of the people facilitated the distribution of commodities brought from afar. Gradually the right to hold a fair came to be regarded as a valuable privilege, granted by the king only to some favored noble, town, or religious foundation. These grantees levied toll on those who came to trade at the fairs and in return supplied the traders with special privi-

leges, including the right to trade and a court for settling their disputes in accordance with their customs. A trader at a fair was of necessity a stranger and was expected to tarry for only a limited period, within which time he had to dispose of his wares. Being a stranger, he had not the right to claim the benefits of the prevailing local machinery for doing justice, and he could not have awaited the end of the process if he had had the right. Courts of *pie powder*, in which a speedier justice was administered, were therefore a part of the machinery of a fair. These courts were so called from the French term, *pie poudre*, meaning literally "dusty foot"—evidence of the manner in which the early merchants traveled—and administered a law that was customary among traders, called the "law merchant." Traders from without England and from other localities within the kingdom frequented these fairs to dispose of goods they brought or to procure those taken there for exchange.

Fairs were temporary methods of organizing foreign trade and were destined gradually to give way to other arrangements, though some of the more famous fairs persisted long after they had ceased to serve their original purpose. In fact, the national, state, and county fairs still held in the United States for the purpose of making display of the commodities produced and the enterprises existing in the community are survivals of these older fairs. The rise of towns and the use of the normal machinery of trade with which we are familiar were more intimately connected with another medieval institution, which likewise has survivals in many American communities; namely, the market. A medieval market was the scene of the local retail trade whither the residents of the vicinity went to sell any surplus of one commodity they had beyond their needs and to purchase others they desired more. Markets for the exchange of local products were still held on stipulated days in the week long after the towns became important as larger commercial centers. The market, like the fair, was regulated by the law merchant, though it was frequently administered by the courts of the boroughs. Markets were naturally held at places convenient to those who came to bring the produce of the locality. The privileges of the market were restricted to the days on which it was held, and persons in the vicinity were not free to dispose of their goods at other times at will.

In order to preserve for themselves a monopoly of the trade within the town, the inhabitants who held the privileges guaranteed in the charters granted in the early middle ages usually

found it expedient to organize themselves into what came to be known as "gilds"; one of the cherished items among the privileges granted to a borough was likely to be the right to have a merchant gild. The members of this gild had a monopoly of the right to trade in the town, though non-members were sometimes permitted by the gild regulations to buy and sell by wholesale, provided they paid toll, sold only to members of the gild, and did not buy certain enumerated commodities such as wool, grain, untanned leather, and the like. The gild had its own organization and its own court to enforce its regulations. But the important men in the merchant gild were likely also to be the important burgesses in the town, so, in many places, the courts were merged, and the town and the gild government tended to be much the same. There was the difference, however, that the burgesses were privileged persons who resided within the limits of the borough, whereas persons who lived outside the limits of the borough might be admitted to the gild provided they assumed the obligations of its members. The merchant gild was likely to be the earliest and the most influential organization in the towns in which it existed, but there were many towns that never had a merchant gild. Not the least important of these was the city, London, itself, which claimed for its citizens even broader privileges than those usually granted to the merchant gilds.

The gild in towns, like the feudal organization in political life, tended to be the typical form of group organization when a body of medieval townsmen desired to pool their influence for a joint endeavor of any sort. Sometimes gilds were instituted to carry on religious or fraternal undertakings, and many gilds that had other reasons for existence were accustomed to take part periodically in some religious activity, a pageant on *Corpus Christi* day for example. But it was in the craft gilds that the organization existed in its most widespread and important form. As the merchant gild secured for its members a monopoly of trade in the town, so the several craft gilds claimed the right to limit the pursuit of the craft in question to members and, acting with the government of the town, to regulate the terms on which other persons might be admitted to the craft.

The craft gilds were thus able to prescribe the character of the vocational training necessary before a townsman could be admitted to follow a trade. In order to qualify for admission, a youth had to be apprenticed to a master in the trade before he had arrived at a certain age and had to serve a definite period,

which varied from five to ten years according to the trade and the local regulations. In most cases the period of service was seven years. In this period of apprenticeship the master undertook to instruct the youth in the mysteries of the trade and to supply him with the customary food and clothing, and sometimes to give him also elementary instruction in reading and writing; the apprentice, for the same period, was bound to labor for the master and under his direction. An apprentice became a journeyman at the end of his period of training and was then eligible either to work for wages for any master who would give him employment or, if he could command capital to furnish his own shop and influence to procure admission to the gild, he could become a master himself. By the fifteenth century each master was usually limited as regards the number of apprentices he could have and the number of journeymen he might employ. By this time the gilds had also come to have numerous other regulations stipulating such matters as just how the work of the trade should be carried on, how the commodities should be offered for sale, and the prices at which they might be sold.

As a matter of course, prosperous masters in the craft gilds, leaders in their crafts, were associated with the merchants in the management of the affairs of the town. The chartered rights of the town were held in trust by this group, and they gave tone and character to urban society. The gilds themselves were always subject to the rulers of the town, but the rulers of the town were apt to be men influential in the several gilds, and so the town government, in addition to its general function of dealing with the central government and fulfilling the obligations of the town to the king, served also as an agency for adjusting the relations of the gilds to each other.

As the gilds became less liberal in admitting additional masters to the number of the privileged group and as the capital necessary for furnishing a shop became larger, the journeymen or day-workers found it expedient to organize a species of gilds of their own in order to be able to make better bargains with the masters. The questions at issue between these two types of gilds, like the differences between employers and employees in a later time, had to do chiefly with wages and hours of labor. There was a natural conflict on these points in the interests of the journeyman gilds and the masters. This conflict between the journeymen and the masters and the emergence of influential individuals among the masters themselves helped, by the fifteenth century, to cause crafts which were similar in function to amal-

gamate into a larger gild. Locksmiths, bladesmiths, and the like, for example, were merged in the gild of smiths; pursers, glovers, saddlers, and white tawyers, in a like manner, in some places merged with the leather-sellers. In the course of time, also, these more powerful gilds changed somewhat in character and function. They became semi-capitalistic, making it their chief business to procure materials for supplying the craftsmen and to dispose of the finished products of the craft.

Under Edward III there arose a special class of trading organizations called "livery companies," of which those in London are the best known. Members of the company wore its badge or "livery," which was originally designed merely as a mark of solidarity in the organization. Later these companies obtained charters, and the liveries in time became badges of honor. The livery company usually obtained a monopoly of the trade in the craft concerned. The result was to make those who worked at the craft as artisans a subordinate class in privilege and dignity to the members of the company. The members of the company were the capitalists of the time and the most influential group in the town. These mercantile companies, which grew out of the craft gilds and which were able to keep the artificers of the craft under their direction, were nevertheless limited in their trade to the commodities of their craft and are to be distinguished from the earlier merchant gild of traders in more miscellaneous wares which were, for the most part, brought into the community from without.

The most important commodities exported from England in the middle ages were wool and tin. No sooner did the king begin to levy imposts on this trade, which we have seen began to be the case in the reign of Edward I, than the need of some organization for carrying it on became imperative. In earlier times the merchants who came from across the Channel to England to purchase the native products had been given privileges in return for which the king levied a toll. The Great Charter contains clauses which are evidence of this arrangement. As the volume of business increased, English traders developed the means and the will to share in the trade. The experience of Edward I in trying to collect duties on wool that was exported caused him and his advisers to decree, before the end of his reign, that henceforth all wool and woollens and messengers of merchants should pass from the kingdom through certain specified ports. In the Ordinance of the Staple, proclaimed in the reign of Edward II (1313), the wool trade was stabilized for the

payment of the duties in a form that was destined to endure for more than a century. Under this arrangement, as perfected by subsequent experience, the merchants engaged in the trade were organized under a charter providing for a mayor and a council and were obliged to export their goods to some fixed place on the Continent to be known as the Staple. A large part of the English wool exported at that time was woven in Flanders and Brabant, so it was natural that towns in these lands should rival each other in bidding for the privilege. The location of the Staple thus became an important item in the diplomacy of the king and so remained until the capture and occupation of Calais gave to the English monarch a Staple under his own government; for two centuries it remained the chief center of English overseas trade. The Merchants of the Staple, because of the large sums they paid in revenue and because of the large loans they were able to make to the king, were persons worthy of much consideration in managing the affairs of the kingdom.

But not all the wool clipped in England was exported in its raw state, even in the period when Ypres and Bruges were supreme in the trade across the Channel. Some wool was woven in England in the twelfth century. As early as 1265 the cloths of Stamford seem to have found a market as far away as Venice, perhaps the fruit of a definite attempt made in the middle of the thirteenth century to encourage the making of cloth at home and to discourage the export of raw wool to Flanders. After a subsequent period of decline, the craft was revived in England in the reign of Edward III by the migration of Flemish weavers, who strengthened the considerable beginnings previously made in the trade. This migration was facilitated both by the interruption of trade with Flanders and thus of the cloth industry in that country, due to Edward's war with France, and by the direct encouragement that Edward's government offered to the immigrants. In the course of time, England was to become a center of the manufacture of wool, as she had long been of its production.

The large scale on which this industry began to be conducted caused the guild of the clothiers to be one of the first of the craft organizations to become capitalistic in character. A variety of processes were involved in making cloth, and the volume of trade in the finished product increased as the merchants were able to stimulate a demand for their wares. Therefore those who performed the actual work of manufacture tended to become little more than employees of the clothiers, in many cases using

machines which were the property of those for whom they worked. The drapers were the customers of the clothiers and actually sold the cloth to those who used it.

But the nobles and the growing class of wealthy landlords and townsmen desired many commodities not produced in England. Merchants came from the Italian cities to bring the luxuries of the East, such as spices and the finer fabrics, taking back English tin, lead, and wool. Others came from countries in northern Europe with salted fish for the periods of fasting prescribed by the Church, taking back in return wool and tin. London was among the first places in which the traders from Lübeck, Hamburg, and other northern towns found it expedient to unite in the organization that later came to be known as the Hanseatic League. And it was to merchants from the Italian cities, as we have seen, that the kings of England first turned for financial assistance after the expulsion from the kingdom of the Jews. By the middle of the thirteenth century the merchants of the Hanse towns had established themselves at the Steelyard in London, and gradually, as a result of financial favors frequently granted, they acquired from the king privileges that gave them a favored position among foreign traders and enabled them to be a power to be reckoned with in the city, until organizations of native merchants in later generations were strong enough to compel the withdrawal of these privileges.

PARLIAMENT DISCOVERS ITS POWERS

This rapid expansion of trade and the resulting influence of the trading classes in society had a profound influence on the character of the English government. The parliaments of Edward I, as of his predecessors and his son, were, as we have discovered, largely judicial and consultative in function. The king and his intimate advisers had established the point that it was within the province of the monarch to summon whomever he might desire to give him counsel. To be sure, the king was likely in practice to summon persons who occupied strategic positions and whose support was essential in carrying forward the business of government. But the point is that, in its formative stages, the English parliament had no members, except the official family of the monarch, that were summoned by personal invitation as a matter of right on account of their rank and station. Not until a much later period, after this part of the

governmental machinery had experienced the changing processes of time, could a peer establish a legal right to be summoned to parliament by proving his lineal descent from an ancestor personally invited to attend a parliament of Edward I.

This power of the king to determine in the discretion of himself and his advisers the membership of parliament made it possible, as the kinsmen of the royal family and their intimates accumulated the larger estates, for him to make them and the ecclesiastical magnates—themselves not infrequently relatives of the same group—the most important members of the body. The lesser land magnates were left to participate with the knights in the shire courts in sending the representatives that, along with the burgesses from the towns, were in time to constitute what came to be called the House of Commons. Perhaps the kinsmen of the royal family were never summoned as much because of the kinship as because, by virtue of that privileged relation, they had made themselves super-land-magnates. In a sense they still resembled the vassals with whom William the Norman divided the fruits of his conquest. But it had no small significance in the future of the body that parliaments of the later Plantagenets were composed in so large a degree of lords who were also related to the king by personal ties.

This decrease in the number of the nobles and household officials whom the king summoned to give him counsel, due to the accumulation of large estates in the hands of the relatives and intimates of the royal family, was accompanied by a gradual but sure increase in the influence of the knights and burgesses in the government of the kingdom. The growth of sheep-raising and of trade with the Continent and the large money income made possible thereby enabled landlords who gave attention to the management of their estates to enjoy luxuries and to accumulate wealth on a scale not hitherto common among the members of their class. This expansion of trade likewise made possible a similar expenditure and accumulation by the merchants. When constant wars made it imperative that the king have larger and larger sums wherewith to pay his troops, he naturally turned to those of his subjects who, next to the magnates in his immediate circle, were best able to supply it. The knights and burgesses thus came to be accepted as a normal element in parliament.

The increased dependence of the king on the knights and burgesses aroused in them a keener zeal for their own interests and a better organization for playing a part in the government. In the earlier parliaments to which they came, their petitions

were usually presented singly and either referred to one of the law courts or else, in the end, not considered at all after the king had procured the vote of supplies for which they had primarily been summoned. By the closing years of the reign of Edward II, however, and increasingly in the reigns of the succeeding kings, the knights and burgesses learned by experience how to unite in making petitions where there was a common grievance that needed remedy or a common cause to be served. Manifestly petitions made in unison by a considerable number of knights and burgesses could not be lightly put aside when the king's government was in pressing need of the revenues the petitioners were expected to grant. The method of initiating action by petition of the knights and burgesses tempted both the king himself and groups of lords to seek advantage in their factional contests by instigating petitions privily. The habit of formulating and presenting common petitions made it essential that the knights and burgesses hold meetings for that purpose, apart from the king and the magnates. Once this common action was agreed upon, some authorized messenger was required to convey word of this action to the king and his counselors. For this purpose at some time in the fourteenth century, we do not know just when, the knights and burgesses, having developed the habit of meeting separately, began to select a speaker, so called because it was his office to speak in parliament for his fellow-members of what we may now begin to call the House of Commons. Later the speaker was to become primarily a presiding officer, and we have adopted the term in the Congress of the United States with that meaning, but in the earlier years of his history it was his duty actually to speak for the knights and burgesses, giving voice to the joint demands on which they had previously agreed.

When the knights and burgesses had perfected their organization so that they could speak through one of their own number in making common petitions to the king, at times making the granting of these petitions conditions of voting the revenues needed for the conduct of the government, it is clear that they were beginning to participate in something that resembled legislation. We should still guard ourselves against thinking of law-making as a primary function of parliament. The king's government still found it next to impossible to enforce laws that were not largely the cumulations of custom, and many of the earlier statutes harked back to by later generations that had come to appreciate their merits were, when passed, rather pious aspirations than recognized rules of conduct. Members of the inner

circle about the king were still usually in a position to determine finally the action to be taken. But the habitual presentation of petitions by the commons who were called on to vote revenue was a wedge that in time was to open a way for them to enter in and finally to take control of the government. For the time being, however, the king held a whip hand.

It is indicative of the growing power of parliament that, before the middle of the fifteenth century, the right to participate in the selection of members of the lower house, from the shires at any rate, was beginning to be esteemed as a privilege to be guarded. The knights, who were still a more influential element than the burgesses, were usually selected in the shire courts under the direction of the sheriffs. Perhaps the growing influence of the commons in the government caused the magnates to try to control the choice of the representatives from the shires by using their retainers on the occasion of the elections, much as they did in overawing the courts of law to the advantage of themselves or of their henchmen. Whatever the reason, inhabitants of the shire who were not among the number of the substantial members of the community, and so would not bear a heavy share of the burden of taxes that might be imposed, began to participate in the elections. To guard against what doubtless seemed to the more prosperous knights a real danger, a statute was enacted in 1429¹ limiting the right to vote in choosing the two representatives from a shire to those knights of the shire having "free tenements to the value of forty shillings by the year," which eliminated a majority of the inhabitants from taking part in the election. The possession of a forty-shilling freehold remained the sole qualification for voters in parliamentary elections in the counties of England and Wales until after the passage of the reform bill of 1832. This standard of eligibility was based on a previous statute, dating from the reign of Edward I, to the effect that nobody with less than forty shillings a year in land could be empaneled on the jury in the shire court. Thus those who were due to attend the court and to bear the burdens of its business were also vested with its duties when the choice of members to go to parliament became a coveted privilege.

LEARNING AND A NATIVE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The gradual rise to a position of power of those classes of the population who were beginning to accumulate wealth is an index

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 121.

to other changes that were in process among the same classes. So completely had the small group of relatives and friends of the royal family been able to dominate the inner circle of the government, and so largely had the lesser descendants of the earlier Norman magnates been merged with the native knights and burgesses who were sharing in the growing wealth of the kingdom, that Edward III found it expedient in 1362, in deference to these thriving groups, to acquiesce in a statute to the effect that the proceedings of the royal courts should be held in the vernacular language—which now for more than a century had been called English—instead of in French, which had previously been the language of the courts as well as of the royal circle. Within the next few years, the speech at the opening of parliament was several times made in English, and in 1381 the Archbishop of Canterbury opened parliament with a sermon in English. The English language of this time was not simply the amplified speech that had emerged in the mingling of the peoples who had preceded the Normans in England. It contained liberal borrowings from the Latin of the Church and even more from the language of those who had conquered and organized the country. The institutional life that had been in the process of development since 1066 required a far richer vocabulary than was ever known or needed in the previous centuries. But the statute of 1362 was rather indicative of a change that was under way than evidence of its accomplishment. Only the arguments before the courts seem actually to have been made in the vernacular; the pleadings were still made in French, while the records were kept in Latin. Not until the new, growing language had assimilated the technical legal terms which had acquired their peculiar significance during three centuries of experimentation, could the fiat of the statute become a reality in fact. Meanwhile, it signifies much that the people of the kingdom, of whom the rulers were increasingly obliged to take account, were learning to speak to each other in the same tongue. The northern and southern parts of the country still had different dialects, which made it difficult for the unlettered from the two ends of the kingdom to understand each other, and the same was true of the eastern and western parts of the southern region. But forces were at work that were to contribute much to remedy these difficulties.

For one thing, in the fourteenth century gild masters in the more prosperous towns were beginning to establish grammar schools for the education of their children. In these and in other grammar schools, after the middle of that century, English was

substituted for French as the medium of instructing those who were to become the educated class of the next generations. Before the end of the century it was no longer correct to assume, as had been the case previously, that all who wished to read would read French or Latin. Higher education was still, of course, largely conducted in Latin, the universal language of the Church, which the universities chiefly existed to serve. Even the universities, however, were beginning to assume a character that identified them with the country as distinguished from the Church, which still transcended the boundaries of political kingdoms. Indicative of this change was the training at Oxford of men such as John Wycliffe, who contributed materially to make English the language of all classes of the people. The polemical works of Wycliffe's later years were, most of them, written in English, and it has been suggested that his writings in Latin bear evidence that he thought in English rather than in the older language. Perhaps the greatest incentive that the work of Wycliffe gave to the rise of the native language resulted from the interest which he and his associates aroused in the study of the Bible. Whether he personally made a translation into English of the Latin vulgate version then used by the clergy is a disputed point, as is the question as to how widespread was the use of the fragmentary translations that had been made previously. The ability to read, at best, was as yet possessed by only a comparatively small part of the population. But it is beyond question that, as the people of Wycliffe's generation and later had their attention directed to the Bible as a source of final authority in religion and as they learned how to read it, they were supplied with a translation by Wycliffe and his followers. It is further true that the use made of these translations caused the churchmen in time to forbid their circulation.

John Wycliffe himself was a product of the university and of the Church, one of a long line of notable scholars that had gone forth from Oxford since the middle of the twelfth century. At that time Henry II, in the course of his controversy with Thomas Becket, ordained that clerks should not cross to and from England to the Continent without permission, decreeing at the same time that all clerks who had revenues in England should be summoned to return within three months "as they loved their revenues." The scholars who migrated to England from Paris at this time seem to have congregated at the town of Oxford, and so began the slow process of building there one of the world's most famous seats of learning. When, in the course of the dis-

pute between John and the Church in the early years of the thirteenth century, the masters and scholars at Oxford were dispersed, some of them settled at Cambridge and later formed the nucleus of the second of the great medieval universities of England. But the great English churchmen of the later middle ages went from a rejuvenated Oxford rather than from the younger sister institution. The Oxford of Wycliffe's time, however, would be almost unintelligible without some knowledge of the religious orders that furnished so many of her distinguished scholars.

We are familiar with the part played in earlier centuries by monks of the various orders in restoring to the Church something of its religious earnestness. As these orders became wealthy, and their officials took their places among the magnates of the kingdom, the members of the orders naturally lost some of their earlier fervor. Similar purposes were served in the thirteenth century by the mendicant friars, of which at least half a dozen orders had representatives in England before the close of that century. The larger and more noteworthy of the new orders were the Dominicans or Black Friars, founded by Saint Dominic, a native of Castile, in the early years of the century to oppose the current Albigensian heresy, and the Franciscans or Grey Friars, founded about the same time by Saint Francis of Assisi with the avowed aim of devoting themselves to a life of poverty and of ministration to the poor in imitation of the life of Christ. These orders found it expedient in the course of time to depart somewhat from their vows of poverty and to acquire as organizations means wherewith the better to carry on their work. They became the missionaries of a more vital religious life and were granted a right to administer the sacraments of the Church. The Dominicans made their appearance at Oxford in 1224; the Franciscans came three years later.

In their early years at Oxford the Franciscans had as their friend and adviser and, for a period, as their official lecturer, a distinguished member of the secular clergy, Robert Grosseteste, chancellor of the university and later bishop of Lincoln. Grosseteste, himself a product of Oxford, was one of the most learned and enlightened churchmen of his time (d. 1253). More than a score of quarto pages are required for a printed list of the titles of his works, which dealt with the whole gamut of the subjects that interested the scholars of his day. The influence of his work was felt by Wycliffe, who ranked him even above Aristotle. A testimonial to the remarkable character of his work was left also

by Roger Bacon, perhaps the most brilliant of the Oxford Franciscans. Bacon was, of course, a schoolman, and his voluminous works deal largely with the topics familiar in the scholastic discussions of the thirteenth century. The memory of his work survives in a more persistent way than that of his fellows chiefly because he manifested dissatisfaction with the prevalent habit of accepting the work of Aristotle as authoritative and urged a search for truth by means of experimentation and observation, particularly in the field of what we now know as the natural sciences. But Bacon's opinions were too unusual for even the liberal Franciscans, and he was sent to Paris and kept in strict seclusion for a decade (1257-1267). Afterward he was released by the intervention of Pope Clement IV, for whom, in gratitude, he wrote within the next year and a half accounts of his labors which constitute some of his more important works. He was too far ahead of his time to rest long in peace, and he was again placed in restraint before he died in the last decade of the century.

No sketch of the Oxford background that produced Wycliffe would be complete if it omitted the names of two other famous Franciscans, the fiery realist, John Duns Scotus, and his nominalist disciple, William of Ockham.¹ Duns Scotus, who acquired the nickname "the Subtil Doctor," did only a small part of his work at Oxford, whence he went to Paris, and thence to Cologne, where he died in 1308. He established a school of philosophy and theology known as the "Scotists" and left works ascribed to his pen that filled twelve quarto volumes when collected and published. His views were extremely orthodox, and the reaction against them that followed is evidenced by the work of Ockham. A part of the importance of Ockham's work arises from the influence he experienced from Marsiglio of Padua, with whom he was contemporary and who was associated with him at Paris. Marsiglio, working with a collaborer, was author of *Defensor Pacis* (*The Defender of the Peace*), one of the most influential treatises of the middle ages and the inspiration for much of the political theorizing of succeeding centuries.

¹ In the age long and many sided medieval debate between the realists and the nominalists, the former upheld the doctrine that general ideas have a substantial reality while the latter, as the term implies (Latin *nomen*), held that these concepts are mere names. There were many varieties of each of these views, one of which was Abelard's mediating doctrine, "conceptualism," which put forth the view that while these ideas are concepts that exist in our minds they also express real qualities in the things themselves.

The papacy had for the time been made tributary to the French king and had its seat at Avignon. Thence, in 1322, John XXII condemned as heresy the tenet of evangelical poverty which had enabled the Franciscans, on the theory that they held their wealth in trust to be administered in the interest of the needy, to wax rich as an order despite their vows. This action of the Pope brought violent denunciation from both Marsiglio and William of Ockham. In the controversy that followed they both became partizans of King Lewis of Bavaria, whom the Pope had excommunicated. In dealing with this action of the Pope, they faced the current notion, widely accepted in their time, that the supremacy of the Pope in the Church made him supreme over the temporal power as well. This doctrine touched the life of the period in some of its most vital and practical aspects, involving, as it did, the ultimate determination of the right to hold property and levy taxes. The question had already been answered by Dante (Cic. 1310) in favor of the temporal power in his *De Monarchia*, wherein he appealed to the scriptures as the authority in the Church to support his opposition to the current views. But Marsiglio dealt with the subject in a much more forthright manner than did the Florentine poet. He placed plenary power; that is, something resembling what was later called sovereignty, in the people or in those to whom it is delegated by them. The Church thus became, in his view, an association of believers, laity and clergy, and the highest authority in it a council of their representatives. He withheld from the Church and accorded to the temporal power jurisdiction over all temporal matters and made it the sole function of the Church to promote faith leading to salvation and future life. The effect of these doctrines, if carried to a logical conclusion, was to make the temporal power supreme and to place the rich ecclesiastical endowments in its mercy, a tempting prospect and one that in the end had no small influence on the action of the English government. Ockham's most pretentious work on the subject was in the form of a lengthy dialogue, which attempted to state all of the arguments on both sides of the controversy, including those of Marsiglio. Ockham's views were by no means so clear as those of the author of *Defensor Pacis*, though both writers were on the same side of the general question.

Ockham was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, when Wycliffe came down from Yorkshire, where he was born and had grown up, and became a scholar, probably of Balliol College. He doubtless heard another famous scholastic of his time, Thomas Brad-

wardine, later archbishop of Canterbury and called "Doctor Profundo" from his studies in theology. Under Bradwardine's guidance the younger scholar had a chance to become acquainted with the predestinarian views of Saint Augustine, the contrast of which with his own natural inclination toward the doctrine of free will left him to wrestle with a problem that has been as puzzling to many since his day as it was to him. Wycliffe, who was soon to become a protégé of John of Gaunt and an adviser of that prince in his controversy with the Church, was thus equipping himself to marshal the arguments of scholasticism in support of a new day for which Englishmen were never afterward to cease to hope.

Meanwhile, another protégé, perhaps later, indeed, a brother-in-law, of the same prince was garnering poetic phantasies from other countries and from past centuries and translating them into a language which he was helping to make more English in the process. There had been other writers of English before Geoffrey Chaucer; a far greater multitude were to come after him. But none has sketched the little foibles that give a sense of reality to pictures of his time with a lighter touch than he displayed in the tales he told of the Canterbury pilgrims. Contemporary with him, John Trevisa was turning into English, with many improvisations of his own, the cyclopedic treatises that must needs be made available if instruction was to be given in that language. More noteworthy, perhaps, was the book of travels accredited in Chaucer's day to one Sir John de Mandeville, knight, and taken seriously, at any rate at a later time, but written to entertain rather than to instruct. Sir John himself was a mythical character, and the writer of the book has not been certainly identified. It seems to have appeared in both French and Latin before it was translated into English. We know certainly that the author was not an Englishman and that he had not visited the places he undertook to describe or, if he had visited them, he did not make intelligent observations. But he did have access to an excellent library of travel, from which he borrowed where he did not invent, and he did produce a book which was turned by some unknown skilful hand into English and which was widely read, no doubt to the delectation of its readers.

More important than Mandeville's travels was the work traditionally attributed to William Langland, the full title of which is *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*. Whoever the author may have been, the work reveals many of the

irritations felt by rural Englishmen of the fourteenth century, many of the hopes they had and the disappointments they met, many of the imperfections and weaknesses of both themselves and their rulers, not neglecting the clergy, and, withal, it undertakes to suggest remedies in certain cases. It seems to have been attuned to the thinking of the average member of a rural community of moderate means, and it reveals him as neither contented with his lot nor a revolutionary.

Not until we reach Chaucer (d. 1400) can we speak whereof we know of the authorship of any considerable body of poetry in English that was the work of a single pen. He illustrates the mood of the more prosperous classes in much the same way as *Piers Plowman* does that of the less well-to-do. It would be difficult to imagine a fitter person than he to catch and immortalize the spirit of those who were climbing into positions of power in England in the fourteenth century. The offspring of a prosperous family of vintners, who acquired the name Chaucer (Shoemaker) on removing from Ipswich to London and settling down to ply their trade in Cordwaner Streete Ward, his father, John Chaucer, enhanced his already considerable wealth by marriage with Agnes de Northwell, an heiress in her own right and a relative of that important official in the time, the keeper of the king's wardrobe. Geoffrey, therefore, had the advantage of a better education than most youths in his day and, when he grew up, became himself a member of the king's household. He went abroad at least seventeen times, usually on missions of state, and visited Italy, Flanders, and France. His earlier literary work was adaptation from French into English, in the course of which he learned much from a study of the French writers. Later he felt the influence of the great Italians, Dante of the previous generation, and Petrarch and Boccaccio, his contemporaries. He learned from them and borrowed liberally, from Boccaccio especially, but, more important, he was stirred to emulation by them. Finally, having the genius and the pains to do it, he took these gleanings and turned them into a cornerstone for the poetic literature of his own people to the delight of the ever widening circle who were learning how to read such works with appreciation.

But any summary statement of the literary productions of the fourteenth century is likely to leave an impression on a generation of readers accustomed to the circulation of books by the million that Chaucer's readers among his contemporaries were much more numerous than was actually the case. We should remember

that whatever books there were were still the laborious work of scribes who wrote tediously by hand. Books in that day were treasures in more senses than one, and the circulation of any single work was limited to a very small number when contrasted with conditions made possible by the development of printing. Chaucer, in his own generation, was a poet of court circles, having the patronage of both John of Gaunt and of his son, Henry IV. It illumines the character of the royal court of the time that its members read with relish the poet's quips at the miscellaneous company of pilgrims. It is also suggestive of the prevailing attitude toward the Church among the influential members of society that Chaucer could treat thus cavalierly a pilgrimage to the shrine of one of the most cherished of English saints, introducing numerous gibes at the ecclesiastical faults of the age.

RUMBLINGS AGAINST THE CHURCH

The fundamental reasons why a trial of strength between the Church and the temporal government of the kingdom could not be postponed much longer were the large estates held by the Church. These estates were increased in extent as a result of the several visitations of the bubonic plague that occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century; fearsome knights, threatened with death, were willing to barter their holdings in this world for a hope of the next. Edward I's Statute of Mortmain had never been effective in accomplishing its purpose, and methods of evading it were easily discovered. These large estates were a source of strength as long as the conditions under which they were held went unchallenged; they became a weakness when claims of exemption for them from a proportionate share in the burdens of defending the kingdom aroused laymen to call in question the advantages accruing from the possession of so great wealth by a single organization.

But there was more to the question of the relations between England and the mother Church than the large endowments of the ecclesiastical foundations. The submission of King John to the Pope obligated the kingdom to pay into the papal treasury annual tribute amounting to a thousand marks. In addition to this stipulated payment, there were three other regular forms of revenue which flowed from England to Rome; namely, voluntary grants, which were collected in a manner that made them scarcely what the term would imply; Peter's Pence, an annual payment

of a penny for each household, remitted since Anglo-Saxon times; and the various fees for bulls, dispensations, promotions to bishoprics, and the like. A second source of friction was the practice never wholly abandoned, multiplied, indeed, since the reign of Edward II, of providing for English benefices; that is, of making a contingent appointment to them in the lifetime of the incumbent, thus thwarting the king or the nobleman who was accustomed to make the nomination to the bishop, chapter, or other electoral body. Finally, the practice still persisted of making appeals from English courts to that of the papal see.

The fourteenth century saw the claims of the Pope challenged on all these points. The removal of the seat of the papacy to Avignon in the early years of the century appeared to make the papal office in time little more than an appanage of the crown of France; a majority of the cardinals were selected from the number of French churchmen. In the long series of struggles between the English and the French kings, the sympathy of the pope was more often than not on the side of the French. When Pope Clement VI, finding his resources exhausted by his vain efforts to satisfy the thousands of clergymen who flocked to Avignon to seek a share of his bounty, began to provide increasing numbers with benefices in England, the laymen among the knights and burgesses in parliament drew up in 1343 a strong petition against the practice, which was transmitted to the Pope by a baron of the exchequer. Sheriffs were instructed to forbid compliance with the papal grants, and the authorities at the ports were ordered to seize all papal bulls. When Clement still refused to listen to reason, an act known as the *Statute of Provisors*¹ was passed in 1351 and repassed in 1390, securing to the lawful patrons their customary rights in nominating or presenting to benefices and rendering forfeit to the crown for the time preferments to which the pope had nominated.

Two years later (1353), in another statute called *Praemunire*,² an effort was made to remedy a grievance against which the knights and burgesses had complained in 1344 and again in 1347. This statute forbade appeals from English courts to a court outside the kingdom in matters that properly belonged to the king's courts and provided that an offender charged with a violation of this prohibition, who should default when summoned to trial, should forfeit his lands and his goods and be outlawed and imprisoned. This statute, like that of Provisors,

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, Nos. 71, 95.

² Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, Nos. 73, 98.

was repeated and amplified in the last decade of the fourteenth century.

It would be surprising had the English, while the papacy was in alliance with the French, continued to remit without question the tribute which John had obligated them to pay. After 1337 the remittance was neglected; in fact, in that generation the payment of Peter's Pence was partially discontinued for a time. When the Pope, in 1366, sought to have the payment revived, neither the King nor his parliament seemed much impressed. When the Pope's claims found one defender, Edward III's young son, John of Gaunt—who had lately married Blanche of Lancaster and who, in the absence in France of his elder brother, the Black Prince, was one of the most influential members of his father's entourage—suggested that Wycliffe write an answer. The learned Oxford doctor, already the most noted among the scholars at this university and one of the King's chaplains, was now almost twice the age of the young Duke of Lancaster. He had been the preacher at the opening of parliament in 1366, a fact which may have suggested him as a proper person to formulate the arguments on the King's side of the controversy with the Pope.

At any rate, the document Wycliffe produced showed that he had learned much from the participation of William of Ockham and Marsiglio of Padua in the debate between the Pope and the Franciscans. He contended that the pope ought to be poor as was Christ and ought to leave earthly tribute to kings. Since the king was supreme overlord in England, he said, it was unreasonable to expect him to pay tribute to another. He even denied that the pope could properly be overlord of the one third of the land in England that was held by the foundations of the Church. Moreover, in requiring John to pay for absolution, the pope had been guilty of simony, and a contract thus conditioned on sin was immoral and should be repudiated. Finally, he insisted, in any case, the king was powerless to make a contract to the damage of the country without its consent. We are not so much interested in the merits of these arguments as we are in the evidence they afford that men of power and influence were in search of and finding reasons of a sort for denying any obligations to the pope outside of the spiritual realm.

This same spirit, four years later, led parliament to petition the King that he thereafter choose laymen instead of clergymen to fill the offices of chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy seal,

baron of the exchequer, and "all other great officers and governors of the kingdom." This was, of course, much further than any king could yet go without a radical departure from time-honored customs and a reorganization of the Church. Too large a proportion of the men with education and ability were still clergymen. For the moment, the petition resulted in the substitution of laymen for clergymen in the offices of chancellor and treasurer.

In 1371 a special tax was levied on lands that had fallen into *mortmain* since the statute of Edward I. With no immediate prospect of help from without, the clergy acquiesced in this and in numerous heavier exactions which the king imposed in order to carry on his wars. When a preacher at Oxford summoned courage to protest the harshness of these demands, Wycliffe replied in a sermon, recounting a story that he alleged he had heard in parliament: "Once on a time the birds were gathered together, and amongst them was the owl, bare of plumage. Making himself out to be half dead and frozen, he shiveringly begged feathers from the other birds. And they, moved to pity, gave him feathers all round, until he had been decked in some ugly guise with the plumes of his fellow bipeds." When the appearance of a hawk caused the assembled birds in a panic to demand the return of their feathers, and the owl refused, "every bird took back his own feather by force." "So," said the preacher, "if war breaks out against us, we ought to take the temporalities from the possessioners as being the common property of the realm, and prudently to defend our country with what is our own wealth." These were bold words and to the point. These views were not widely held in Wycliffe's day, though the taking over of the lands of the Church was more than once agitated by a small group in parliament in the early years of the fifteenth century. For the time, however, the matter went no further than the confiscation of priories held by foreign abbeyes. Not until a century later did the king finally yield to the greater temptation.

The attack on the endowments of the Church led naturally to an examination of the use that was being made of these immense resources. Those who raised the question were manifestly critical of the churchmen and thus inclined to magnify the abuses and to overlook the better qualities of their organizations. The discovery of so much that they regarded as bad led these inquirers to question the merits of the ecclesiastical system in almost all of its phases. Wycliffe and those who followed him

went step by step until, accepting the Scriptures in lieu of the authorities of the Church as their final sources of appeal, they rejected much of the religious machinery and many of the concepts and practices current in their time. When, after the Great Schism, he became an avowed opponent of the papal organization of the Church, Wycliffe began to send out disciples that were called "simple priests" or "poor preachers," equipped with the Bible in English, to preach the doctrines of their master throughout the land. Some of the men thus sent may have been unlettered, but many of them had been trained in the colleges of the university. These traveling preachers, taking their cue from the seventy sent out by Jesus, were to subsist on voluntary contributions, of which they were to accept only enough for their immediate needs, thus avoiding the dangers into which Wycliffe felt that the Franciscans had fallen.

It was neither Wycliffe's opinions concerning the organization and endowment of the Church nor the somewhat communistic views to which his theories on these subjects led him that made trouble for those who accepted with favor the teachings of his disciples and that caused his own body to be exhumed a generation after his death and thrown into the river. Rather it was the somewhat elusive conclusion concerning the Eucharist which he reached when, with his training in scholasticism, he undertook to accept literally the statements in the New Testament. He abandoned the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he maintained to the end the actual presence of the body and blood in the sacramental bread and wine. Perhaps his views were not much different from those later adopted by Martin Luther. At any rate, it was the Wycliffite doctrine as regards this question rather than his views on more practical matters that his followers, later called the Lollards, were made to recant or else go to the flames.

Wycliffe himself was permitted to live out his days in a reasonable degree of peace. The end came in 1384, a generation before the assembling of the Council of Constance that healed the Great Schism and thus restored the Church to a semblance of normalcy. This same council burned at the stake John Huss, who had been inspired by Wycliffe to do in Bohemia a work similar to his own in England. In 1401 the English government, instigated by the Church, which was for the moment in favor, made legal preparation for carrying on a similar work by passing the statute known as *De Haeretico Comburendo*¹ and by

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 106.

sending in the same year one, William Sawtre, to his fate. The next to suffer was a tailor, John Badby, with whom, before the fire was kindled, the Archbishop argued long and with whom the Prince of Wales, soon to become King Henry V, reasoned, urging him in vain to recant while the flames were doing their deadly work. Thus was introduced into a country that had hitherto been, on the whole, free from it the process that has been called "the roasting men to orthodoxy and enlightening them with fire and faggot." Among those who suffered as the work went on was a knight, Sir John Oldcastle, earlier a friend of Henry V, whom Shakespeare later consigned to a curious immortality as Falstaff.¹

The severity that now began to characterize the dealings of the English government with the disciples of a man who had been tolerated and at times honored while he was alive may have been due in part to the vigor that was in some measure restored to the ecclesiastical organization by the healing of the schism and by the restoration of the papal capital to Rome. In part, it was probably due to the growing tendency of the members of the royal family and of the ruling group of magnates to appropriate for themselves the more lucrative and powerful offices of the hierarchy in England. For example, Henry Beaufort, one of the sons of John of Gaunt by his third wife and so half-uncle of Henry V, became bishop of Winchester, a member of the Council of Constance, and later a cardinal. But a deeper and probably a more moving cause of the persecution of the Lollards was a popular ferment that had manifested itself in several ways in the country at large and had threatened temporarily some of the cherished privileges of both clergy and laity. It was easy to attribute to Wycliffe and his disciples blame for this ferment, and thus, in measures taken for its suppression, the magnates and the clergy found a common ground in the abstruse question of the Eucharist. Some of the other questions raised by Wycliffe might have caused division in their own ranks, so it was chiefly for refusal to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation that the Lollards suffered.

¹ In the earlier presentations of the first part of *King Henry IV* the character was called Oldcastle; evidence of this still remains in the second scene of the first act, where the Prince calls Falstaff "my old lad of the Castle." The rising tide of hostility to the Roman Church made it inexpedient to make sport of one whose career was coming to be regarded in a different light. The dramatist betrays his difficulties in the epilogue to the second part of the play, where a character is made to explain concerning Falstaff "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man."

CHANGE AND FERMENT AMONG THE PEOPLE

Forces similar to those that had transformed the army of the king from a feudal to a mercenary basis were operating among the lower ranks of tenants also. In the earlier centuries after the Conquest, before the introduction of money in considerable quantities as a normal medium of exchange, the lords of the land, we know, were dependent for labor to cultivate their demesne holdings on tenants who owed services of various kinds in return for their holdings. The immense increase in the volume of currency that accompanied the growth of towns and of foreign trade made it possible for the relations between a lord and his tenants to be placed on a basis of money economy. This change required several centuries for its consummation, but it was achieved in a considerable measure before the end of the fourteenth century. The change cannot be described in simple terms because it was not a simple process. The first step was the gradual commutation into money payments of the obligations of labor and service owed by villains to the lords of the manors. Since these obligations of labor and service differed among manors and among villains on the same manor, the terms of commutation also varied. In other words, each commutation was an individual matter. The arrangement that was later to become customary and obligatory was made at first between the tenant and his lord, or the lord's bailiff, and not by a general prescription. On the same manor, therefore, there might be some tenants who made money payments and others who fulfilled their obligations in the older ways. This change to a money economy began on a small scale at an early date, but it could not make much headway until money was comparatively plentiful. However, obligations reckoned in money were not always paid in coin; the monetary unit simply served as a standard for measuring the value of the obligation owed. These customary obligations were in time recorded on the rolls of the manorial courts and, later, furnished evidence of the terms on which tenants who came to be called "copyholders" held their land.

As the custom grew of substituting money payments for actual services rendered, the lords of the land had either to employ for wages laborers to take the place of their tenants or else to make other disposition of their demesne land. Sometimes a lord adopted one alternative, sometimes the other. The number of laborers working for wages gradually increased as this process



of commutation went on. But some of the arable demesne lands were leased to free tenants, who held for a term of years. In the earlier stages of this arrangement, the lord might furnish the stock with the land, but, if the tenant was a successful one, he usually in the end preferred to have stock and utensils of his own, thus leaving with the lord simply the title to the land and buildings. Successful tenants were likely to acquire other strips of arable land and to employ laborers to assist them. Thus the lords were becoming landlords, primarily interested in their rents, rather than heads of manors with communities of tenants in various stages of freedom and serfdom over whom they exercised a measure of jurisdiction and control.

It is impossible to fix a date when this process of changing villains from serfdom to freedom was fully accomplished. Well toward the end of the sixteenth century there were still villains in England seeking manumission. Before that time, however, a large majority had either purchased their freedom, or else had found refuge in a privileged town for a year and a day, or had otherwise been manumitted, or had become free without a definite act. But it is essential to bear in mind that this transition to a money economy did not at once involve the breaking up of the village agricultural system. It merely meant that the strips were held on different terms; they still persisted much as they had been laid out in earlier centuries, though forces were already at work destined to change this aspect of rural life also.

Meanwhile, in the fourteenth century, several spectacular occurrences contributed to hasten changes that were under way. In 1348-49 and in a lesser degree at several other times before the end of the century, the people of England were stricken with bubonic plague, known in later days as the Black Death. Social life was disorganized, and a large number of people perished, estimated at from one half to one fourth of the population. Though all classes suffered, the mortality was naturally much greater among those lower in the economic scale. As a result, the lords of many manors found themselves with tenantless strips and crops ready to garner, but with insufficient labor for the harvest. They sought to employ for wages the laborers needed; but the death of so large a proportion of the population made it difficult to obtain them, and wages rapidly increased. Villains and cottars deserted their former places of abode and worked where they were offered greatest remuneration. In consequence, the lords found themselves with land tenantless, while the cost of labor mounted. The mortality in the towns, if any different,

was greater than in the rural districts, thus affording an additional avenue of escape for villains and cottars ambitious to advance themselves economically. Moreover, the death of so large a part of the population left a correspondingly larger amount of money per capita among those who survived, and prices went up accordingly.

The brunt of these changes fell most heavily on those represented in parliament and in control of the government, and they began to take what seemed to them effective steps to remedy the conditions. An Ordinance of Laborers, issued in July, 1349, became the first *Statute of Laborers*¹ in February, 1351. This statute undertook to compel able-bodied men and women below the age of sixty to work at the wages prevalent in their several occupations before the plague, the lords of a manor to have preference over other employers in the case of his villains and other tenants. The prices to be paid to purveyors of food and to handicraftsmen for their wares were to be reasonable. Special justices were appointed, and a serious effort was made to enforce these regulations, and not wholly without effect, but they failed in the end to accomplish the purpose desired. It was natural that this experiment should be tried, since it was a common procedure in the middle ages to fix prices by law, particularly of bread and ale. The law failed to accomplish its purpose on this occasion, because both the lord who wanted laborers and the laborer who wanted a high wage conspired to evade it. The result was a period of disorganization that hastened the processes already operating to place agriculture on a basis of money economy. Money was more plentiful for paying wages, and villains were less fearful of deserting their holdings, since they were for the time reasonably certain of lucrative employment. As normal conditions returned, other villain tenants were found for some of these vacated holdings; in some cases, the former tenants themselves returned, but the dislocation that resulted from the pestilence was never wholly restored. More important still, a large number of the humbler classes had learned by experience that it was possible to survive and even to thrive elsewhere than on their hereditary fiefs.

The enfranchisement of the agricultural laborers and lesser tenants resulting from the plague and from the slower processes already indicated and the consequent gradual improvement in their economic status and in that of the lower orders of townsmen tended to make these elements in the population less docile than

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, Nos. 69, 70.

they had been formerly. At the very time when these groups were becoming increasingly sensible of their importance, toward the end of the reign of Edward III, memories of the earlier victories of that King and his son began to fade. In 1369 the French burnt Portsmouth and later devastated the coast of Cornwall; several years later the English suffered a serious defeat at sea (1372). At the same time, the schism in the Church, following the period when the English were generally hostile to its government on account of the residence of the popes at Avignon, did much to stimulate a generally critical attitude toward that institution. The Scots were pillaging the northern counties, and matters in general combined to make the prospect in England gloomy. The death in 1376 of the heir-apparent, the Black Prince, deprived the government of an heroic figure to whose standard the people of substance might have rallied. The son of the Black Prince was an infant, and the Prince's brother, John of Gaunt, became for a period the most important member of the royal family. His earlier ventures on the Continent were unfruitful, but, when the Scots began their attacks, he undertook personally the command in the northern marches to suppress the rebellion, a venture which hindered his plan of renewing the campaign in France. But his path was far from smooth; after the death of the old King, he was suspected of having designs on the throne of his young nephew. All this happened at a time when the perennial wars made higher taxation inevitable and when the ill success of the campaigns enhanced the natural discontent that resulted.

When parliament met in 1381 and faced the necessity of raising larger sums of money than the substantial classes there represented felt themselves able or inclined to afford, the ultimate decision was to ask the clergy for one third of the sum desired and to raise the remainder by means of a poll tax apportioned among the several counties and imposed more or less according to the ability of individuals to pay. This expedient had been tried twice in the previous decade with a measure of success, but this time the burdens on the artisans and laborers were to be made heavier, frankly on the assumption that much of the wealth of the kingdom was now coming into their hands. The government had largely failed to prevent by statute these classes from imitating as far as they had means the habits of those above them in the social scale, and it was now proposed that they assume a larger share of the financial burdens of the government. But the rate, which was based on the number of persons above the

age of fifteen, was fixed so high that many, especially the poorer people, gave false returns of their households, listing fewer members than there actually were. The aggregate yield on the basis of the return was, therefore, far short of the sum needed. In order to correct the returns, commissioners were sent to make inquiry and to impose proper penalties on those who had tried to evade the law, probably causing the impression that a new tax was to be levied.

Both these commissioners and the justices who were trying to enforce the Statute of Laborers were representatives of the king's government with whom the average man came in contact in a way that could not but be disagreeable and productive of friction. This irritation made the people of the countryside receptive to any species of agitator of discontent who chanced to make his appearance. Notable among those whose names have survived is John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," who had already been preaching for more than a decade from a text provocative of unrest among those who are disaffected in all ages:

When Adam dalfe and Eve span,
Who was thanne a gentil man.

Wycliffe had just begun to send forth his preachers, and it is not unlikely that the learned Oxford doctor's opinions were quoted in behalf of projects he would scarcely have promoted himself, as was the case with Martin Luther more than a century later. At any rate, a part of the agitation was directed against what seemed to be abuses in the ecclesiastical organization; complaints against ecclesiastical lords by their tenants were especially frequent, and appeals were made to the Scriptures. Some of the agitation was addressed directly to tenants who were still unfree, who were urged to make an immediate bid for freedom. One leader rode up and down Cambridgeshire urging this class to refuse the customary services to their lords. The discontent existed in the towns as well as in rural districts, particularly in towns holding charters of ecclesiastical foundations. Probably the *Vision of Piers Plowman* supplied apt expressions to agitators; it was replete with statements that were ready made for the purpose. But it would be a mistake to assume much organization of this discontent or too great a degree of homogeneity in the agitation. In each case, the object of immediate attack was likely to be a person or practice that had somehow acquired a bad reputation in that locality or among that group.

When the revolt came, in the late spring of 1381, and many

EXTENSION
OF THE
PEASANTS' INSURRECTION
OF
1381



men from Essex and Kent, counties in which the agricultural population was already largely free, marched on London, the persons on whom the mob were openly seeking revenge were John of Gaunt, who was held to be generally responsible for the burdens resented; Robert de Hales, the treasurer, on whom had fallen the duty of collecting the poll tax, and Simon Sudbury, who, as chancellor, had general supervision of the enforcement of the Statute of Laborers and who, several years before and again for a second time just before the outbreak of the revolt, had caused John Ball to be imprisoned for his criticisms of the Church. Both Hales and Sudbury were beheaded while London was in the hands of the rebels, and John of Gaunt's palace was sacked; the absence of that prince on the Scottish border probably saved his life.

The poll tax thus served as a match to set off tinder that had been accumulating for a generation. As the rebellion spread to other counties or originated in them spontaneously, the rebels, as is the manner of mobs, usually found in the person of a commissioner to investigate the tax or a justice who had tried to enforce the Statute of Laborers individual scapegoats on whom to wreak vengeance. In London, for example, part of the hostility of the local mob was directed against the Flemish weavers brought over by Edward III, on the ground that they were unfair rivals of the native artizans. Where a local official of a monastery or church was in bad repute among his tenants or among the people in the vicinity, the property of the institution was likely to suffer. Such general demands as were formulated asked freedom from serfdom, which may be interpreted to mean freedom from taxation as well. The youthful King was not held responsible for the bad reputation of his officials, if the report of the chronicler, Froissart, is at all trustworthy; John Ball made that point clear in his speeches: "What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in serfdom? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve; whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we, saving by that they cause us to win and labor for what they dispend? They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vested with poor cloth; they have their wines, spices, and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff and drink water; they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, wind and rain in the fields; and by what cometh of our labors they keep and maintain their estates; we be called their bondmen, and without we do readily them service,

we be beaten; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us and do us right. Let us go to the king,—he is young,—and show him what serfage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us with some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise.” “Thus,” the chronicler reports, “John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said the truth; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.”

One of the first acts of the rebels was to liberate John Ball from the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison. Soon after the mob got under way on its march from the neighboring counties to London, a leader appeared in the person of Wat Tyler, who displayed some capacity for command and introduced a measure of discipline in the company. London fell into panic as the rebels approached, and they were able to burn the prisons, symbols of the efforts of the courts to enforce the measures they resented. The aldermen of the city were as inadequate as the members of the royal government who were on the scene. After a short delay, the drawbridge in London Bridge was lowered and the gates opened, and the invaders poured into the city, where they were joined by thousands of apprentices, artisans, and members of down-and-out classes. These reinforcements participated in the plunder of John of Gaunt's house and of the Temple, the headquarters of the lawyers, a profession naturally disliked for its share in enforcing the hated laws. Only the young King, not yet fourteen years old, seemed capable of heroic behavior. At the suggestion of his advisers, he went to meet the rebels in person. He consented that serfdom be abolished and villains become free tenants and that restraints on buying and selling be swept away. A general amnesty was to be granted to those who had taken part in the rebellion. Only in the matter of punishing those on whom the mob desired to take vengeance did the King temporize; it was then that Sudbury and Hales were hunted down and killed.

Furnished with charters granting their general demands, many of the more substantial of the rebels dispersed to their homes, relying on the promises of the King. A mob composed largely of fanatics and criminals was thus left to murder and pillage. When Richard braved another meeting to hear further demands from Tyler and his associates, an altercation arose, in

which it is not easy to apportion the blame, wherein Tyler was slain by members of the King's company. The King again saved the situation by assuming for the moment leadership of the rebels and then disbanding them. The death of their captain left them without direction, while the authorities, both in the city and in the royal company, recovered their courage and took charge. The promises made by the King were not kept in the end, on the ground that parliament had not acquiesced in them. After London was quieted, the rebellion in other localities was suppressed without much trouble and in some cases with the use of severe measures.

The chief practical effect of the revolt in the long run probably was to teach the lords a measure of caution in dealing with their tenants and laborers. More immediately apparent was its tendency to unite the dominant groups in Church and state in a general distrust of change. Wycliffe, who had now reached the point where he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, no longer found a patron in John of Gaunt. He still had friends at Oxford, and his disciples were engaged in preaching his doctrines throughout the country, but a new archbishop of Canterbury was able to procure his condemnation as a heretic and to oblige him to leave the university. He did not despair and spent the few years he still had to live writing treatises to enforce the views at which he had arrived in his criticisms of the Church as it was then organized, sowing seeds that probably produced a considerable part of the harvest of later centuries. Meantime, as we have seen, the magnates who had assumed the responsibility of managing the Church were seeking to purge it by fire of all signs of a desire for doctrinal change and experiment.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

E. P. Cheyney, *The Industrial and Social History of England*, chs. ii-v; W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, chs. v-vii; R. H. Gretton, *The English Middle Class*, chs. ii-iv; F. G. C. Hearnshaw, *Social and Political Ideas of some Great Medieval Thinkers*, chs. iii, vii-viii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. chs. x-xiii; *England's Industrial Development*, chs. v-viii; G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, ch. i; E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, I. chs. iii-ix; A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, chs. iv-vi; R. L. Poole, *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, chs. i-xi; Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II. ch. xii; T. F. Tout, *England and France in the Middle Ages and Now*, ch. iv; A. P. Usher, *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England*, chs. v-vii.

FOR WIDER READING

J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council*, chs. vi-ix; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I. chs. x, xix-xx; II. chs. i-iii, vi-vii; W. W. Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*; M. E. Christie, *Henry VI*; G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer's England*; Edmund Dale, *National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature*, ch. v; W. A. Dunning, *The History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, chs. ix-x; J. W. Fortescue, *The History of the British Army*, I. chs. ii-v; F. A. Gasquet, *The Black Death*; Dorothy Hughes, *A Study of Social and Constitutional Tendencies in the Early Years of Edward III*; J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*; A. E. Leavitt, *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester*; James Mackinnon, *The History of Edward III*; H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *The History of the University of Oxford*, chs. i-xii; R. B. Mowat, *Henry V*; Charles Oman, *The History of England from the Accession of Richard II to the Death of Richard III*, chs. i-xiv; *The Great Revolt of 1381*; *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, Books VII-VIII; J. H. Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, 2 Vols.; L. D. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*; W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*; T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry II to the Death of Edward III*, chs. xv-xix; G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*; George Unwin (Ed.), *Finance and Trade Under Edward III*; K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, chs. ix-xxii; *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*; James H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 2 Vols.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The territorial adjustments made in France in the course of the Hundred Years' War may be traced on maps in *Muir*, f. 31; *Shepherd*, pp. 76, 81, 84; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. appendix; K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, appendix. For the battles of Crécy and Agincourt, see A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, I. 334, 415; for Crécy and Poitiers, see Charles Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 600. A map in *Shepherd*, p. 76, shows the location of the wool-growing districts of England and the manufacturing towns of Flanders. In studying the Peasants' Revolt, consult maps in *Shepherd*, pp. 74, 75; *Muir*, f. 34. Appended to Charles Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, are two maps: one of the region where the revolt took place, the other of the city of London at that time.

CHAPTER IX

MAKING WAY FOR NEW RULERS

THE SUICIDE OF THE MAGNATES

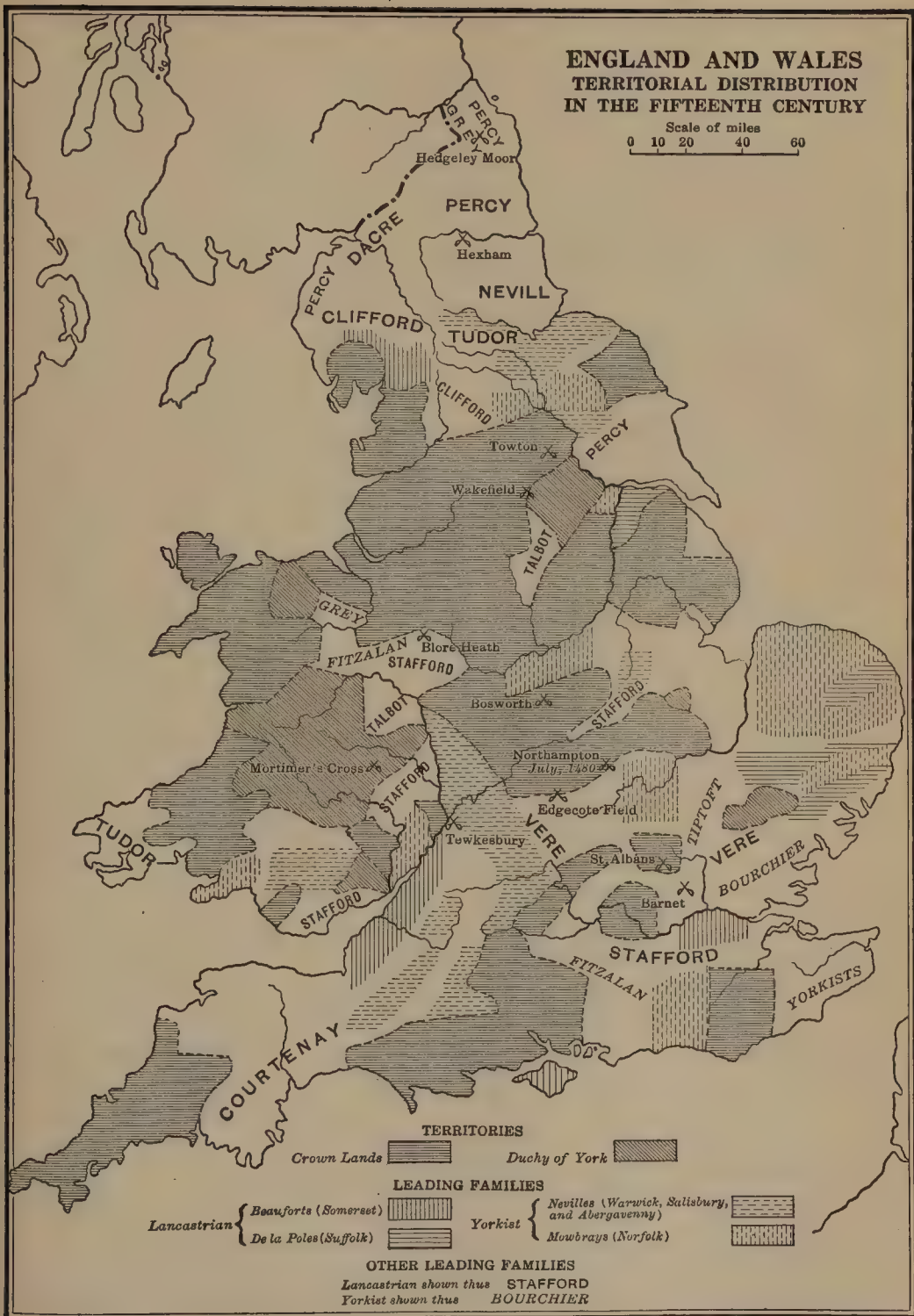
Before the end of the reign of Henry VI the magnates in control of the English government had divided into factions and were in the process of doing themselves to death in what has been described as a "sort of glorified tournament with the crown and revenues of England for a prize." In the course of this factional strife, the participants contributed little that promoted the growth of institutional life in England except in as far as they facilitated the ultimate removal from positions of power in the kingdom of themselves and their kind. The war was fought in a large measure by the magnates personally, assisted by their liveried retainers, and the people who were doing the work that was to count in the England of the future manifested little interest in it. The burgesses in the towns usually opened their gates to any company who came in force and sought to escape with the payment of as little tribute as might be without taking definite sides in the controversy. A detailed narrative of the struggle affords materials more suitable for the needs of the dramatist or romancer than for the serious historian. Constitutional principles and general political issues found expression, sometimes by the supporters of one faction and sometimes by those of another, but the only question really at issue was which faction could obtain the support of a group sufficiently strong to enable it to dominate the government.

In the first round of the struggle, one side was led by Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, and the other by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury and heir by inheritance and marriage of estates that made him the most powerful subject in the kingdom. Warwick was, in his own person, a descendant of John of Gaunt, whose daughter, Joan, by his third wife, was the second spouse of that prolific ancestor of noblemen, Ralph Neville, Richard's grandfather. Ralph begat nine children by his first wife; his second easily outdid that record and bore him

fourteen. Most of the children survived their father and were profitably married. Thus the Neville connection, as long as it acted together, constituted a group that wielded a powerful influence among the lords of parliament. In a contest over the regency in one of the periods of the incapacity of Henry VI and in an effort to oust the King's relative and minister, the Duke of Somerset, Warwick supported the rival claims of Richard of York, a paternal grandson of Edmund, fifth son of Edward III, and a maternal great-great-grandson of Lionel, Edward's third son. The Duke of York took for wife Cicely Neville, one of the daughters of Joan and Ralph, and thus became by marriage uncle to Warwick. The Duke had served as protector in an earlier period of the King's incapacity, when he had adopted measures which Henry repudiated on his recovery. In these measures the Duke had had the support of Warwick, but when the uncle claimed the throne itself (1460) before the death of Henry, the nephew withdrew his support, and York consoled himself for the time with a promise of the succession on the demise of the King. The temporary success of Margaret and her faction and the death in battle of the Duke of York made this promise of little effect and placed the Duke's son, Edward, next in line on the Yorkist side of the dispute. When, in 1461, Warwick and Edward succeeded in driving Henry and his indomitable queen into Scotland, Edward took the crown as Edward IV. Little satisfied with the shadow of power that he possessed under Warwick's domination, Edward began, by the familiar method of marriage, to take steps to build up support on his own account. While his powerful kinsman was engaged in negotiating a marriage for him with a French princess, the King privily took for wife a native English widow, Elizabeth Woodville (1464), thereby making Warwick the laughing stock of the Continent. Profiting by the experience of the Nevilles, Edward next proceeded to find substantial spouses for the Queen's numerous family. She had five brothers and seven sisters, besides two sons by her former marriage, a respectable nucleus on which to build a rival family to the Nevilles, since Edward might reasonably hope to win the support of some of the relatives of his mother. He performed with expedition and success the task of negotiating the necessary marriages. Among the rest, and illustrative of the spirit of the whole undertaking, to use the words of a contemporary chronicler, "Catherine, Duchess of Norfolk, a skittish damsel of some eighty summers, was wedded to John Wydevile (Woodville), brother of the Queen, a man of twenty, a

ENGLAND AND WALES TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Scale of miles
0 10 20 40 60



devilish marriage." The Woodville faction, like the Nevilles, thus became a power to be reckoned with among the magnates. The natural result was a growing spirit of hostility between the King and his most powerful subject.

To trace further the intrigues and marriages, the alliances and counter alliances of these rival magnates would serve little purpose. In 1470 Warwick and his son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's brother, were obliged to seek the protection of the French King. That crafty monarch conceived the scheme of uniting Warwick and Margaret of Anjou in an effort to serve the cause of Henry VI. It was a weird project, involving the marriage of Margaret's son, whose legitimacy Warwick had called in question, to the Earl's daughter, Anne. Margaret in her time had caused Warwick's father to be beheaded and had been responsible for the death of his uncle and his cousin. Nevertheless, the betrothal took place, and Warwick planned and carried through a campaign that restored Henry to the throne (October 5, 1470) and made his own most recent son-in-law heir-apparent. This arrangement did not favor the prospects of his other daughter's husband, who now began to make plans to desert to his brother, the deposed King. These plans were consummated when Edward, who had fled the country, reappeared in England (March, 1471) and gradually collected a body of supporters. Perhaps a majority of the magnates could have been rallied to Warwick's side had time permitted, but partly by superior generalship and partly because of the immediate treachery of some of Warwick's supporters, Edward was able to force the fighting at Barnet (April 14, 1471) and left the great Earl and the flower of his followers on the field. He then gave battle at Tewkesbury (May 4, 1471) to Margaret's supporters, who did not arrive from France in time to be of assistance to Warwick, and was equally successful, Margaret's son being among the slain. When Edward reached London, Henry VI himself was done to death (May, 1471), thus eliminating the plausible claimants of the crown among the descendants of Lancaster.

Edward was now firmly on the throne. To enhance his security, he caused the marriage of his second brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to Anne Neville, daughter of Warwick and widow of Margaret of Anjou's son. He next proceeded to apportion the dead father's estate to the husbands of the daughters, though at the cost of a feud between them, since each laid claim to a disproportionate share. Gifts extorted from

others who had taken Warwick's side gave parliament a period of respite in finding revenues, though later the King made the prospect of a war with France an excuse for demanding grants. In 1475 he finally took an army to the Continent, but found that his brother-in-law and ally, the Duke of Burgundy, was absent on a campaign in Germany. The Duke returned to find Edward in a negotiation with the French King, whereby Louis made him a money payment down and promised other sums annually with a further agreement that the heir-apparent to the French throne should take for wife Elizabeth, Edward's eldest daughter, a marriage destined not to be consummated. In 1478 Edward found it expedient to procure from parliament a bill of attainder against his brother, the Duke of Clarence, partly no doubt as a measure of safety for the heritage of his own two young sons. From this time until 1483, the date of the King's death, the man of greatest influence among his councillors was his brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester and husband of Anne Neville. On Richard, therefore, rested the duty of caring for his deceased brother's two sons and five surviving daughters, a task that he performed in a manner characteristic of the time.

The twelve-year-old King was at Ludlow with his mother's relatives when his father died. It was at once apparent that there were still two factions among the magnates, one accepting the leadership of the Duke of Gloucester and the other composed of the family groups of Edward's queen with their retainers. While the King, accompanied by a contingent of his mother's party and in conformity with an agreement made by his mother and the council, was *en route* to London to be crowned, Gloucester appeared and took forcible possession of the youth, ordering at the same time the arrest of the leaders of his retinue. He then caused a parliament to be summoned and announced that the King would be crowned. Instead of proceeding with the coronation, however, he sent the youth to the Tower and summoned to the capital his own retainers from the broad estates of his wife. In fright, the young King's mother took refuge in Westminster Abbey with her second son and her daughters. But Gloucester proceeded, by trumped up accusations, to get rid of those members of his late brother's attendants who were most likely to offer effective interference with his project. That done, he appeared before such of the magnates as had assembled and attacked the validity of his dead brother's marriage and the legitimacy of his children, putting himself forward as rightful heir to the crown. The magnates acquiesced in the arrangement,

and Gloucester was crowned king as Richard III on July 6, 1483.

Having rid himself of the influential leaders of the former Queen's party, Richard next caused the death of his two youthful nephews; the younger son had been taken from his mother and imprisoned with his brother. This last crime seems to have been a political blunder in that it contributed to stir distrust of the future in some of Richard's more powerful confederates. The suppression of a rebellion led by his relative, the Duke of Buckingham, his most powerful supporter in his earlier measures, was Richard's first and only success as king. After this episode, if we are to believe a biographer, though by no means a sympathetic one, who lived in the next generation,¹ "he was never quiet in his mind, never thought himself secure. When he went abroad his eyes whirled about; his body was privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest at night; lay long waking and musing; sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and strong remembrance of his most abominable deeds."

The successful rebellion, which came in 1485, was led by Henry, Earl of Richmond, as near a lineal heir as survived of John of Gaunt's line. He had assistance from members of the Woodville faction among the supporters of Edward IV and from the French King, as well as from relatives and retainers of magnates who had suffered from Richard's actions. This widespread discontent had been emphasized by the current suspicion that Richard planned to marry his own niece, Elizabeth, his brother's eldest daughter. The death of his own little son and of his invalid wife had left him without an heir. When Richmond landed on the coast of Wales and began his successful march to the throne, the surviving remnant of the English magnates gradually began to manifest the sympathy they felt with his cause. The issue was decided on the field of Bosworth in the late summer of 1485, when Richard was slain and Richmond became king as Henry VII.

As far as hereditary right was concerned, the new King's claim to the crown could scarcely have been weaker. His descent from John of Gaunt was on the side of his mother and was from that prince's third marriage, the issue of which, when made legitimate by statute, was specifically barred from the throne.

¹ Sir Thomas More.

On his father's side his kinship with royalty went back to the wife of Henry V, who, after the death of her heroic husband, found consolation with a former clerk of the wardrobe, a Welsh squire, Owen Tudor, to whom she had borne three sons before the news of her marriage reached the court of her royal son by her first husband. One of these sons took for wife Margaret Beaufort, who became the mother of the seventh Henry.

The immediate task of the new King was to establish himself securely on the throne. His first step toward this accomplishment was to summon parliament and obtain the passage of an act providing that the "inheritance of the crowns of England and France be, rest, remain, and abide in the person of our now sovereign Lord, King Henry the Seventh, and the heirs of his body." This statement was confirmed by a further enactment, that Henry had been king before the battle of Bosworth, thus repudiating any claim based on conquest and rendering attaint those who had participated in that battle against him. Henry further strengthened his hold on power by marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, whose matrimonial bark thus came to a safe harbor after a threatening voyage of stormy betrothals.

The rest of the King's task was made easier by the methods that now for the space of two generations had been used in the factional wars. Both Warwick and Edward IV had been accustomed to give orders that in their battles the nobles be slain and men of less degree spared, orders which, from the lists of the slain, must have been executed with a will. These militant lords still fought weighed down by medieval armor, while the commoners, more lightly accoutered, were able to escape with greater facility when their cause met disaster. The custom, adopted by all factions when in power, of attainting and executing the leading spirits among the defeated contenders, made way with many who had the good luck to survive the fighting in the field. Thus the land magnates were largely disorganized and leaderless when Henry VII came on the scene. His marriage and diplomacy consolidated under his own direction most of those who remained. By procuring before his death the execution of the few rival claimants to the crown who survived, he left his own son in undisputed possession. By seeking spouses for the members of his own household among foreign princes rather than at home, he avoided the difficulty of raising up again the powerful family factions from which his immediate predecessors had suffered, though he did it, as we shall soon see,

at the expense of inviting dynastic difficulties of another kind. The right of the few magnates that remained to keep retainers in livery was severely restricted by statute; as far as the King had need of troops, he endeavored to provide them by other methods.

Henry further limited the power of the surviving magnates by refraining from calling them into positions of trust in the government, preferring rather to have the assistance of lawyers and clergymen of more humble birth, using his prerogative to elevate them in dignity as it seemed expedient. He began the task of remedying the prevalent abuses in the matter of doing justice both by limiting the practice of maintenance and by making his council, organized as a court later to be known as Star Chamber, responsible in some of the more difficult cases. In all of these measures, he sought the coöperation of his substantial subjects who were represented in parliament. One of the secrets of his strength and of the strength of the house which he established was a capacity for understanding the interests of this more numerous group who, now that the power of the great landed magnates had disintegrated, were demanding an increasing share in the management of the affairs of the kingdom. The problems with which Henry had to deal in his intercourse with foreign rulers were in no small measure the problems of this new powerful class and not matters of purely dynastic ambition, as had so largely been the case in the past. With all of these questions, Henry dealt in a way almost to merit the eulogy of the bishop¹ who preached on the occasion of his funeral:

His politic wisdom in governance was singular; his wit always quick and ready; his reason pithy and substantial; his memory fresh and holding; his experience notable; his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation; his speech gracious in diverse languages; his person goodly and amiable, his natural complexion of the purest mixture; his issue fair and in good number . . . his dealing in times of perils and dangers was cold and sober with great hardness.

THE COMMERCIAL SPIRIT AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

In no aspect of English life in the fifteenth century was the growing influence of the trading classes in the government more manifest than in the relations of England with the Continent. Hitherto English kings strong enough to participate in Continental affairs were either in possession of Continental territory

¹ John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

which they were striving to keep for their dynasties, or coveted territory, or else desired aid in procuring territory. Gradually now the ambition of English kings to acquire Continental territory was to give place to the ambition of English traders to have access to European markets and sources of supply. In order to appreciate the difficulties that beset this new policy, it is necessary that we bear in mind the conditions on the Continent when the promotion of trade began to be a dominant purpose of the English government.

Western European countries had never wholly lost contact with Asia and northern Africa. Relations with the Byzantine empire continued for centuries after it was separated from the West, when the latter region was overrun in the barbarian invasions. In the West, the papal organization of the Church carried on the Roman imperial tradition to a greater extent than did the shadowy empire of Charlemagne and his successors. At Constantinople, on the other hand, the imperial organization survived, though it had been shaped by Greek traditions and by contact with the Orient. Through Constantinople the western peoples maintained one channel of communication with the Orient even after the Mohammedans had overrun a large part of western Asia and northern Africa. We recall that hardy men from Scandinavian regions found their way to that imperial city both by water and overland. From the emperor at Constantinople, too, came the first calls for help that inspired western churchmen to agitate a crusade for the relief of the Holy Land. But the strongest link in the chain that bound the West to the East was the dependence of the western Europeans on the Asiatics for the supply of certain luxuries which could not be produced in the West, of which pepper and other spices were the most highly esteemed.

Largely by virtue of their geographical location, the cities of the northern and central regions of the Italian peninsula became the centers through which these commodities were brought from Asia and distributed to the peoples to the north and west. The growth of this trade and the travel to Rome caused by the location of the capital of the Church in that city early made the Italian cities centers of wealth surpassing that of those elsewhere in Europe. Their citizens became the bankers of the princes and great ones in other countries, as we have seen was the case in England after the expulsion of the Jews. The more important of these cities were Venice on the east and Genoa on the west, with Milan to the north in the interior and

Florence to the south on the River Arno. Besides sending their representatives throughout the known world in search of lucrative trade, these cities extended their power in each case to include the territory in their several environs. The city states thus constituted took the place of a dynastic house, which their strength and jealousy of each other and the location of Rome on the peninsula made it almost impossible for the land magnates of Italy to establish in the same way as did those of England and France. In consequence, the influence of those who had accumulated wealth by trade was felt in these cities earlier than elsewhere in western Europe.

It is as difficult as it is dangerous to reduce to a brief statement the spirit that inspires trade and animates traders and the resulting influences in society that this spirit tends to bring in its train. Particular cases always have many aspects that may be disregarded in an attempt at a generalization. It is well to bear in mind that a trader was a human being with passions more or less like the rest of his species, no matter how whole-hearted his devotion to commerce. But so much of what had already taken place in the Italian peninsula and was now shaping in an increasing degree the course of events outside of Italy was the result of the commercial spirit, that our efforts to understand the history of England in the future is beset with difficulties unless we try to apprehend that force, soon the prevailing motive among an influential part of its people.

All of us have some appreciation of the methods of the retail shopkeepers we patronize. They procure the goods with which to supply our wants in order to make a profit for themselves by the transaction. They desire this profit as a means of gratifying their own wants that can be satisfied by material goods. In their normal ambition to increase their returns from their activities their problem is twofold. They may contrive to procure the commodities of trade at a cheaper original cost to themselves, and so enlarge the margin of profit between that and the selling price, or else they may seek to intensify the wants of their customers for a given commodity or to stimulate a want for new goods for the purpose of increasing the volume of business and their own profits therefrom. At bottom these are the inspiring purposes of those engaged in commerce. They were, therefore, animating principles destined to influence many activities and to be stated in terms suited to many local or temporary conditions in the centuries that ensued after the representatives of the Italian cities began to mingle with the merchants of the Han-

seatic League of the towns of northern Europe, in part as colaborers and in part as rivals.

The Italian cities had previously developed relations with the traders of the East who, by various established routes over land and sea, brought the coveted products of China, India, and the neighboring islands for delivery to their merchants at the Mediterranean ports. The Crusades gave these merchants an opportunity to push their connections into the interior of Asia. It was from merchant princes that the later Crusaders received much of the material support that made possible the military success they achieved. The traders profited, both as easier avenues of trade were opened and as a wider market and a larger demand for their wares were created. The Crusaders returned to stimulate in their several communities some of the taste for luxuries they had acquired on their expeditions and in some cases with increased wealth with which to gratify these tastes.

But the mere accumulation of wealth and of the power that attends its possession did not then, as it never does, long satisfy the aspiration that is fundamental in the commercial spirit. The wants of the successful merchants tended to increase in number and to take on a different character. It was the commercial spirit, thus, in this new form, that found expression in the building and adornment of churches, of halls of trade that took the form almost of temples, and of public and private palaces. The erection of these buildings stimulated skill in architecture, in sculpture, in painting, and in other forms of decorative art. In the earlier period, the influence of Byzantium is easily traced; it may still be studied in survivals in the older cities, especially in Venice. But soon the same challenge that had impelled the merchants to success in their endeavors aroused in the artists they patronized ambitions for achievements on their own account. In painting, in particular, these artists unfolded and illumined a new world of surpassing beauty. They took the formal and symbolical pictures of the medieval churchmen and breathed into them a spirit of reality akin to the very human life that pulsed in the activities of their patrons. A part of their inspiration, perhaps, was derived from the Greek and Latin literature which, under the same patronage, was now revived and studied with an enthusiasm that had an extraordinary freshness. These literatures, already old, nevertheless made a novel appeal to the choice descendants of the barbarian invaders, who had just begun to grow up to where they could appreciate some of the meritorious qualities hidden from their

ancestors. In part, also, the artists probably imbibed inspiration from their own contacts with the activities of their time, which they transmuted into forms of expression that they adapted or invented to serve their purposes. The same spirit that actuated artists in other fields also manifested itself in the literature that was now beginning to be produced in the language that the traders spoke, which, in Italy as elsewhere, was supplanting as a cultural medium the Latin of the clergy and the universities.

Henry VII was contemporary with Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael, these masters surviving the English monarch by only a decade; Michael Angelo was born a decade before, and Andrea del Sarto a year after Henry came to his throne. In Venice, in Henry's time, Giovanni Bellini (1428-1516) and Giorgione were giving character to a school of painting from which Titian was to emerge in the generation following to teach new lessons in the use of color; the Florentine masters had learned how to make their work reflect reality in form. The way had been prepared for this unprecedented group of painters by Giotto in the early fourteenth century, by Lippi and Masaccio in the earlier part of the fifteenth, and by Botticelli a little later.

Another Florentine contemporary of Henry VII, Machiavelli (1469-1527), learned by observation and actual experience the nature of the politics of his time and, both in his *History of Florence* and in his briefer work, *The Prince*, pointed, in an irony of which the point was missed, a way by which the head of a state could make it powerful by assuming the right to act on the principle that an end justifies the means necessary for its achievement and by departing, when necessary, from the canons of conduct conventional among civilized individuals and smaller social groups. In other fields of literature, the Italians were in this period following in the footsteps of masters who had gone before. From Dante (1265-1321), Petrarch (1304-1374), and Boccaccio (1313-1375), as we have seen, Chaucer borrowed materials and inspiration. In the works of Dante, especially, we discern a flowering of the scholastic heritage of the middle ages brought into conjunction with conditions then existing in Italy, the whole finding expression under the inspiration of the Classical authors of earlier times, whose works were now studied again with enthusiasm, if not always with insight. With cultural streams flowing from so many directions mingled in this rich life, we are not surprised to find the fanatical friar, Savonarola (1452-1498), another contemporary of Henry VII, able by his

fiery eloquence to call a halt for a moment to the normal course of the social current in the channel which it was marking out and to arouse in the Florentines a fit of repentance of the sins they were manifestly committing against the traditional ideals of the more devout churchmen.

But the very success of the merchant princes in the Italian cities invited the disaster that soon overtook them. The obvious advantages that would accrue to traders if means could be found of bringing the profitable commodities to market in larger volume and by cheaper methods of transportation stimulated an interest in the study of geography. Might not new routes be found to the lands to the east? No single person did more to awaken interest in this subject than the Venetian, Marco Polo, who, after accompanying his uncles on a trading expedition to the far East in the thirteenth century and spending a score of years in that remote region, returned to publish an account of his travels and so to make himself one of the most famous of the many merchants of Venice. It does not signify that some of his stories are more picturesque than accurate; perhaps they were not less stimulating on that account. Even in the thirteenth century, and somewhat more extensively in the fourteenth, venturesome navigators from the Italian cities, particularly from Genoa, began to push out into the Atlantic and to visit the neighboring groups of islands, the Canaries, the Azores, and the Madeira. But the Iberian peninsula was clearly a much better starting point than even Genoa for Atlantic exploration, and, as soon as activity in that field assumed extensive proportions, this obvious advantage made Portugal and Spain centers of the actual work of exploration. Italian navigators thus gradually began to find patrons among the Portuguese and Spanish and to teach their trade to people in those countries.

Among the earliest of the princes of the Atlantic seaboard to give encouragement to exploration was Henry of Portugal, fifth son of King John II and his wife, Philippa, John of Gaunt's daughter. Trade relations with distant lands were not wholly a new experience for Portugal. Edward I of England made a trading agreement with the king of Portugal of his day, which had not been permitted to lapse; the Venetian fleet, on its way to northern towns, was a familiar sight in the harbor of Lisbon, and, after the second decade of the fourteenth century, the kingdom had direct relations with Genoa. Prince Henry became Grand Master of the Order of Christ and in that capacity obtained a franchise to carry on exploration and trade both for

the purpose, at first, of Christianizing the natives in the lands explored and, later, of enriching his order by the trade, which began to be profitable. Gradually navigators under Henry's patronage pushed down the coast of Africa to Cape Bojador in 1434, to Cape Blanco in 1440, past the desert coast to Cape Verde in 1446. Eventually Guinea was reached. But the slaves, ivory, and gold that now began to be brought back in profitable quantities tended to reflect a new light on the missionary spirit of the earlier expeditions, though the Prince was able to console himself with the thought that the natives who were sold into slavery obtained in the process the salvation of their souls.

The work thus inaugurated went on after Henry's death in 1460. Navigators from the Italian cities came in larger numbers, tempted by tales of the successes already achieved, bringing their equipment in geographical knowledge and experience. In time the enterprise took the conscious direction of an attempt to find a way around Africa to the lands where the spices were produced. A water route to these regions would mean cheaper transportation and so a more lucrative trade. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz turned the Cape of Good Hope, though he was obliged to return without going further. In 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and crossed the Indian Ocean to the coast of India, thus crowning with ultimate success the efforts of many who had opened the way for his achievement. Four years afterward a fleet under Cabral was drawn to the west out of its intended course and touched the coast of Brazil while on its way to repeat the exploit of Da Gama.

Meanwhile, that most famous of all explorers, another Genoese, Columbus, had sailed westward under the patronage of the ruling house of Spain and had brought back news of the lands he had found. Before the end of the fifteenth century still another Genoese, John Cabot, later a citizen of Venice and of Bristol, England, under a patent from Henry VII, visited in the name of that monarch lands farther to the north in the Atlantic. Thus began the processes that were to eventuate in the transfer of the centers of trade to the Atlantic seaboard of Europe. In consequence, at the time when the cultural movement in the Italian cities was approaching its zenith, other centers began to appear to the west, destined to usurp supremacy first in trade and wealth and later in culture as well.

Two factors, operating while these earlier explorations were in progress, contributed to hasten the transference of the su-

premacY of the Italian cities to the countries on the seaboard. One was the inroads made in eastern and southeastern Europe by the Turks, who, in 1453, captured Constantinople and finally overthrew the Eastern Empire, continuing from that vantage point their attacks on neighboring districts. The Venetians at first adopted a policy of making terms with the conquerors and so kept up their trade, but later the city and the invaders engaged in long and ineffectual wars, which tended both to dissipate the resources of Venice and to embarrass the trade from which they flowed. Perhaps a more serious threat were the powerful rival dynasties now growing up in the West, who found in Italy, because of the wealth of its cities and because it contained the capital of the Church, both a battleground and and object of covetous desire.

In 1450 the Iberian peninsula was composed, besides Portugal, of the four kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, Aragon, and Moorish Granada; before the end of the century Spain was a consolidated kingdom under the dominion of Ferdinand of Aragon, who had married Isabelle, Queen of Castile and patron of Columbus. East of the Rhine, the house of Hapsburg had, by customary election, a vague authority over the German principalities and states, which it largely supported by its personal dominion as the ruling house of Austria and of adjacent kingdoms. Maximilian, son and heir of the Hapsburg emperor, Frederick, married Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, a powerful and unruly vassal of the king of France. Philip, a son of this marriage and heir of the Low Countries, became husband to Joana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Then, the year after Henry VII came to the English throne, Maximilian succeeded to the crown of his father and was elected emperor. Meanwhile, the crafty Louis XI of France had died in 1482, leaving to his son, Charles VIII, his crown and the task of bringing the duchy of Brittany under his dominion. Burgundy proper had already been absorbed. The English king had been driven out, save from Calais and a barren claim to the throne itself; only Brittany had to be brought into subjection to complete the task of unifying France under the house of Capet.

Maximilian took as a second wife the heiress of Brittany, and Henry and Ferdinand affected to join with him to oppose the ambitions of the French King in that quarter. Henry actually sent an army to Brittany, for the withdrawal of which he was later able to oblige the French monarch to pay, but the marriage





between Anne of Brittany and Maximilian was never consummated. Charles VIII of France, having first got rid of Henry, took Anne for his own queen and engaged in a contest with Ferdinand of Aragon for the possession of Italy. Milan fell to the French in 1499, and in 1503 Naples was annexed to Aragon. During the time of this rivalry, Henry was busy improvising rules of the diplomatic game that were later to become familiar as the doctrine of the balance of power. He arranged a marriage between his little daughter, Margaret, and James IV of Scotland, a man eighteen years her senior, which finally took place in 1502, the while he carried forward a project for the marriage of his eldest son to Katharine, the younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The latter marriage treaty was ratified in 1497, and the ceremony was performed by proxy two years later. When Arthur, the Prince of Wales, died before the marriage contract had been fulfilled, the resulting dispute was settled by the marriage of the widow to Henry's next son, the new heir-apparent.

Before this marriage was finally consummated, Henry VII died, in 1509, and left the crown to his son and successor, Henry VIII. Just before his death most of his best laid diplomatic plans seemed to have come to naught when, in the League of Cambrai (1508), Maximilian, France, Ferdinand, and the Pope all united to make a common cause against Venice. However, while Henry had been making these efforts to strengthen the position of his dynasty by Continental alliances and, at the same time, to save his house from the divisions incidental to inter-marriage of the royal family with the great houses at home, which had proved so disastrous to his immediate predecessors, he had also been busy making other agreements of a more practical character with Continental countries, agreements that responded to the wishes of groups of his subjects who were rapidly coming to have a dominant voice in the government.

PARLIAMENT AND THE RISING TIDE OF TRADE

As long as the chief commodities exported from England were wool and tin, the organization of the Merchants of the Staple, which included both English and foreign traders, was important in that it facilitated the collection of the export duties on wool. But the growth of the manufacture of cloth in England gave rise, as we have seen, to a class of capitalist employers who were

accumulating wealth from the industry in considerable sums and caused other English traders to claim a right to deal in finished products. The Merchants of the Staple at first insisted that their privileges included the right to export cloth as well as wool. But, in time, the independent merchants perfected an organization known as the Merchant Adventurers which successfully challenged this claim of the Staplers. The Merchant Adventurers, unlike the Staplers, were all Englishmen; marriage to a foreign woman rendered a man ineligible for membership. Membership in this company, or "fellowship" as it was called, became after a while country-wide in scope, and, through the fifteenth century, it had control of the export of cloth. The clothiers thus found their chief access to foreign markets through the Adventurers. The latter established themselves at places on the Continent where there was a demand for English fabrics and besought the king to negotiate treaties in their behalf. Through their intervention consuls were stationed at some of the vantage points of trade, especially in Italy. Henry VII was able to arrange agreements whereby they were permitted to take English cloth on favorable terms to the Netherlands and even to Flanders, whence the English had originally learned some of their skill in the art of weaving.

The monopoly of the cloth trade, which the Merchant Adventurers sought and obtained in so large a measure, was challenged by three different groups besides the Merchant Staplers. The Staplers gradually lost their position of influence as England manufactured an increasing proportion of her wool at home. But the Hanseatic traders contested the claims of the Adventurers to a monopoly in the market in which they did business, and their skill in keeping the English kings under perpetual obligations to them delayed beyond the end of the fifteenth century the achievement of the hopes of the Adventurers in that quarter. The merchants of Venice and of other Italian cities likewise opposed the monopoly of the export trade in cloth that the Adventurers sought. But one of the most potent sources of objection to the monopoly developed, in the end, among the clothiers themselves, who were unwilling to remain permanently at the mercy of this organized group of traders. Nevertheless, the Adventurers were for a time the wealthiest single group in the kingdom and, by virtue of their ability to replenish the royal exchequer when the king was in pressing need of a loan, they were able to obtain and to profit by a large measure of privilege.

An influence of the trading class on the policy of the king

is seen in the efforts to strengthen the royal navy by giving encouragement to English shipping. As early as the reign of Richard II (1381) an act of parliament provided that all trade into and out of England should be in English bottoms, an act that was manifestly unenforcible and that was invalidated in the year after its passage by the insertion of a provision that it would apply only if there were native ships "able and sufficient" to undertake the trade. A less ambitious act in the first year of the reign of Henry VII provided that wines from Guienne and Gascony should be imported only in English, Welsh, or Irish ships. Three years later a provision was added that the masters and mariners should be subjects of the English king. These acts, however, testify rather of thoughts that were coming to be important in the minds of the rulers than of actual achievements. Another aspect of the same thoughts survives in the political songs and popular writings of the time, where it is set down that an essential item of English policy is control of the "narrow sea."

The influence of the commercial group was still exerted informally and rather in the council of the king than in parliament itself. In fact, the council became in the reign of Henry VII the effective engine of government. In the period of factional strife among the magnates this body was largely constituted from among the influential members of the dominant faction. A contemporary writer was probably accurate in saying of these changing councillors that, "when they came together, they were so occupied with their own matters and the matters of their kin, servants, and tenants, that they attended but little, sometimes not at all to the king's matters." The elimination of most of these lords in the wars enabled Henry to reconstitute his council. Edward IV set a precedent by summoning to advise him influential knights and squires in lieu of the magnates, whose support he did not command, and Henry VII followed in his footsteps. He kept his council comparatively small, and a majority of its members were usually knights and burgesses. Some of the more influential lords among the number that were summoned were indebted for their rank to Henry's favor.

The King developed a habit of meeting personally with his council for the purpose of transacting any business that might come to hand, and there is no suitable criterion for delimiting the character of the business that received consideration. Little attention was paid to whether a mooted action was legislative, executive, or judicial. The government of the kingdom had

fallen into disorder; the chief item of the King's interest was that order be restored. The effectiveness with which he accomplished this task was likely to constitute his strongest claim to the throne; he therefore endeavored to bring every possible recalcitrant element in the kingdom into subjection to his authority. In his efforts to serve that purpose, he used any means ready at hand and any he had the wit to improvise. The common law courts, with their local juries, were clearly helpless against offenders who had the support of groups of liveried retainers. To remedy this difficulty, Henry instituted, not without many precedents in former reigns, a body later familiar as the Court of Star Chamber to deal directly and effectively with these and similar departures from peace and good order. Inevitably, the trusted ones among his councillors, especially those trained in the law, became members of this court, though they remained councillors none the less. Indeed, there was little difference between the membership of the council and the court. Similar courts were inaugurated for other purposes, where the need seemed exigent. The number of poorer petitioners for justice made expedient the perpetuation of a smaller court established by Henry's predecessors to deal with such petitions, a body which survived as the Court of Requests. The equity business came largely to be left to a court over which the chancellor presided, while Star Chamber and similar courts dealt rather with crimes and kindred offences. In order to give the Court of Star Chamber even greater prestige, Henry sought and obtained in a statute passed in 1487¹ the acquiescence of parliament in its powers. These courts tended in time to abide in a given location and await their suitors, but the King kept with him for constant consultation on political matters a group of counselors varying in number and personnel according to circumstances. Membership in one group, however, did not preclude service in the other. The King simply sought counsel of those at hand with whom he found it helpful to advise.

Parliament itself was still more of a court than the legislative body it was later to become. Its records were still kept on a roll; there were no journals of the two houses. The factional wars had decimated the ranks of the lords until there were fewer than a hundred members of the old body; the bishops and abbots outnumbered the lay lords among those that were left. The knights also still came in larger numbers than the burgesses, though a larger number of burgesses than formerly

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 136.

were beginning to attend. The separate meetings of the knights and burgesses were still chiefly for the purpose of agreeing on a common action and were not regarded as part of the proceedings of parliament. As yet the chief function of the commons was to grant supplies to the king, and they were still vainly striving to maintain the doctrine that the king ought to live on his own resources. Had circumstances made it possible for their wishes to prevail in this particular, their house would have been deprived of the chief lever by which it later obtained power. As regards legislation, such laws as were made in this period were usually first formulated by the king, in consultation with the judges and other counselors, and later approved by parliament or published in parliament as the case might be. The formal acquiescence of parliament was not yet required to give sanction to a law. When it was obtained, the movement for the purpose might originate among the knights and burgesses or it might be initiated by the king or his council.

Despite this dominance of the government by the king and his immediate circle of advisers, the monarch was careful to refrain from policies likely to cause embarrassment to the interests of those whose possession of wealth or privilege made them persons of consequence. The custom had developed of creating peers by letters patent, which granted the rank and the right of summons to parliament to the person concerned and entailed the same on the eldest heirs in the male line. Henry and his successors thus favored men who rendered them loyal service or who had accumulated wealth or influence. In this way, a new nobility began to emerge, somewhat different in character from that which had formerly been so powerful. But the time of its dominance was in the future.

THE SPREAD OF LEARNING AND LITERATURE

The time that saw the passing of the supremacy of the land magnates and the emergence to power of merchant princes and the newer type of landlords witnessed also a making ready for the change in cultural life that the new régime demanded. In the twilight of poetry that followed the generation of Chaucer, even the names of some of the more meritorious of his disciples were lost. Such names as are left, John Lydgate, Thomas Occleve, Stephen Hawes, and their kind, scarcely deserve to be mentioned in passing. Of somewhat greater import was the

work of those industrious compilers who were now busy providing textbooks for the formal instruction that was given. Even more important was the work of men like William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre, who journeyed to Italy for preparation and returned to give practical encouragement to the study of Greek literature and to the attitude of mind that accompanied the introduction of that study. The schools and universities had been gradually coming into possession of resources that were to be of material help in their further work. Henry VI lavished on the foundation of Eton, that training school of so many members of the British ruling class of the future, some of the capacity he sadly lacked in matters of government. Oxford received the nucleus of a library from the same Henry's uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which finally led in the time of Edward IV to the erection of a building for the accommodation of the books of the university. Meanwhile, a divinity school had been erected, and, later, additional colleges were established by divers benefactors. The same growth was evident at Cambridge, where, imitating the work of her husband, Margaret of Anjou caused the foundation of Queen's College to be laid in 1448. Another Margaret, the mother of Henry VII, claimed the honor of the foundation of Christ's College in 1505 and of St. John's in 1511. Even the merchants realized the necessity of education for their offspring and multiplied the number of grammar schools in the more important towns.

Perhaps the most important work done in England in this half-century for the encouragement of learning and literature is associated with the name of William Caxton, a cloth merchant born in the county of Kent though a resident for years in Bruges, who was at one time acting governor of the Merchant Adventurers. On a visit to Cologne, in 1471, he became interested in the growing art of printing with movable type. After acquainting himself by practical experience with the technical details of the art, he returned to England in 1476 and set up a press of his own in Westminster from which issued, from that time until his death in 1491, almost a continuous stream of publications, most of them in the English language. Caxton admired Chaucer and issued several editions of the *Canterbury Tales*, but a majority of his titles were of works that he had himself translated from the French. One of the most famous of the books he printed was the delightful compilation of the tales of the Arthurian legend made under the title *Le Morte D'Arthur* by Thomas Malory, himself almost a legendary figure. Other presses were soon at

work, among them one at Oxford, established to print works needed in academic circles.

Echoes were still heard of the work of Wycliffe, the great Oxonian of the previous century. Another Oxford man, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester (1450), a loyal churchman though born before his time, took up the cudgels in defence of the ecclesiastical organization and against the Lollards. But his appeals to the law of nature, as against a literally inspired Scripture, and his rationalistic arguments soon involved him in trouble with the organization he was seeking to defend. Since he frankly accepted the Church as the best available mundane authority in religious matters, he naturally recanted when his work was condemned as heresy. He died in practical imprisonment, the service his zeal had inspired him to render to the Church having been accounted an offence against the organization. The heresy he sought to combat survived him, and the opening years of the sixteenth century were lighted by fires kindled to burn those who were persistently loyal to Lollard doctrines; others who were accused, as always, elected to recant rather than to burn.

But a new day was beginning to dawn. After three years of study in Florence, John Colet, son of a London mercer and lord mayor, returned to Oxford in 1496 and began to give lectures on the Epistles of Paul in a manner different from the style of the older schoolmen. He treated the Epistles as letters of a real man, written under real circumstances for special purposes, rather than as a mere collection of inspired texts. Later he became dean of Saint Paul's, London, and, when he inherited his father's property, was able to become a patron of learning. At Oxford Colet knew Thomas More—son of Sir John More, a London barrister—who was then studying under Grocyn and Linacre and later was to become chancellor and to achieve fame as an author and as a patron of learning as well as by his tragic death. To this period also belongs Polydore Vergil, a native of Italy who, while in England as the holder of sundry ecclesiastical preferments, undertook at the instigation of Henry VII to write a history of the kingdom. Finally, in the spring of 1499, while Colet was giving his lectures and More was student in the university, there came to Oxford for his first visit Desiderius Erasmus, a Dutch scholar now thirty years old. He returned to England again and again and there did some of his best work. Meanwhile, on the occasion of this first visit, he was taken by More to see a youth nine years old then being

trained, all unconsciously no doubt, for the part he was later to play as King Henry VIII.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. chs. ii-v; J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages*, chs. v, xv-xvi; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I. chs. viii, ix, xii-xv; E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, chs. i-v; E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe*, chs. i, ii, v, vi, ix, xix; A. D. Innes, *The History of England and the British Empire*, I. chs. xiv-xv; II. chs. i-ii; *Ten Tudor Statesmen*, ch. i; E. Lipson, *Introduction to the Economic History of England*, I. ch. x; A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, ch. viii; *The Reign of Henry VII*, Introduction; William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History*, chs. xv-xvi.

FOR WIDER READING

Alice V. Brown and William Rankin, *A Short History of Italian Painting*; *Cambridge Modern History*, I; William Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. ch. iv; F. C. Dietz, *English Government Finance 1485-1558*, chs. i-viii; Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*; H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England 1485-1547*, chs. i-vi; Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 Vols.; A. D. Innes, *England Under the Tudors*, chs. i-iv; J. W. Jeudwine, *Studies in Empire and Trade*, chs. i-x; C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England*; A. O. Legge, *The Unpopular King*, 2 Vols.; W. E. Linglebach, *The Merchant Adventurers in England*; H. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford*, chs. xiii-xiv; R. B. Mowat, *The Wars of the Roses*; Charles Oman, *History of England 1377-1485*, chs. xv-xx; *Warwick the King Maker*; J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, 2 Vols.; T. F. T. Plunkett, "The Lancastrian Constitution" in R. W. Seton-Watson (Ed.), *Tudor Studies*; C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, 2 Vols.; Corrado Ricci, *Art in Northern Italy*; Gladys Temperley, *Henry VII*; Kenneth W. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, chs. xiii-xv; J. E. Winston, *English Towns in the Wars of the Roses*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, appendix, contains a map showing the location of the estates of the more important families and magnates in the fifteenth century and of the more important battles in the Wars of the Roses. The growth and extent of trade and its routes in the middle ages are shown on a map in *Shepherd*, pp. 98-99; there are inserts giving details concerning England and the German coast. W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. 7, 141, contains maps showing the extent of the European world in the middle of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth. For the Portuguese discoveries on the coast of Africa (1340-1498), see E. P. Cheyney, *European Backgrounds of American History*, p. 71. *Shepherd*, pp. 107-110, contains maps illustrating the chief voyages in the age of discovery.

CHAPTER X

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION

THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL FEELING

England was now experiencing the growth of a spirit or force hitherto unknown on the same scale. Most of the larger countries of the western world have since traveled the path thus blazed, and the end is not yet. Few forces abroad among human beings to-day seem to be more nearly irresistible than is this spirit when aroused. At times it unites large populations in fanatical support of some cause of the moment when, lacking this emotional spur, the individuals concerned might have many shades of opinion on the subject. For the time, their attitudes as individuals, and even their normal alignment as members of subordinate groups, are overshadowed by and swallowed up in the enthusiasm for the general cause voiced as the attitude of the nation. Loyalty to the nation thus takes precedence over lesser loyalties. By using conventional symbols, postures, shibboleths, and the like, emotions are aroused in support of a cause to which the nation is committed by its leaders that sometimes in the end calls upon individuals to devote themselves to actions that may involve sacrifice, suffering, and even death.

Men had long been familiar with the lesser loyalties, as, for example, to the tribe, to their family, to a religion, to a leader, to the king, to the town of their birth or residence. Probably foreshadowings may be found in the writings of the ancients of the larger loyalty now in process of development in England; that is, loyalty to the country as a whole conceived as a worshipful, fictitious personality rather than as the mere dominion of the king. It is quite certain, however, that the loyalty itself had never before been experienced with the same reality and extent as now began to be the case in England. The central magnet attracting that loyalty was coming to be more than the physical land or the language spoken by the people inhabiting it, though both of these were used as figures to personify it. An example is in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, where the Duke of Norfolk, after hearing a sentence of banishment, laments:

My native English, now I must forego:
 And now my tongue's use is to me no more
 Than an unstringed viol or a harp,
 Or like a cunning instrument cased up,
 Or, being open, put into his hands
 That knows no touch to turn the harmony:
 Within my mouth you have enjail'd my tongue,
 Doubly portecullis'd with my teeth and lips;

.

What is thy sentence then but speechless death,
 Which robs my tongue from breathing native breath?

In the same play Bolingbroke, departing to serve a similar sentence, was made to say:

Then England's ground, farewell; sweet soil, adieu;
 My mother and my nurse that bears me yet!
 Wher'er I wander, boast of this I can,
 Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.

The concept of a nation now becoming familiar had more substance, or at least a more pulsating life, than the fictitious personality familiar to students of law and politics as the state. Perhaps it comprehends that concept and includes also an enlarged notion of home and fireside, family and tribe, merged somehow in a more impelling emotion without losing any of their separate identity. There was no less loyalty to the king, but implied were real reasons why a prudent king would identify his policies with the interests and welfare of the country at large; a distinct prospect was looming up that loyalty to the king might become a lesser loyalty should his policies conflict with the interests of the nation. Loyalty to cities and towns was not diminished in the growth of this new allegiance. Londoners did not lose their urban provincialism when they grew up into Englishmen as well. The nature of this swelling emotion can best be studied in the experiences of the individuals who felt it, but nothing is more sure about it than its variation to suit the idiosyncrasies of individuals. Scarcely any two persons actuated by this powerful feeling conceive of it in the same terms or probably have precisely the same impulses. Furthermore, the patriotic flame, when kindled, does not burn with a constant fury. At times it is moribund, its potentialities latent, awaiting a summons sounded in tones attuned to responsive capacities, inherited or acquired, existing in a patriotic people. It is a force as real as it is intangible, perhaps more real, cer-

tainly more powerful, because it is a thing of the spirit, the product of many merging streams of impulse.

Manifestly this national feeling was not the work of any single group and came heralded by no trumpeter who can be identified. Its sources are far back in the life of the people, and its history properly begins long before it became a dominant force in the country. But the reigns of the Tudor monarchs are the first in England that are inexplicable without some understanding of this emotion, which they and their advisers were learning how to manipulate the while they contributed, probably without conscious intention, no little to stimulate its growth. Since they came on the scene when the nation was beginning to be self-conscious, it is essential that we try to understand the processes by which this self-consciousness developed in order to understand the affairs of their time.

As long as the government was in the hands of the king assisted by a group of associated magnates, whether they were bound together by ties of kinship, as had latterly been the case, or by fealty to the same lord, the king, as in earlier times, conditions did not favor the creation of a national god with the accompanying trappings of patriotic worship. The circle of the powerful was not too large for its members to be personally acquainted, and those who were of sufficient weight to deserve much consideration had the means and made an occasion for coming to court from time to time. The lesser folk, as the government grew in power and efficiency, had their relations with the king either through these lords or through the royal courts and administrative officials. But these indirect means of communication were becoming patently inadequate. For one thing, there were now far too many people who deserved to be consulted on governmental matters for it to be feasible that they meet in a single group. The suicide of the magnates, which preceded and occasioned the accession of the Tudors to the throne, and the consequent necessity that the monarch turn for support and coöperation to those who were accumulating wealth on a somewhat smaller individual though a larger aggregate scale, made it imperative that machinery be contrived to facilitate this coöperation. Before this problem had been solved or even consciously faced, circumstances led to changes in the personnel of the reigning monarchs without strict regard to any rules of heredity or descent. Many persons alive when the Tudors came to the throne remembered occasions when loyalty to one king or family might involve hostility to rival claimants soon to be

in power. For a half-century before 1485, we know that English towns had learned by experience to accept any *de facto* king who knocked for admittance at their gates with a strong army. The prestige of the king as more than a participant in the government had thus been largely dissipated. Therefore, now that it was vital for the government of the kingdom that the group in power have the good will of a body of supporters too numerous to meet together in one group, it was important to find some more permanent concept, and one susceptible of translation into terms that would appeal to a variety of individuals, as a substitute for the older type of king, who had only to win the loyalty of a comparatively small group of magnates.

The seeds that were to produce this substitute had long been sown, and the idea was well forward in the process of growth when the need for it became pressing. Most of the preparatory work had been done without much prevision or design, but the plant was coming to fruition nevertheless. A language sufficiently national for use in the courts of law was, as we know, already in existence. In this language minstrels were now singing their lays, poets revealing their dreams, and learned doctors addressing their comments to any who stood by or publishing them so that those who could might read. The introduction and widespread use of movable type lent facility to the multiplication of these means of making prevalent common notions and ideals among those who knew the common language of the country.

But a common language and literature no more produce a national feeling than would a common gentile heritage, if we could be certain that the latter condition existed. A language in which the local leaders throughout the land could communicate with each other helped to fertilize the soil for the growth of nationality, as did the homogeneity of the population, admitting, as it did, of social relations and intermarriage with no more than normal provincial and social prejudices to hinder. But language only promotes unity of thought and feeling when it is used to voice common ideas and aspirations, and ties of blood, after they pass the bounds of the immediate family circle, soon yield to different and more powerful motives. Perhaps the dependence of a considerable proportion of the people of England on trade with outside countries served as much as any single factor to arouse in those who participated in the management of affairs a realization that the kingdom as a whole had common interests more important than those of any single

individual. The weight of this point was increasingly manifest as the cloth trade grew in volume, and the prosperity of the sheep-raisers in rural districts came to depend on the ability of merchants, to whom they sold their wool, to find foreign markets for their goods. The necessity that the kings summon their more prosperous subjects to give counsel and coöperation in wars, whether for commercial or dynastic causes, furnished an opportunity for these substantial men to come together and exchange experiences, which made it easier in the end for them to learn how to make a common cause where common interests were involved. More went on in the repeated meetings together of the representative knights and burgesses than the grant of the revenue needed at the time or the formation of a petition for the redress of grievances. When these knights returned to their several shires and the burgesses to their boroughs, they took word of conditions existing in other parts of the kingdom. In this way, these thriving classes, without necessarily realizing what was taking place, began to develop in their several localities an aspect of community interest and feeling that was in a measure similar for the entire country. Other agencies which had now for several centuries been promoting this similarity were the royal courts administering a common law over the entire kingdom.

But parliament, however representative its membership, seemed as little likely to serve as a rallying center for causes common to the substantial groups of the king's subjects as did the kings themselves, with their temptation to waste their energies in the promotion of ends that were dynastic rather than national. All of the experiments with executive groups responsible to parliament—the Lords Appellant, the Lords Ordainers, and the like—had failed in practice. It is a solid and lasting achievement of the Tudor monarchs, especially of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, that they were able in a large degree to sense the common interests and aspirations of the classes in control of England in their time, to formulate these aspirations into practical policies, and to assume leadership in making many of these policies actual accomplishments. Their remarkable success in these matters was not due wholly or even chiefly to their personal genius for statesmanship, though that element cannot be ignored in finding an explanation of the accomplishments of their reigns. Perhaps there is no simple explanation of their success. For one thing, knowing from recent events the dangers that might otherwise ensue, they had few scruples

about ridding themselves of powerful subjects who seemed likely to threaten their position. They were able to do this with impunity, because they were usually careful to make sure that their actions were in accord with the wishes of the groups represented in parliament. They took this precaution rather as a matter of prudent necessity than of choice. They held their scepters from parliament, and what parliament had given it might, if sufficiently provoked, take away. A closer view would thus seem to indicate that these strong Tudor monarchs, who have sometimes been thought of as almost absolute in their power, usually procured the sanction of parliament for any departures they made from traditional practices.

This habit which the sovereign developed of working through parliament, particularly with its lower house, developed in that body an increasing consciousness of its power and a jealousy of its privileges which grew as time passed and incidents gave occasion. After 1547 the House of Commons began to keep a journal of its proceedings in which these privileges could be more readily recorded and thus be made to serve as foundations for subsequent claims of more extensive power. Having a record of its own, the lower house soon began to think of itself as a separate court from the High Court of Parliament as a whole, especially as having jurisdiction over its own members and their election. In this same period enactments began to be initiated in the form of bills rather than by the old form of petition, though much of the old form was retained. The informal procedure convenient in perfecting legislation gave rise to sessions in which the House sat as a committee of the whole. The members thus became the better acquainted and were encouraged to take themselves and their powers more seriously. In conciliating the support of the House of Commons, of which he had more need than his predecessors, Henry VIII found it expedient, in return for this support, to acquiesce in many extensions of the privileges of that house which would scarcely have been granted by earlier kings with his consciousness of power. This same process was to go on under Elizabeth.

Perhaps the most useful group in guiding the Tudor monarchs to an understanding of the wishes of the important people of their time was the body known as the Privy Council. This body saved the king from mistakes which might otherwise have proved fatal to his government and helped him to identify his policies with the urgent interests of the kingdom. The Privy Council was composed of men whom the monarch trusted and

who knew how to enlist the support of the groups that had to be conciliated to make common action possible. It served as a sort of board of directors for the government. It was still in a plastic stage of composition and procedure and so could easily adapt itself to the needs of the moment. When new personalities appeared who could not be ignored or new interests developed that had to be conciliated or conserved, there was no contrary precedent to hinder. The members of parliament helped to make familiar the policies of the government and the common interests of the kingdom throughout the extent of the country; the Privy Council gradually acquired the function of formulating the policies for submission to parliament, when they required action by the larger body, and of ensuring that they were formulated in terms likely to command parliamentary support. By this procedure, the king could usually claim success for his policies; the responsibility for failure, if failure there was, could be shifted to the council. As a result, both the monarch and his office gained in prestige. His actions were no longer the mere whims of an individual; they tended to be identified with the interests of the community as a whole. Probably only by some such method as this could the Tudor monarchs have kept their crowns. Their claims to the throne were liable to challenge at any time, a fact of which they seldom lost sight. The existence of a monarchy of this type for a century and more developed in the substantial classes in England the assumption that the English kingship was inherently of this character. Consequently, when later kings undertook to defy the parliament, the result proved that a loyalty to the nation had developed stronger than that felt toward the king himself.

Rulers under this "new monarchy," as it has been called by one of the most illuminating living writers on the subject,¹ often adopted measures in disregard of the customary rights of individuals and of the established conventions of property far more drastic than any of which the most absolute of the earlier kings had dreamed. These measures were adopted with impunity, because the king, as representative of a fictitious person, the state, supported by the approval of the articulate substantial interests in the kingdom, was much more powerful than it was ever possible for a king and a council of magnates to be. Under the new arrangement, the king as a person could usually establish an alibi in any given case. A counselor or a group of counselors could be dismissed in disgrace, or even put to

¹ Professor A. F. Pollard.

death, leaving the head of the corporate nation to escape unscathed. Thus the state, buttressed by what for lack of a better term we call the nation, arrogated to itself power not only over individuals, but also over all subordinate groups compassed in its bounds. It began to claim the right to destroy, as it did to create and to prescribe terms of existence to these lesser groups. The first organization that took up the challenge of supremacy thus thrown down was, quite naturally, the organization that had been longer accustomed to power than the English kings themselves, an organization, in fact, that had in the past made bold on occasion to claim a superiority over all earthly kings and emperors.

A challenge of this sort was just what was needed to transmute into a community of feeling the community of interests which those Englishmen who had accumulated a considerable share of this world's goods were beginning to discover among themselves. When the claims of the Church were apparently supported by another power which seemed to threaten the independent existence of the kingdom itself, fires of exertion and emotion were kindled that in the end proved more fatal to the pretensions of the ecclesiastical organization than anybody had intended in the outset. The struggle that ensued furnished an occasion for a searching of hearts on the whole subject, and the logic of circumstances was more eloquent and fruitful of action than the most persuasive disputations of the learned. Doctrines were easily contrived, where they could not be summoned from the past, to defend meditated actions or accomplished deeds, while the emotions that nerved determined men to their unwonted tasks supplied themes for contemporary poets and playwrights. Thus, with many hands working together for a common cause, England went a long way toward achieving nationality in the methods by which she defended herself against dangers that seemed to threaten from the Continental Church and Continental dynasties.

DANGERS FROM WITHOUT

When Henry VII came to the English throne, as we have seen, western and southern Europe, with the exception of Germany and Italy, were gradually taking form in states under dynasties that had achieved their places partly by armed force and intrigue and partly by skilfully negotiated marriages. Diplomacy

had already superseded wars and jousting as the major sport of kings and their trusted companions. The philosophy of Machiavelli, reflecting the experience of the commercially-minded despots of the Italian city states, had already set standards of conduct from which later diplomats have never wholly departed. Perhaps it was as much acquaintance with the methods of the Italian diplomats as familiarity with the works of the Florentine philosopher that influenced the conduct of other princes. At any rate, probably never since that time has there been a more cynically unscrupulous group of rulers in Europe than that to the mercies of which Henry VII left his eighteen-year-old son in 1509. In the previous year, as we know, Ferdinand of Aragon, Louis XII of France, Maximilian of the Hapsburg empire, and the Pope, ignoring the old English King, had conspired together in the League of Cambrai for the dismemberment of Venice, despite the threat of the Turks against all eastern Europe. But it was scarcely to be expected that the partners in such an enterprise would keep faith with each other. The French King, without waiting for his allies, took action and made himself master of a large part of northern Italy. He had the ill fortune in the following year to win the active hostility of the Pope, and a Holy League followed directed against Louis. In the war against France that ensued, the young King of England was induced to participate.

Meanwhile, carrying out with some preliminary questionings the dying injunction of his father, Henry took in marriage Ferdinand's daughter, Katharine, wife of his deceased brother, Arthur, in order to secure the payment of the remainder of her dowry and an alliance with his father-in-law. The young King was as yet unschooled in the current methods of statecraft and was more interested in the pleasures of youth and in the stimulating studies to which he had been introduced by the group of scholars who frequented his kingdom. His wife's father expected to find him little more than a pawn in his own games; Katharine frankly thought of her marriage as adding another to the paternal collection of kingdoms. Indeed, she soon undertook to serve as her father's official representative at the court of her husband. With a counselor of this type in his own household, Henry stood in need of abler advice than any he was likely to receive from the official group that had surrounded his father. Among the more influential of those thus left was Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who had been associated with the first Tudor King from the outset of his royal career,

so that he had literally grown grey in his service. Another was Thomas Howard, Earl of Surry, later to become second Duke of Norfolk, who had served in turn Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, by the last of whom he was imprisoned and would doubtless have been executed had not the opportune death of the King afforded to his son a chance to show mercy by releasing the noble prisoner. The new King did not show the same clemency toward all of his father's subjects. He won applause by causing the arrest, trial, and execution of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, who had labored together in the task of filling the coffers of Henry VII with fines and forfeitures extracted from landlords who had by various actions rendered themselves liable.

Fox and Howard and the young King were no match for the experienced Spanish ruler, and they soon proved themselves to be as deficient in war as in diplomacy. An expedition sent to coöperate with Ferdinand against the southwestern part of France in 1512 was a failure and had no support from the King's father-in-law. Another expedition to the northern part of France, which Henry organized in 1513 with the assistance of Thomas Wolsey, one of the younger of his father's counselors, soon to be the most influential among his own, served at least to regain for both the army and the navy the reputation for valor lost in the previous year. While Henry and Wolsey were in France, the Queen and Howard were at home laboring to much greater effect to defeat an attempt to invade the kingdom on the part of the King's brother-in-law, James IV of Scotland. On Flodden Field, where Howard earned the title of Duke of Norfolk, the strength of Scottish chivalry was dissipated and the King himself left among the slain, bequeathing his scepter to an eighteen-months-old babe. Before Henry and Wolsey could carry forward their plans for renewing the struggle with France in 1514, Ferdinand had deserted them, had himself made peace with the French monarch, and was well on the way toward inducing Maximilian to adopt the same policy. Little wonder, when Henry contemplated the treatment he had received at the hands of his father-in-law, he concluded that there was "no faith in the world" save in himself and began to feel that "God Almighty who knows this" was prospering his affairs.

Wolsey, who was rapidly developing a more mundane ability, now gradually acquired a place of supremacy among Henry's counselors, which he held until his fall. As he accumulated knowledge and power, he began to match his wits against those

of the Continental kings and to play one against the other, using no more scrupulous methods than they. Henry's younger sister, Mary, was plighted to Charles of Burgundy, lord of the Low Countries and grandson of both Maximilian and Ferdinand, he being at the time fourteen and she about seventeen years old. The young Prince is said to have expressed a preference for a wife rather than a mother. Wolsey pressed on the boy's grandfathers the hastening of the match, while he secretly negotiated a marriage for Mary with the decrepit king of France, who had just been left a widower by the death of Anne of Brittany, whom he had taken from his cousin from whom he inherited the crown. The marriage took place, but the death of the French King himself in the following year (1515) brought this scheme to naught, since Francis I, who succeeded to the throne of France, was too much like Henry, with some of the worse qualities enhanced, for the alliance to last. Mary now manifested a will of her own and, before she left France, married Charles Brandon who, by his friendship with her brother, had procured for himself the title of Duke of Suffolk. Francis busied himself in an effort to placate Ferdinand, while betaking himself across the Alps in the inevitable attack on Milan and northern Italy. The temporary and unexpected success of the French King at the battle of Marignano (1515) aroused the fears of the Pope and caused him to seek the support of Wolsey, making him a Cardinal; he was already Archbishop of York.

Though no freer from intrigue, Wolsey's diplomacy now tended to become more pacific in method. In the course of time his own ambition for election to the papal see played a part, though it is not easy to say how large a part, in shaping his policies. For a time he attempted to pit Maximilian against Francis. But in 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, leaving the throne of Spain to Charles of Burgundy. By the beginning of 1519 Wolsey had succeeded in making terms with the French King, who had discovered by experience that England was a more profitable ally than Charles or Maximilian. This short-lived agreement was cemented by the betrothal of the infant son of Francis to Mary, the only surviving daughter of Henry and Katharine. As a fruit of the negotiation, Wolsey procured his own nomination as papal legate in England and Henry's acquiescence in the arrangement. Then, in January, 1519, Maximilian passed permanently from a scene that he had contributed little to adorn, and Charles became heir of the Hapsburg estates, while the electors of the Holy Roman Empire faced the task

of electing an emperor. Perhaps Frederick of Saxony, Martin Luther's patron and friend, might have had the election had he been willing to accept it, though there was already a strong inclination to elect the ranking Hapsburg prince. Both Charles and Francis were groomed as candidates, and even Henry VIII played with the thought. Ultimately Wolsey threw his support to Charles, perhaps in the hope that Charles would return the favor in the case of a papal election. The result was that Charles, thus early in his youth, found himself nominal ruler of a larger part of western Europe than had fallen to the lot of any other monarch since Charlemagne.

Wolsey now undertook to hold an even balance between Charles and Francis. He was in the difficult position of having the Emperor the enemy most to be feared and yet the one against whom it was most difficult to plan effective action. For one thing, the English Queen was the Emperor's aunt, a fact that could not be ignored. More important still, Charles was hereditary ruler of the Low Countries, where was still the best market for English wool. Thus a war with Charles would mean an interruption of traffic in that commodity, a condition in which English traders would not willingly acquiesce if it could be avoided. Nevertheless, Wolsey felt keenly the need of an alliance with the French, so, in 1520, without severing relations with Charles, in fact immediately after Henry had received a visit from the Emperor, he and Wolsey journeyed to France and made terms with the King after the famous meeting in splendor on the Field of Cloth of Gold. Consequently Henry now had alliances of a sort with both Charles and Francis, in neither of which much confidence could be placed, and yet neither of which alliances his partners could quite afford to break. Thus the destiny of Europe was left for a time in the keeping of these three lusty young men, one of them twenty-nine, another twenty-five, the other twenty. But their power, after all, was more apparent than real.

Martin Luther had already (1517) posted his theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, issuing thereby a challenge to the authority of the Church the implications of which he did not himself yet fully understand. One of the questions that faced the young Emperor in his first imperial diet was what treatment he would mete out to this young doctor, whom the Pope had denounced as a heretic, but who had influential friends among the German princes. Charles ultimately decided to accept the papal edict, but delayed taking efficient steps to enforce it.

Meanwhile, he had to make haste to Italy where Francis threatened an attack. The death of the Pope and the election of a successor proved to Wolsey that his dependence on Charles for support in his ambitions was vain. But he realized also that he could not longer maintain friendship with Charles and avoid war with France. Once the war was begun (1522), Charles, like Ferdinand, left him to fight it alone. Henry VIII seems, even so, to have had a temporary ambition to repeat the exploits of Henry V, and Wolsey bent every effort to support the undertaking. Both the King and his minister were soon disillusioned. English commercial magnates were ready to support hostile diplomatic measures, but actual war required real money in larger sums than they cared to find. Parliament proved unwilling to vote the revenues necessary for an effective campaign. While this futile war was in progress, a second papal election emphasized the disinclination of the Emperor to support Wolsey's ambition. At the same time, the defeat and capture of Francis by Charles at the battle of Pavia in north-western Italy in 1525 kept alive Henry's hopes of dominion in France. But the total failure of Wolsey's schemes for raising revenues for the war finally convinced the King that his ambitions were unattainable. Wolsey was able to save the situation by extorting from France, as a price of peace, money that parliament would not grant and by again betrothing the Princess Mary to the son of the French King.

This last item in the terms with France emphasized a fact that could no longer be ignored. The dynasty that had now brought to England more than a generation of comparative peace and prosperity after a period of factional strife was in immediate danger of not being able to perpetuate itself on the throne. The King's only surviving child was his daughter Mary, now betrothed to a French prince and soon to become of an age when this marriage or one with some other Continental prince would likely be consummated. That the English crown should be thus disposed of was unthinkable, if a means could be found to avoid it. Nor did the heir of Henry's eldest sister, Margaret, offer a way out. The experiences of Katharine had been tragic. All but one of her children died at birth or shortly after, and it was unlikely that she would have a son. The dangers of a disputed succession were clear, and the survivors of the times before the days of Henry's father did not need to be reminded of them. The King himself became increasingly sensible of the situation. In 1521 the Duke of Buckingham, the most

formidable candidate for the crown aside from the descendants of Henry VII, was tried and executed, a foretaste of Henry's determination to exert every effort to make the succession secure in his own line. But it was by no means certain that a woman would be permitted to come to the throne or that she could dominate the situation if she did. As a precaution against circumstances that might arise, Henry, in 1525, created his illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount, then six years old, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, thus acknowledging him as a possible candidate if no better could be found. But the fermentation of these circumstances in the King's mind was already arousing there hopes that were soon to plunge him anew into a welter of Continental diplomacy and to lead to a revolution in England that he probably understood as little as he foresaw or intended, but which constitutes his chief title to fame as a statesman.

NATIONALIZING THE CHURCH

Much ink has been wasted and much more is likely to be spilt on the question of the personal motives that impelled Henry VIII to take the lead in promoting the separation of the English Church from Rome. His was an unlovely character at best, and it is not easy to refurbish him into a hero according to the moral standards of to-day. He was endowed with an abundant egotism, necessary for a leader in ruthless actions, which enabled him to adapt his much discussed conscience to the exigencies of his hour and then to accept its dictates as partaking of the nature of a divine law. It has become the fashion lately to pay much less attention than formerly to his wives, of whom there were six in all. Professor Pollard, his biographer, neither his harshest nor his most lenient critic, thinks that "they cling to him more closely after death than they did in life." Bishop Stubbs, who is more favorable in his verdict in that he managed to develop a sort of pathetic sympathy for Henry that deterred him from passing final judgment at all, was able to suggest nothing better in his defence than the privileges inhering in his prerogatives as king. "His marriages are royal marriages, his murders royal murders, his diseases royal diseases. There is nothing to hide, nothing to be ashamed of." "Henry's portrait," the same author feels, "would fill any canvas," but either the contemporary painters took no pains with the wives, or else they were the "deadly-lively sort of ladies whose portraits are, if not

a justification, at least a colourable occasion for understanding the readiness with which he put them away." Professor Pollard emphasizes a more vital point and is inclined to think that their children, or rather lack of them, was more against them than their looks. Most authorities inclined to be sympathetic with Henry find consolation in the reflection that, in any event, his record as regards personal morality compares favorably with that of his contemporaries, Francis I and Charles V. A point of vital importance seems to have been that one of the women in Henry's case was the aunt of Charles. When the question arose of putting her away in favor of one more likely to serve the King's purposes, her nephew happened to be in a position to dictate the action of the papal court, from which most monarchs in Henry's day were able to procure an easy adjustment of their marital difficulties. Lest that seem to be too harsh a judgment on the ecclesiastical organization, it is well to recall that even a man so conscientious in his religion as Luther was able to find Scriptural justification for giving Philip of Hesse permission to commit bigamy, though advising him to keep the matter secret and to "tell a good strong lie for the sake and good of the Christian Church" rather than let it be known. We might dismiss the whole subject as unworthy of space in a serious history had not the King's inability to procure the action he desired from the Roman Church led him finally to adopt the policy of making himself the supreme official of the Church in England, so that appeals could no longer lie to an ecclesiastical court out of that kingdom.

Of course there is much more to the subject than the King's marital difficulties. The Church was too strong an organization and touched the lives of all the people too intimately for a revolution in its constitution to be a simple matter. Henry VIII, we recall, was by no means the first English king to challenge the power of Rome. The shrine of Saint Thomas at Canterbury was an altar where the victory of the Church over one of the greatest of England's kings was celebrated by endless pilgrimages. John and his immediate successors, as we know, held the kingdom itself as a fief from the pope. A reaction in the other direction had long ago set in, and the money promised by John was no longer remitted to the papal treasury. As laymen prospered and accumulated wealth by their own efforts, whether in agriculture or trade, they became increasingly jealous of the large endowments held by ecclesiastical foundations, seemingly in part for the support of able-bodied men in useless pursuits or even in

idleness. Already there had been talk of confiscation, even in parliament. Before the days of Luther, Wycliffe and his disciples had called in question the right of the Church to hold so much wealth and had urged that in secular matters it ought properly to be in subjection to the temporal authorities. The fullness of time had now come. It was not a question of dogma. Henry VIII had himself written a book in defence of transubstantiation and of similar orthodox doctrines against the attack of Luther and had been awarded the title "Defender of the Faith" therefor by the Pope. The King meditated now no departure from those views, and it was to happen before the end of his reign that some persons would be punished for speaking in favor of the Pope while others went to the stake for holding views differing from the doctrines of the Roman Church. The question was of polity, not of doctrine. The King's desire to have a younger woman for his wife in the hope of raising legitimate male heirs to the throne made a national issue of the royal marriage question and enabled the King and his counselors to enlist the support of the nation in procuring the independence of the Church from outside government.

Wolsey was the last of the leading English statesmen to hold high position in the Church. Thenceforward the laity were to be supreme in matters of governance. Thomas Cromwell, a widely-traveled layman trained in the law and experienced in banking and trade, took up the task where the famous churchman laid it down. The Cardinal, knowing that his continuance in power depended on his success, labored faithfully in his efforts to procure from Rome the judgment desired by his royal master. Henry had asked that his marriage be annulled on the ground that the former Pope had exceeded his powers in granting a dispensation for him to wed the wife of his deceased brother. Others than Henry had expressed doubts on the subject, the Pope who granted the dispensation and Henry's father and father-in-law being among the number. To a man sharing the superstition of the time, the unfortunate fate which had befallen so many of the offspring of the marriage might very well have seemed to be a divine sentence of disapproval. Then, too, Henry had fallen in love. To complicate matters further, he had bestowed his affections on the sister of one of his former mistresses, whose father had subsequently been compensated by a shower of wealth and honors. Sir Thomas Boleyn became Viscount Rochford in 1525. The sister had found a husband. Even Anne, the present object of Henry's desire, had to be rescued

from a hasty betrothal to one of the noblemen about the court. The King had experienced and expressed doubts concerning the validity of his former marriage before he knew Anne, but his passion for her furnished a reason for making haste in procuring action in conformity with these doubts. The Pope had just as good reasons for hesitating. When he escaped from the captivity in which he was held after the sack of Rome by the troops of Charles in 1527, he was still not free to act against the wishes of the Emperor, and so the matter was delayed by one subterfuge or another until Henry despaired. The peace made between Francis and Charles at Cambrai in 1529 was the culminating failure of the diplomacy of Wolsey, and Henry began to contemplate desperate measures involving the elimination of the Cardinal.

The attention of the King was called to a young scholar of Cambridge who, while at the university, had been a member of a group that had proceeded from a study of the Classics to a sympathetic discussion of the debate then in progress between the partizans of Luther and the supporters of the Roman curia. This scholar, Thomas Cranmer, suggested an appeal to the European universities as a means of determining the theological questions involved in the King's cause, and Henry spent much money and energy in an effort to procure a verdict from that source. The result was what might have been expected. The opinions of most of the learned doctors depended largely on the allegiance of the foundations with which they were associated. Cranmer himself naturally stood committed to the views of the King. But Henry was in the end obliged to accept the counsel of Cromwell and to embark on the difficult journey that Wolsey had foretold would follow his own fall from power. None knew better than the Cardinal the potential anticlerical sentiment latent in England. It had cropped out in all the parliaments held in Henry's reign. The Lollard doctrines had never wholly disappeared from the by-places, though they had been kept under cover by the laws against heresy. Tyndale was already seeking to distribute his English version of the New Testament with its Lutheran bias. It was thus as easy to stimulate the growth of dissatisfaction with the Church as it might have been to repress it permanently. When the King and his counselors changed their accustomed sides and undertook, by the use of their prestige and by the implements of propaganda at their disposal, to discredit the Roman power in England, they helped to prepare good ground for these seeds of discontent, with the result that

they ultimately brought forth fruit in the form of a national Church subordinate to and guided by the same forces that directed the affairs of state.

In July, 1529, Wolsey learned of the peace made between Charles and Francis at Cambrai; in the same month he learned that the Pope had revoked the authority delegated to him and a colleague, Cardinal Campeggio, to hear and determine the question of the validity of the King's marriage. In August England acceded to the Treaty of Cambrai. In October of the same year Wolsey was charged with a violation of the Statute of Praemunire, an offence of which he had manifestly long been guilty, though with the King's connivance. But it no longer suited the King to connive. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, for years jealous of Wolsey's ascendancy in the royal councils, on October 16, brought to the Cardinal word of his disgrace. In November a parliament was called that was destined before its final dissolution to accomplish peacefully one of the most far-reaching social revolutions that ever took place in any country. Seldom have statesmen managed more skilfully matters fraught with so many difficulties. But before parliament could begin its work the King had to prepare the way with the clergy.

In January, 1531, the legal officers of the crown, acting at the instigation of the King, instituted proceedings against the bishops of the Church in England alleging that they, along with the whole body of the clergy, by acquiescing in the jurisdiction of Wolsey as papal legate, had incurred the penalties of the Statute of Praemunire.¹ The matter was arranged by having parliament pass an act granting pardon to the offenders, but this act was not passed until the clergy, assembled in convocation, had first voted to the King a large ransom in money and had also acknowledged him as "sole protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England."² Thereupon Henry announced a novel discovery to the Speaker of the House of Commons and twelve accompanying members, with whom he sought a conference: "Well beloved subjects, we thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly; but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects—yea, and

¹The penalties were that offenders should be "put out of the king's protection, and their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels forfeited to our Lord the King, and that they be attached by their bodies . . . and brought before the king and his council" for trial.

²As finally passed by convocation, the wording was changed somewhat, and the qualifying phrase "as far as the law of Christ allows" was inserted. But the essence of the submission was not changed.

scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the Pope clean contrary to the oath they make to us, so that they seem his subjects and not ours." Yielding to royal pressure supported by parliament, convocation again submitted to the will of the King and agreed thereafter not to make canons without the King's permission, assent, and authority. Canons already made were to be submitted to the King and to a commission chosen by him, so that those found "not to stand with God's laws and the laws of this realm" might be abrogated, leaving the others to stand by the authority of the King. When the clergy yielded on this point, Sir Thomas More resigned as chancellor, and the ambassador of Charles V at Henry's court wrote to his royal master that in the future churchmen in England would be of "less account than shoemakers, who have the power of assembling and making their own statutes."

Henry now had the English clergy at his mercy, with unused possibilities of power over them still in abeyance for use in case of need. He was ready to deal directly with Rome. It had been the custom for archbishops and bishops, on their induction into office, to pay into the papal coffers considerable sums called annates or first fruits, though a statute of the reign of Henry IV had referred to these payments as a "horrible mischief and damnable custom." These payments were now to be withheld by act of parliament unless the Pope should act favorably on the petition for the annulment of the King's marriage. To guard against steps by which the Pope might oppose this act, it set up provisional machinery for consecrating bishops and archbishops without reference to Rome and prescribed that the clergy should administer the sacraments of the Church and otherwise perform their normal duties, notwithstanding any interdict or excommunication the Pope might pronounce. This conditional act, passed in 1532, was made absolute two years later by another, which also delegated to the King any functions in the election of bishops and archbishops hitherto performed by the pope. Another act, passed in the same year, forbade the payment of Peter's Pence; still another act in the same year appropriated for the crown the first fruits and tenths that had formerly gone into the papal treasury. Others acts followed, in 1534, recognizing the King as "Supreme Head of the Church in England" and, in 1536, "extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome" in the English Church.

Meanwhile, in the early weeks of 1533, the King had been secretly married to Anne Boleyn, and it was essential that the

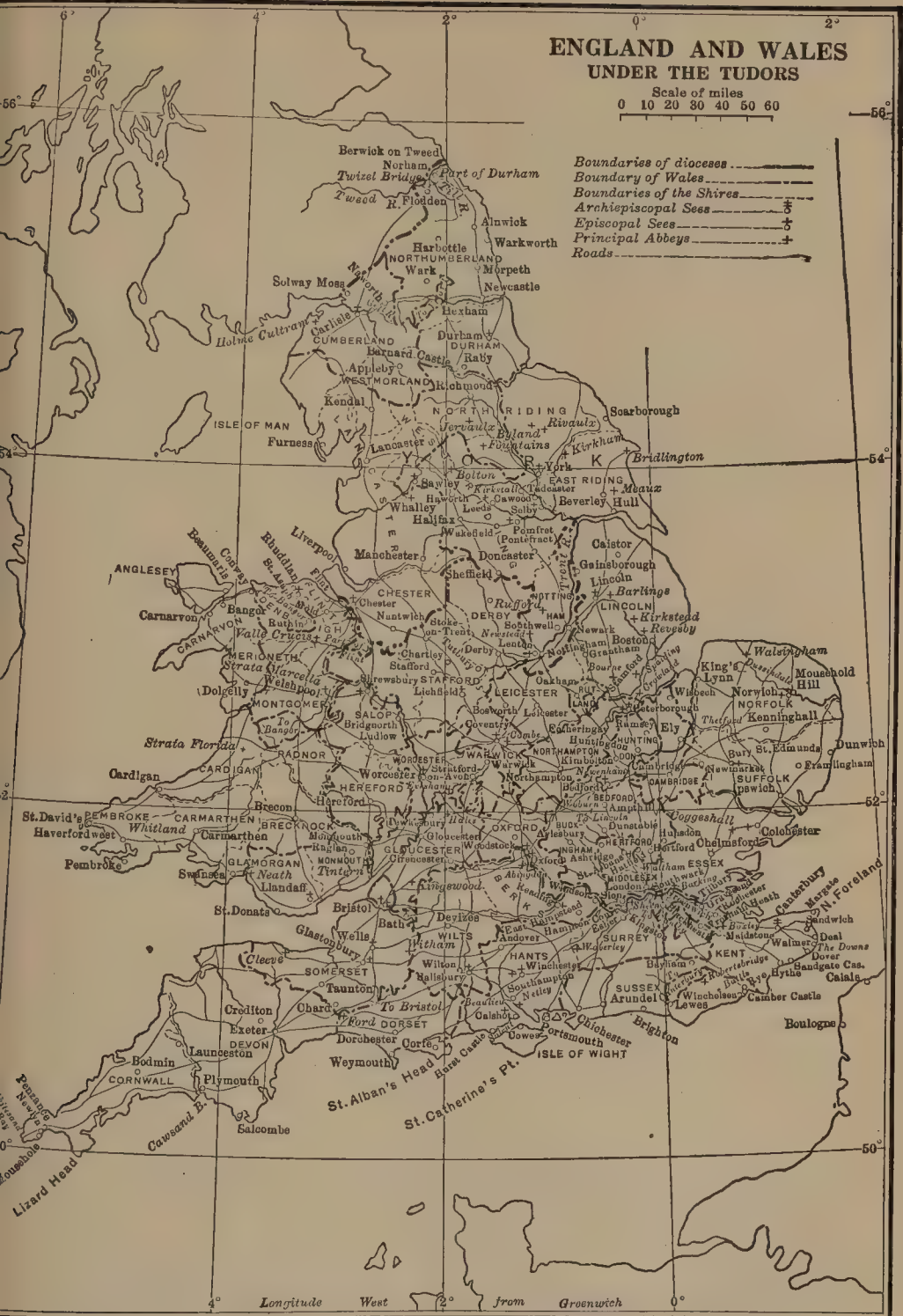
annulment of the marriage with Katharine be proclaimed and the new marriage publicly announced in order that Anne's child might be legitimate. Accordingly, an act was rushed through parliament prohibiting appeals from English ecclesiastical courts to Rome. While this act was pending, the clergy in convocation were induced to resolve that marriage to a deceased brother's widow was not allowable. In May of the same year Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, sitting in his archiepiscopal court, pronounced the marriage with Katharine of Aragon to be null and void. A few days later, after secret inquiry, he found the marriage already consummated with Anne to be valid. On June 1 she was crowned queen, and on September 7 the infant was born who as Queen Elizabeth was to wear in a manner not unworthy of her sire the mantle he had contributed so much to fashion.

But Cromwell was too astute a statesman to let the matter rest at a stage where it was feasible to undo what had been done. The rising tide of national feeling was not yet a force strong enough to withstand the opposition to the drastic measures that had been adopted which would naturally arise. The Roman Church, despite occasional lapses of its leaders, was much the most powerful organization Europe had known since the dissolution of the Classical empire, perhaps in some respects stronger than that empire itself. In breaking off relations with this organization, whose power was only beginning to be challenged on the Continent by princes and town councils, the English rulers were laying violent hands on an institution that now for almost a millennium had touched at many intimate points the lives of all the people. They knew that this strong step invited opposition, not only from the Church itself but also from principalities and powers that would exert every available means to hinder the completion of what they had begun. One of the chief sources of strength of the medieval Church in England, as elsewhere, arose from its control of so large a proportion of the material resources of the kingdom; it was estimated at from one-fourth to one-fifth. Henry and Cromwell now turned their attention to this aspect of their problem. The coöperation of the archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the secular clergy was essential in the administration of the Church, so their endowments were not for the time molested; those of the higher clergy, not for a long time. The case was different with the regular clergy, the monks. We recall that a beginning had been made in their direction in a previous reign, and even Wolsey had given

ENGLAND AND WALES UNDER THE TUDORS

Scale of miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Boundaries of dioceses
Boundary of Wales
Boundaries of the Shires
Archiepiscopal Sees
Episcopal Sees
Principal Abbeys
Roads



evidence that he was aware of the lucrative opportunities which these rich organizations offered to those in power. The doctrines of Wycliffe and William of Ockham were now studied again, and commissions of investigation were sent to make report of the conditions existing in the doomed houses. The monks and nuns were probably no better or worse than other humans of the time, but it was naturally the worse aspects of their conduct that were emphasized in the reports of those whose manifest task it was to find a justification for extreme measures. The smaller monasteries were dissolved by act of parliament in 1536. The larger ones were given three years more of grace. Cromwell negotiated with the more powerful abbots individually and induced them, since there was no better alternative, to sign deeds of voluntary surrender. The act of 1539 recognized what had been done and vested the title to the surrendered possessions in the King and his heirs.

A portion of the wealth thus realized was used to establish six new bishoprics, of which five became permanent in the ecclesiastical organization. But most of it went into the coffers of the King and enabled him, on the one hand, to strengthen his position by imposing lighter burdens on the taxpayers of the kingdom and, on the other, to commit the more influential of his supporters to the separation from Rome for all time by bestowing on them a share of that which had been taken from the monasteries. The very act of expropriating wealth on so large a scale was concrete evidence, more convincing than any current notions of the sovereignty of the state, of the power accumulating in the hands of the King and parliament. The secular clergy, warned by the fate that had befallen the regular, would not lightly invite the same disaster upon themselves. Once this part of the settlement of Henry and Cromwell was accomplished and the new holders of the estates were established in legal possession, it would be almost impossible to undo that which they had done. The English clergy might again submit to the Roman curia, but the papal organization in England could not easily achieve its former strength.

As regards dogma, Henry as yet had no intention of departing from the doctrines of the orthodox Church on the Continent. Two parties had begun to make their appearance in England, it is true, one inclined to be in sympathy with the reformers on the Continent, of which Cranmer was leader among the bishops, the other wedded to the older views and led by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Both men were kept in the

organization by their allegiance to the King. A statute passed in 1539, of which Gardiner was the chief author, enacted in six articles the older views on the disputed points.¹ This act made heresy largely a secular offence; that is, a crime against the state, to be investigated and punished as were other offences against the state.

It was almost inevitable that men of influence who could not find it in their hearts to acquiesce in the measures of Henry and Cromwell should suffer for their views. Notable among this number was Sir Thomas More, one of the most lovable men of his time and one in whose companionship the King had taken delight. Another was John Fisher, the venerable Bishop of Rochester. Both were sent to the block in 1535. Fisher defied the King by accepting a cardinal's hat from the Pope and was executed for refusing to take the oath of supremacy to the King. Despite the efforts of his associates to persuade him to take another course, More persisted in joining in this refusal. The result was that he died for his opinions; while in power he had himself sent many to the stake to suffer even greater torture in death for opinions with which he did not agree. These executions and the others that followed were inevitable accompaniments of the revolution that Henry and Cromwell were seeking to effect. They could not tolerate an open defiance of the authority of the King among persons of so great influence, if they hoped to make that authority supreme over the Church and the lesser people of the realm.

But the combined power of King and parliament could not hold the English Church to its old moorings, once the separation from Rome was accomplished. The *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua was printed, with the approbation of Cromwell, in 1536 to support the King's cause. But some source of authority in matters of doctrine was essential, now that the Roman curia was discredited. The King encouraged the reading of the Bible in English in the churches, oblivious of his efforts earlier in his reign to prohibit its publication. Thus, in a short time, a new attitude began to develop among men, who no longer felt the strength of ties binding them to the traditional views with the same force as when they were affiliated with the Continental Church. This new attitude was encouraged by the war which Henry and Cromwell made on the use of images and on the worship of saints. The shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury was demolished in 1538, an act by which the eighth Henry in

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 154.

life retrieved a defeat administered to the monarchy of the second Henry by a churchman in his death.

The death of Katharine of Aragon in 1536 made Queen Anne a liability. Her daughter remained her only child, and the validity of her marriage was ever open to question. For one thing, due to Henry's relations with her sister, it had required a special dispensation according to the rules of the old Church, even as had the marriage with Katharine. For another, the King was now interested in Jane Seymour. Anne had not been prudent in her behavior, and it was easy to find witnesses to justify her decapitation (May, 1536), once it seemed expedient. Henry's third queen¹ died shortly after the birth in October, 1537, of the only son that survived the King. Of the rest of Henry's marriages little need be said. In negotiating that with the Protestant Anne of Cleves (1539), Cromwell overreached himself. Henry neither liked the woman nor had a mind to stir opposition among the more orthodox of his subjects. Cromwell had served him well, but his work was now done, and the King was ready (1540) to acquiesce in an act of attainder against him. It was inexpedient that the power of a single subject become too great. Thomas Howard, the second Duke of Norfolk, who had taken the lead in suppressing the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace, the only organized opposition to Henry's ecclesiastical measures attempted in his lifetime, brought the charge of treason against the powerful minister. Howard was saved from the same penalty, to which he had been condemned, by the opportune death of Henry in 1547.

Before his death, Henry provided for the succession to the throne by revoking the actions previously taken against his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and by making a will, which was confirmed by parliament, by which the crown was to come in turn to his son by Jane Seymour, his daughter by Katharine of Aragon, and his daughter by Anne Boleyn, provided they severally died in turn without heirs. The son was only nine years old when he took up the scepter that the career of his father had done much to make it the task of a strong man to wield. At the time of Henry's death, the orthodox party seemed to be in the ascendancy in the Church. But the King had taken effective steps to provide that no immediate attempt should be made to undo his work by entrusting the education of his son to men holding the newer views and by creating in his will a

¹ According to the canon law as finally interpreted by Cranmer, she was his first legal wife.

council of regency, a majority of whom sympathized with the newer opinions.

Before we take final leave of Henry VIII, it is well to record one other point in which his reign marks the emergence of nationality in England. Since the reign of Edward I, Wales had been ruled by the English kings as a principality. The conquest of the English throne by the Tudors, nominally at least a Welsh family, made a more intimate connection possible. In 1536 Wales was incorporated with England by act of parliament. Henceforth Welsh counties and boroughs would send representatives to the English parliament, while English became the language of the courts of law.

EDWARD AND MARY AND THE THRONE OF THEIR FATHER

Extreme measures in the reign of Edward in one direction and in that of Mary in another prepared the ground for the success of the moderation of Elizabeth. The son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour came to the throne before he was ten years old and died before he was seventeen. During the first years of his reign affairs were managed by the King's uncle, Edward Seymour, who adopted the title, Protector, and was created Duke of Somerset. The Protector's inclination to sympathize with the humble and the oppressed and his disposition to be merciful to his enemies are better evidences of his humane qualities than of his capacity for statesmanship in the sixteenth century in a country accustomed to the stern rule of Henry VIII. One of the ablest members of the group associated with Somerset in the council of the young King was John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and son of Edmund Dudley, who had been decapitated by Henry VIII for an evil reputation gained in the reign of his father. When the peasants on some of the lands confiscated from the monasteries found that it was not easy to make satisfactory adjustments with their new secular landlords and when the destitute realized that no substitute was immediately available for the relief they had formerly received from the monastic houses, Somerset tended to sympathize and had vague plans of doing something to remedy these grievances. But when these social grievances stirred into rebellion the groups who suffered from them, assisted perhaps by the more orthodox, who discovered in the Protector a lack of sympathy with their views, Dudley was sent to restore order. Returning in command of the

army, he was able to depose Somerset, whom he later caused to be executed (1552), and to have himself made Duke of Northumberland. He began immediately to take steps to consolidate the power he had gained, and his ambitions grew as he thought he saw a chance of achieving them until they involved the possession of the Crown itself.

Even while Somerset was Protector, steps were taken preliminary to drawing England farther away from the traditions of the Roman Church. Having discarded the authority of the pope in matters of doctrine, the English Church adopted the precedent of Wycliffe and followed the example of the Continental reformers by turning to the Bible as an alternative. But there were questions, such as the marriage of the clergy, the use of images, and the nature of the sacraments, especially of the sacrament of the altar, concerning which the teaching of the Scripture was in dispute. The most critical point now, as in the time of Wycliffe, was the last named sacrament. While the dispute on this point was in progress, other matters received attention. The use of the Bible in English was encouraged. A statute of 1547 provided that in the future the bishops should receive their appointments by letters patent from the king without some of the previous formalities of election by the chapter. An act in the same year provided that in the future both bread and wine might be administered in the sacrament to all Christian people who so desired. Then there remained an item of endowment of the Church under the old régime for which there was no practical need under the new, while the coffers of the King, as usual, were empty. Accordingly, an act was passed dissolving more than two thousand chantries; that is, small foundations established to pay for perpetual masses for the souls of their founders. In theory, a part of the wealth thus secured was devoted to the support of schools; in fact, most of it found its way into the royal treasury or into the hands of those about the King. But probably the most pressing need of the Church, if it was to preserve a semblance of unity, was a uniform ritual for common worship. That need Cranmer and his colleagues, after much labor, undertook to supply. Their work was incorporated in the First Prayer Book and became official and compulsory in the first Act of Uniformity¹ in 1549. The compilers borrowed this liturgy from any sources that commended themselves. Being a composite production, it was naturally in the nature of a compromise. Inasmuch as it was in English,

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 160.

it marked a further step in making the Church a force in national life.

One difficulty was that this first Prayer Book was capable of interpretation according to views held by both the more orthodox and the Protestant groups. Cranmer and Gardiner disagreed as to its meaning on the subject of the sacrament of the altar. Northumberland, now in power, had decided that the future lay with the Protestant party, a view to which the training of the young King lent force. The Duke, accordingly, promoted a revision of the Prayer Book to make it conform to the Protestant view. The task was again intrusted to Cranmer, whose further reflections had tended to make him sympathetic with the opinions of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, and his followers, though he never wholly accepted the views of that group. He denied both the transubstantiation of the Roman Church and the consubstantiation of Luther, but he felt that Zwingli had gone too far. The second Prayer Book, when completed, was published with the sanction of a second Act of Uniformity (1552).¹ A statement of doctrine containing forty-two articles was formulated and proclaimed (1553) on the authority of the King. Meanwhile, some of the reformers had developed scruples concerning the use of the older book of ritual, ceremonials, and images. In the destruction that was wrought in the midst of the growing intolerance of the old ways in religion, many stained windows and other decorations which adorned medieval churches and monasteries were lost to later generations, which have learned again to appreciate them both as relics of the past and for their intrinsic beauty.

A considerable element in the population, especially the more devout among the older people, disliked these innovations. Nevertheless, they had received the sanction of the state, with which people were becoming familiar as the source of authority in matters of religion as in law, and they might have been permanently accepted had not Northumberland now overplayed his hand in pursuit of his own overweening ambition. The King was stricken with a disease that was to prove fatal. Only women were available as prospective wearers of the crown. Most prominent among them were Mary and Elizabeth, daughters of Henry VIII, whose succession had been provided for in order in the will of their father. But Mary was a stout adherent to the Church of her mother and naturally had little sympathy with the ecclesiastical measures of her father, still less with

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 162.

those that had followed in the reign of her brother. Elizabeth already revealed signs of the character she was later to develop, which made her an unsuitable instrument for the scheme that was taking form in the mind of Northumberland. Mary Stuart of Scotland, granddaughter of Henry VIII's elder sister, Margaret, was already betrothed to a French prince, which eliminated her from consideration. The likeliest candidate seemed to be Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry's younger sister and the Duke of Suffolk, now a girl in her teens. Northumberland induced her to marry his own son. Thereupon, he procured the making of a will by the dying Edward VI (1553) in an attempt to have him bequeath the crown to Lady Jane. The scheme might have succeeded had Northumberland been able to get possession of Mary on the death of her brother. But, warned in advance, when summoned to Edward's bedside, she fled in a different direction. Northumberland had committed himself too far for retreat and played the game through to the end. But men of influence rallied to the support of Mary, and Northumberland had scarcely left London in an effort to bring her to terms by force, when the evident sympathy of the city with Katharine's daughter came to the surface. Captured by the supporters of the new Queen, Northumberland proceeded to deny the religious opinions he had so strenuously promoted and professed that he had seen the error of his former actions. The recantation failed to serve the purpose for which it was doubtless intended. Mary's advisers apparently thought it a mercy to end the penitent's life while he was on the right side.

Mary herself seems to have profited little from the unfortunate fate that had overtaken Northumberland. No doubt she was genuinely devoted to her own and her mother's religion. But that devotion dominated her so completely that she lacked most of the instinct for shaping her measures in accordance with the prevailing spirit in her kingdom that contributed so much to determine the policies of her father before her and her sister after her. The first Statute of Repeal,¹ which left the ecclesiastical situation substantially where it was at the death of Henry VIII, made little trouble. The mistakes of Northumberland had prepared the way for a return in that degree to the old ways. But the Queen's next project rendered her suspect for the rest of her reign. She contracted, in October, 1553, a marriage with her cousin Philip of Spain, son and heir of Charles V, thus subjecting the kingdom to the very danger

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 163.

feared by those who had encouraged her father to put away her mother. Parliament sought to guard against the danger in advance of the marriage by solemnly enacting that "the Regal Power of this Realm is in the Queen's Majesty as fully and absolutely as it ever was in any of her most noble progenitors, Kings of this Realm." But a statute was powerless against a fact, and the first minute of the Privy Council after the marriage runs: "This day it was ordered by the Board that a note of all such matters of state as should pass from hence should be made in Latin or Spanish from henceforth." Further, it was seriously proposed that England's diplomatic representation abroad might now be curtailed or abolished altogether, since the interests of Mary's kingdom might be safeguarded by the ambassadors of her husband. But this arrangement was to be wholly one-sided. When Mary's subjects craved entrance to fields of Spanish and Portuguese trade, from which they had hitherto been debarred, they received the cold comfort of a suggestion that, instead, they direct their enterprise toward the Arctic regions. Even so, Philip was unable to understand why his wife failed to arrange for his coronation as joint ruler with her of the kingdom and finally lost patience with her on that score.

Both Philip and his father, however, were less enthusiastic than Mary on the point nearest her heart; namely, her determination to undo the work of her father and brother against the Church. Her will remained resolute despite their efforts to dissuade her. Her efforts were unsuccessful in her second parliament, but, early in December, 1554, England was formally readmitted into communion with the Church of Rome. A few days later an act of parliament revived the heresy laws that had been passed against the Lollards. She then procured the passage of an act repealing all the "Statutes, Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome" since the twentieth year of the reign of her father, with the notable exceptions that the property taken from the Church was not to be restored and the payments to Rome were not to be renewed except as the Queen herself might divert thence ecclesiastical revenues that came to her.¹ Thus Mary devoutly and her subjects formally renewed their traditional allegiance to the mother Church.

Her victory even on this point was short-lived. The Spanish marriage had stirred rebellion in several quarters, which was naturally the occasion for considerable blood-letting. The leaders of the revolt, as well as Lady Jane Grey and her hus-

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 166.

band, went to the block, while the Princess Elizabeth was held in prison under suspicion. The Queen manifested even greater zeal in her efforts to exterminate heresy. The burning of Cranmer (March, 1556), one of the last of the more prominent leaders to suffer, is understandable. Almost any sixteenth-century monarch would have sent him to the stake under the same circumstances. He had recanted, according to the manner of the time, in an effort to avert his fate, but his repudiation of the recantation at his funeral pyre made his execution serve the cause of the deposed Archbishop more than it did that of the Queen. Moreover, the fires lighted in divers parts of England around the several hundred who traveled the same road with Cranmer did not intensify the enthusiasm of the people for the old Church, which had in a manner revived on the accession of Mary. Then, too, the alliance with Spain had plunged England, while ill-prepared, into a war with France. Before the end of the war, Calais, for so long the English staple on the Continent and now the last remaining relic of the Continental dominions of the earlier kings, fell to the French. Even the Queen's husband realized the hopelessness of her position and began to make proposals to her sister Elizabeth. By the time of Mary's death, in 1558, she had succeeded in dissipating most of the favor in which her Church was held at the outset of her reign. She had succeeded, also, perhaps a matter of larger significance for the future, in fixing the attention of her subjects on Spain as a power to be feared as much as or even more than France. Devoted in her religion, she had been more consistent in her principles than any of her family who wore the English crown. But her singular loyalty to her Church only served to emphasize the important fact, that her subjects had already learned how to feel even a stronger loyalty to England as a nation. It was this latter loyalty that in the end was to defeat her hopes and make her labor vain.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. x; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. i-iii; Cambridge Modern History, II. chs. xiii-xv; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, II. chs. i-iv; A. P. Newton, "Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household," R. W. Seton-Watson (Ed.), *Tudor Studies*; A. F. Pollard, *Evolution of Parliament*, ch. vii; *Factors in Modern History*, chs. i-v; *Henry VIII*; William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History*, chs. xi-xiii; J. R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, pp. 1-129.

FOR WIDER READING

J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey*, 2 Vols.; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, III. chs. i-iii; F. C. Dietz, *English Government Finance, 1485-1558*, chs. viii-xvii; *Finances of Edward VI and Mary*; W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories Ancient and Medieval*, ch. xi; H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England 1485-1547*, chs. vii-xviii; Paul Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, 2 Vols.; James Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*; F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*; H. Gre, *The Reformation Period*; Martin Hume, *Two English Queens and Philip*, chs. i-iv; A. D. Innes, *England Under the Tudors*, chs. v-xv; *Ten Tudor Statesmen*, chs. ii-vii; W. P. M. Kennedy, *Studies in Tudor History*, chs. ii-v; John Lingard, *History of England*, VI; VII, chs. i-iii; H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford*, ch. xvi; A. F. Pollard, *The History of England 1547-1603*, chs. i-ix; *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation*; *England under the Protector Somerset*; P. W. Sargeant, *The Life of Anne Boleyn*; Frederic Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Muir, f. 8, contains a map of Europe in 1519, showing the dominions of the house of Hapsburg, and one (f. 37) indicating the old and new bishoprics in England in the time of Henry VIII, the location of the episcopal sees, and the location of the monastic houses that were dissolved. Ecclesiastical maps containing less information are in *Shepherd*, p. 97, and *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 16. The unification of Spain is illustrated by a series of maps in *Shepherd*, pp. 82-83. *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 10, shows the extent of the dominions of the house of Hapsburg at the abdication of Charles V. W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. 237, contains a map indicating the extent of the European world in the middle of the sixteenth century, which it is suggestive to compare with other maps (pp. 7, 141) in the same work.

PART II
THE NATION AND NEW LANDS

CHAPTER XI

GERMS OF EMPIRE

CONTINENTAL THREATS

When, in 1558, the last surviving child of the many marriages of Henry VIII came into her heritage and ascended the throne of her father, she faced conditions in which there were few pleasing prospects and was beset on every hand by difficulties calculated to challenge the utmost abilities of the wisest statesman. Deprived by circumstances, and perhaps by nature, of the privilege of living the normal life of a woman, she was obliged to find her chief satisfaction in the tortuous career of a queen. Constantly threatened with the loss of her life or her crown, she found it prudent to be many things to many men so that she might not lack friends in any time of need. Not the least of the services she rendered to her kingdom was to preserve her by no means healthful body through its Scripturally allotted period, so that her subjects had time to adjust themselves to the order of things introduced for the most part by her father and perpetuated by herself. It was her task the while to thread her way through a maze of intrigue and to keep herself free from the tempting dynastic alliances that offered and her realm, for the most part, at peace. In what degree her accomplishments were due to far-sighted premeditation and in what degree to her pragmatic disposition to find the least burdensome method of dealing with conditions as they arose, is not easy to determine. Through a large part of her reign, much of her strength at home and no small part of the dangers feared from abroad grew out of the possibility that a disputed succession to the crown would follow in her wake. On this question, which included also the question of her own marriage, much of her diplomacy hinged. To her own ability, or lack of it as some authorities would rather have it, is due a considerable measure of any success that was achieved, though she knew how to select advisers and to listen to their advice, even when she did not let it guide her action.

She kept to the ends of their lives the faithful counselors she summoned when she came to the throne. Of these, the one on whom she depended most was William Cecil, whom she afterward created Lord Burghley, and who bequeathed as another counselor his second son, Robert Cecil, when in the fullness of time (1598) death removed him from her service. The father was an experienced statesman when Elizabeth came to the throne. He had been sufficiently prudent, if shifting is not a better word, to serve unscathed in turn Henry VIII, Somerset, Northumberland, and Mary; he was still to do his best work under Elizabeth. Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, who became lord keeper of the great seal, also left a son, the great Sir Francis Bacon, who served both Elizabeth and her successor. Robert Dudley, whom the Queen made Earl of Leicester, achieved his place rather by personal favoritism than on account of his ability as a statesman. Among the older nobility worthy of mention was the Duke of Norfolk, who was ultimately beheaded. Matthew Parker, Edmund Grindal, and John Whitgift served in turn in the responsible position of archbishop of Canterbury. The name of Sir Francis Walsingham, for seventeen years secretary of state and influential in foreign affairs for a longer period, ought by no means to be omitted from a list of Elizabeth's older counselors nor that of Sir Walter Raleigh from those of her later days. Charles Howard, Baron Effingham, served in the army and navy and in numerous civil positions as well. Most of these, like the trusted advisers of her father, were men from families not long accustomed to rule. They came rather from among those who were making their way through their own capacity to accumulate wealth and power.

Elizabeth herself had served an apprenticeship in a school of hard experience. Her father had caused her mother to be beheaded and had pronounced the daughter illegitimate. Her brother had sought to procure her exclusion from the succession to the crown. Her sister had held her under close supervision, at times in imprisonment, and had meditated taking her life. Manifestly, therefore, whatever of good or bad Elizabeth had by inheritance, she had to know how to walk circumspectly and alone to fill the high position to which circumstances had called her.

As one of the first acts of her reign, the Queen had to make a great refusal. Mary died November 17, 1558; before the middle of January, 1559, Philip II of Spain, the dead Queen's husband, with whom England was at the time associated in a war with

France, solicited Elizabeth's hand in marriage. The prospect tempted, for Philip was undisputed ruler of Spain and the Low Countries in Europe besides rich domains in the Western Hemisphere. But the religious settlement which Elizabeth was already meditating combined with the national sentiment in England to make the alliance inexpedient. Instead, Spain and France made terms in the spring in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis whereby Philip became the husband of a French princess and was left well-nigh supreme in Italy. The two houses also united in a nominal undertaking that they would coöperate to support the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, Elizabeth had to postpone the prospect of recovering Calais, which her nation coveted.

At home, the new Queen began at once to set the ecclesiastical house in order. This work was made easier by the temporary vacancy of a third of the episcopal sees in England, including that of Canterbury. The loyalty of most of Mary's bishops to the old Church was a further help. When Elizabeth translated her policy into an accomplished fact, these latter bishops refused to serve in an organization that did violence to their cherished views, an action that enabled the Queen to fill the sees thus vacated with men more favorably inclined toward the new establishment. She thus obtained, besides an ecclesiastical organization in sympathy with her policies, added strength in the House of Lords, where the bishops then constituted almost a majority of the membership. But the absence of the full quota of ecclesiastical lords from the national legislature served her in good stead while the first two measures of her settlement were receiving consideration. These two measures, which became statutes as the Act of Supremacy¹ and the Act of Uniformity² respectively, were the work of laymen and were opposed by most of the spiritual peers. The Act of Supremacy repealed the second Act of Repeal of Mary and so brought back into effect the ecclesiastical statutes of Henry VIII. The title of the Queen as head of the Church was varied somewhat; the "*et cetera*" by which she had evaded the matter until parliament could act now became "Supreme Governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." All officials in both Church and state were required to take an oath acknowledging the Queen's authority and renouncing all foreign jurisdiction. The readiness with which the bulk of the people

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 167.

² Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 168,

who counted acquiesced in the settlement is evident from the fact that, aside from the bishops and higher clergy, not ten per cent. of the churchmen refused to take the oath prescribed. The Act of Uniformity, passed in the same year as the Act of Supremacy (1559), restored as the official ritual the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with some modifications designed to allay objections from those partial to the old forms and from some of the more moderate Protestants. The statement to be used in administering the communion, one of the critical points in sixteenth century theological disputes, was so phrased that persons holding almost all of the mooted views on the subject were at one time or another able to accept it without doing violence to their consciences. The act required attendance at the parish church on Sundays and holy days under penalty of a fine. The formulation of a statement of doctrines was not completed by the new convocation until 1563, and another eight years elapsed before parliament finally passed an act commanding subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.

No doubt much of the ease with which the national organization of the Church was revived after the Roman interlude under Mary was due to the tolerant spirit with which the new laws were enforced. Elizabeth herself had few religious convictions, and not many prejudices, while she had an instinctive sense of the ill service persecution was likely to render a cause in behalf of which it was used. She was, therefore, as tolerant as she dared to be both toward the older generation, who were still attached to the Continental Church, and toward the rising tide of more pronounced Protestants, whose consciences became increasingly troublesome in the latter years of her reign. Meanwhile, time was given for the powerful ones in the nation to grow accustomed to the Church as an organization merged with the state. It tended to become less and less a separate institution governed by the clergy; increasingly, in the several parishes as in the appointment of the higher clergy, the laity assumed a voice in its governance. No longer was the Church a separate estate of the realm, as it remained in the Continental countries where the old Church held sway; it was simply an aspect of the organized social life in which the English nation expressed itself.

This growing inclination of Elizabeth's subjects to accept the ecclesiastical settlement of the first years of her reign, as it was enforced under her tolerant administration, was halted sharply by a bull of the Pope, issued in 1570, excommunicating the Queen, relieving her subjects of oaths of loyalty made to her,

and including in the sentences of anathema any persons who adhered to her heretical government. This action obliged those who had hitherto managed to reconcile loyalty to the Queen with loyalty to the old Church to make a choice. In many cases national ties proved the stronger. With many others the traditional religious bonds were too strong to be thus suddenly broken, and so a considerable number of Elizabeth's subjects were forced by the Pope's bull into an attitude of treason against their political sovereign. The government naturally took steps to suppress a spirit so dangerous, a danger that was the more felt in that the Pope's bull was but one of a series of measures adopted by the Roman Church in an effort to regain the ground it had lost since the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent, which finally ended its prolonged sessions in 1563 in a vigorous statement, recommitted the old Church to some of its earlier doctrines recently called in question. The popes had for a long period been men of a type little interested in or likely to be favorable to the promotion of genuine religion; the office now began to be filled by men ambitious to serve the causes of the revived Church. The Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, as its members came to be designated, organized by Ignatius Loyola earlier in the century, had now grown into a militant missionary organization that worked in unison with other forces tending to restore the medieval Church to some of its old power. As time went on, Jesuits made their appearance in England. A similar work was undertaken by persons trained by the exiled clergy of Mary's reign, who, unable to reconcile themselves to the new régime, had taken refuge on the Continent. Here was an obvious threat which could not be ignored if the supremacy of the state as represented by the settlement of Elizabeth was to be maintained. Consequently, the Act of Uniformity was now enforced with greater severity. An act passed in 1571 prohibited the bringing into the kingdom or the execution of bulls from Rome. Ten years later the penalty for not attending worship as required by the Act of Uniformity was increased to the large sum for the time of twenty pounds per month. A Jesuit mission was sent to England in 1580 led by Fathers Parsons and Campion which attracted no little attention at the time and has been the subject of much discussion since. A law passed in 1585 was designed to banish the Jesuits from the realm; another act, passed in 1593, included even more severe regulations, framed for the purpose of obliging sympathizers with the old Church to conform to the laws of the kingdom.

This attempt to enforce uniformity in religious observances aroused resentment among the more extreme Protestants, whose consciences were no less sensitive than those of the adherents of the Roman see. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign numerous sects of Protestant Dissenters began to emerge. Beginning with the disputed subject of the vestments that ought to be worn by the clergy and similar formal matters, the discussion went forward to questions of organization and doctrine. In some cases these new groups of makers of trouble for the national authorities took their cue from Protestants on the Continent; others developed native views in the course of the disputations raging in England. These groups seemed dangerous to Elizabeth and her statesmen, because their very existence was a challenge to the supremacy of the state. The nation faced what seemed to be a struggle for existence against a reorganized and invigorated mother Church and against other supporting principalities and powers, among the strongest on the Continent. Division at home, therefore, seemed to be a peril that ought not to be risked.

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign England faced a threat from France, which resembled the danger that had passed when Mary died leaving no Hapsburg heirs as a fruit of her marriage with Philip. One of the obvious claimants to the crown should Elizabeth, following the example of her brother and sister, die childless, was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and granddaughter of Henry VII. Following the Scottish policy of friendship with France, traditional since the time of Edward I, Mary's father had married a French princess of the influential house of Guise, who served as a regent for her when the death of her father called her to the throne in infancy. At the age of sixteen (1558), Mary became the wife of the French heir-apparent and promised, should she die without heirs, to leave the crown of Scotland to the French house. The death of Henry II, in 1559, soon after the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, made Mary's husband king of France as Francis II. Unfortunately for Mary's scheme, her husband died two years after he became king. On that account, the active Roman Catholic family, the Guises, had to give place to Catherine de Medici, mother of the new King, Charles IX, who was more interested in the secular than in the ecclesiastical aspects of her task. Mary returned to Scotland, carrying her enthusiasm for the Church of her mother, and was soon the center of the Catholic schemes for dethroning Elizabeth. In 1565 she married Henry Stuart, Earl of Darnley, one of the possible candidates for Elizabeth's crown, and so

strengthened her own claims. A son of this marriage, born in the following year, did in the end sit on the English throne.

But the force that, more than anything else, preserved Elizabeth from the danger that threatened from the north now began to take form within Scotland. That country was still in control of a small group of feudal nobles, and little progress had been made in the task of reducing the kingdom to unity or organized peace. The population of the kingdom numbered only a few hundred thousand all told, and in many places the spirit of the clan still survived as a dominating force. The Church, it was currently estimated, held one half of all the land, and its officials were more interested in the fruits of the ecclesiastical estates than in their more proper spiritual functions. The example of the German princes and of the English monarchs suggested to the Scottish magnates the possibility of enriching themselves by appropriating at least a part of the estates they had formerly been content to share by procuring the appointment of men from their group to ecclesiastical office. They found encouragement and moral sanction for the undertaking when John Knox, a former royal chaplain of Edward VI of England, but recently come from Geneva, where he had sat at the feet of Calvin, reappeared in his native country. One of the first of his ventures in the controversy, a pamphlet, published in 1558, entitled the *Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, scarcely served to recommend him to the favor of Elizabeth, but he rendered her vital service, which she later recognized, nevertheless. A section of the Scottish nobles, organized as "Lords of the Congregation," made a beginning toward a breach with the Roman see, and a new ecclesiastical organization began to take shape under the direction of Knox and Andrew Melville. Unlike the English organization, it was not a creature of the state, since there was no sufficiently strong state in Scotland to create it. In the long run, it probably contributed more than the state itself to give tone to Scottish society. For the time being, it had its life rather in the religious leaders who were identified with it and in a faction of the magnates, who were perhaps primarily concerned with serving their own interests. A narration of the series of feuds and assassinations that ensued in rapid succession would be out of place here. At one stage, Elizabeth had to send military help to the Protestant party, but she had the good sense, in contrast with some of her predecessors on the English throne, to claim no recompense for the intervention. In the end, Mary became the prisoner of

Elizabeth (1568), leaving Mary's infant son with one or another faction of the Protestant groups to reign in Scotland. Thus England was finally freed from a danger that for centuries had threatened from the north. This relief came none too soon. Although the ecclesiastical organization took a different form in Scotland from that in England, the two countries from henceforth had common enemies in the old Church and in the Continental powers that were striving for its restoration. The facing together of these common dangers, accompanied by the accession of a Scottish prince to the English throne in 1603, stimulated the growth of a unity of British national feeling, where before there had been provincial jealousy and habitual discord.

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambr sis, concluded at the moment of the completion of the ecclesiastical settlement in England and of the open revolt of the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland (May, 1559), promised a union of the Catholic monarchs of France and Spain to destroy heresy at the time when the island of Britain seemed to be becoming the chief citadel of heretics. On the abdication of Charles V in October, 1555, the Hapsburg dominions were divided. The Holy Roman Empire went to the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand; Spain, the Low Countries, and the dominion beyond the seas went to Philip, the Emperor's son. The religious question in the Empire was compromised at the Peace of Augsburg in the same year on the basis of live and let live. The Empire was thus divided between adherents of Luther and supporters of the old faith, and the new head of the Empire was inclined to leave the task of suppressing heresy to Philip and to France. This partition of his father's dominions served to strengthen rather than to weaken the position of Philip. Enriched by a stream of wealth continually flowing in from America, lord of the Low Countries and part of Italy, cherishing a claim to Portugal and all her empire that he was in time to make good (1581), he seemed to be much the most powerful monarch of his time. United with France, he would have been irresistible.

Several things worked together to save the situation for Elizabeth and for England. For one thing, the Queen busied herself at home establishing the currency on a sound basis—the first time in generations that it had been so—, in paying her debts, and in practicing a rigid economy, almost amounting to parsimony, so that she soon began to accumulate a surplus. At the same time, she made ready the nucleus of an army and,

what was more important, a navy and gave encouragement to her adventurous subjects, who were already busy trying to extend the area of their own trade while they preyed upon that of England's rivals, dividing their booty with the Queen when they were successful in the latter questionable enterprise. Moreover, the proposed coöperation of the French and Spanish monarchs in the suppression of heresy turned out to have little reality. The rising tide of Protestantism in France ultimately forced a compromise between the opposing factions in that country under the Bourbon King, Henry IV (1528). Meanwhile, the earlier stages of the controversy afforded the chance for Elizabeth to lend encouragement to the French Protestant faction and so to weaken the power of one of her Roman Catholic opponents. As regards Philip, a rebellion against him by a Protestant party in the Netherlands (1566) claimed attention which otherwise might earlier have been devoted to England. Elizabeth played in the Low Countries the same game that she played in France. English troops volunteered to fight in the war, and English money, by one subterfuge or another, found its way to give encouragement to William of Orange and his fellows in their heroic efforts and so gave a semblance of reality to the repeated promises of English help. All this time, England was growing in unity, in wealth, and in power against the day of final reckoning with Philip.

When, in the fullness of time, this day arrived, it found Elizabeth as nearly ready as it was reasonable to hope she would ever be. The last plot had been hatched in behalf of Mary Stuart, and that unhappy woman, on the repeated, urgent requests of parliament, had been sent to the block (1587). A rebellion in behalf of Mary in an earlier decade in the northern countries, where, more than elsewhere in England, the magnates retained a measure of their former privileges and power, furnished an occasion for bringing this group into subjection and for allaying danger from that quarter. Henry IV was in the midst of his victorious struggle with the Catholic party in France, so Elizabeth had little to fear from the French. Finally, the growing strength of the English power on the sea made up for its weakness on land. This strength, which now began to be manifest, was due in no small degree to forces long at work in England which were gradually changing the character of the economic and so of the social fabric of the country.

THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The English merchants of the reigns of Henry VIII and his children lived in a bigger world than previous generations had ever known, a world that constantly expanded during their time. Unfortunately for the subjects of the Tudor monarchs, the outlying portions of this world, almost from the time of their discovery, had been allotted by a rough division to Spain and Portugal. Spain claimed exclusive rights in the regions to the west and Portugal in those to the east of a line first fixed by Pope Alexander III and a little later (1494) confirmed with some changes by the governments of the two countries in the Treaty of Tordesillas. For a while other powers paid a nominal respect to these claims, but not for long. After England withdrew from the Roman Church, leaving Spain a loyal supporter of that organization, English subjects increasingly disregarded these ambitious pretensions. That instinct for self-preservation which contributed so largely in rallying the English merchants to support their monarchs in measures designed to defend the country against attacks from Continental powers now operated, together with the hope of immediate personal gain from the undertakings, to send adventurers on expeditions to distant lands. These adventures were, in a sense, impelled by motives of defence. The powers that threatened England were establishing themselves in the New World; England must also go thither and outrival them, if she would preserve herself in permanent security. These powers were already waxing rich by precious cargoes from across the seas; England, if she was to be sure of her safety, must likewise draw treasure thence in a surpassing degree. Thus stimulated, the spirit of the nation fermented until it overflowed into the larger world. With the colonizing and exploring expeditions from Spain and Portugal went the priests and missionaries of the Church, and the exploits of some of these brave spirits are among the most romantic tales in all ages. Although the religious motive was not wholly lacking in the English expeditions, the moving spirits in their enterprise were rather missionaries of trade. They were ambitious to enrich themselves and their country in wealth and power so that the nation might be able to stand against its rivals. They thought, therefore, of carrying forth English commodities and of bringing back all the wealth of which they could possess themselves. In the process of realizing this ambition, they created common interests, which added another to the bonds that

held this substantial group with an ever growing feeling of loyalty to their nation and to its causes, now more and more intimately identified with their own undertakings.

As yet there were divergent views on these foreign enterprises, and not all the adventurous spirits of the time thought of them in the same terms. The Merchants of the Staple had not much longer to survive as a commercial factor. The growing native English cloth trade was already affording a market for most of the wool produced in the kingdom, and the increase in sheep-raising in Spain was supplying a clip which, though of an inferior quality, could be sold more cheaply than the English product. The Merchant Adventurers were still flourishing. A Venetian observer reports in the middle of the sixteenth century that many of the members of the companies of Adventurers and Staplers had accumulated fortunes to the amount of from fifty to sixty thousand pounds each, large sums for that time. But, with the growing knowledge of the extent of the world, the fields of commerce were enlarging, and it was no longer possible to limit the activities of men with capital to invest. The Hanseatic merchants, who had so long maintained a privileged position in London, were now unable to prevail against the native magnates. In 1579 they were reduced to equality with other aliens trading in England. Nineteen years earlier they had been deprived of their favored position in comparison with native English merchants. Before the end of the century they were banished from London altogether and their great block of buildings appropriated by the crown.¹ To many English magnates, however, it still seemed that the natural expansion of the business of exchanging English products for needed foreign goods and foreign gold was trade enough, without inviting trouble by infringing upon the claims of other countries.

Mere prudence, however, did not suffice to restrain the bold spirits of the century, once they had tasted the flavor of the wild adventure offered by the uncertain sea and once they had caught the contagion of treasure-lust that incited so many men to their doom. But, if many ships found watery graves, others brought back cargoes of fabulous wealth. The Portuguese claimed the route around Africa as their own, while Spain was receiving heavy loads of the precious metals from the lands beyond the Atlantic. Whither should the English turn? Magellan had demonstrated (1522) that there was a southwestern as well as

¹This property was later restored and finally sold to an English company in 1853.

a southeastern passage to Cathay. Might there not be a north-eastern or a northwestern passage as well? Since the days of John Cabot and the reign of Henry VII, English merchants had never quite abandoned hope that these passages might be found or ceased to make plans for finding them. Syndicates or partnerships of substantial merchants from Bristol and from London sent expeditions to engage in the search. The chief of the actual findings to the west was the island of Newfoundland and its rich fishing grounds, later to become so important and so lucrative. A company organized for the purpose under royal patronage undertook a voyage to the northeast in 1553. Among its promoters was Sir William Cecil, later Elizabeth's famous minister, the great Lord Burghley. Another was Thomas Gresham, who took a leading part in suppressing the privileges of the Hanseatic League under Edward VI and in stabilizing the currency under Elizabeth and whose name is immortalized among students of finance by its association with the law that bad money tends to drive out good. The first governor of the company was John Cabot's son, Sebastian. Among the notable voyagers were Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. Willoughby did not return to tell his tale. Chancellor failed in the undertaking for which he set out, but he did succeed in visiting Moscow and in establishing relations with the Tsar of Russia (1553), Ivan the Terrible. The company was now called the Muscovy Company and engaged in trade with the northern regions, where a natural demand was discovered for woollens and whence needed naval stores could be procured. Anthony Jenkinson, successor of Chancellor as the chief pioneer of the Muscovy Company in the early years of Elizabeth, pushed overland from Moscow into Asia.

More immediately lucrative were the scarcely legal voyages of Sir John Hawkins to the Guinea coast of Africa, where he freighted his ships with captured natives and transported them for sale as slaves to the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Spain made ineffective objections to this traffic, but the Queen and some of her influential ministers were privy to the undertakings and not above sharing their profits. In the wake of Hawkins went Francis Drake and other buccaneers of his type, who enriched themselves and their sovereign by depredations on Spanish voyagers rather than by legitimate trade. Drake himself sailed in 1577 on a voyage that ultimately led him around the globe and brought him home with only one of the three vessels with which he set out. But this single sur-

viving ship carried treasure for ballast, the richest that any ship had ever before brought into an English port.

A more legitimate trade was that carried on by the English in coöperation with the Dutch between Portugal and ports in England and on the Continent. The Portuguese had only energy and resources sufficient to collect the Oriental commodities and to transport them to Europe; on others rested the burden of distributing them where there were markets. The interruption of this carrying trade, when Iberian ports were closed to English vessels in 1585, helped much to quicken the interest of English merchants in the war with Spain that ensued. Meanwhile, there was already under way in England the beginnings of a company of merchants organized for trading directly with the Orient by the Portuguese route around Africa. In the last year of the sixteenth century the English East India Company received its first charter and began its long career of trade and empire building.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was already agitating the project of a colony in the west and obtained from the Queen a patent for such an undertaking in 1578. His first voyage was a failure, as was also a second, which he undertook a few years later in coöperation with his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. The next year (1584) Raleigh himself obtained another patent and projected a settlement in the new land, to be called Virginia in honor of the unmarried state of the Queen. The colony was ephemeral, but it was actually planted on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, the first of a series of experiments, later to be so successful. After Raleigh had expended some forty thousand pounds on the project, he transferred his rights to a syndicate of which Sir Thomas Smith was a leading member. One of the chief incentives in this undertaking, as in others in the more immediate realms of trade, was the hope of wealth to be accumulated. But another motive was making itself felt. Somehow England seemed to have a surplusage of population—a condition more apparent than real—and it was hoped that a colony in a new land would afford an outlet for this supposed overabundance of people. This apparent surplusage of population resulted largely from changes in the organization of rural life, long in process, that accompanied the growth of trade.

The essence of this change consisted in the permeation of rural life by the commercial spirit. Landlords gradually lost somewhat of their patriarchal and feudal character and became collectors of rent, much as merchants were seekers of profit.

Tenants fulfilled their obligations to their lords in ready cash rather than in more personal or social obligations. The new spirit had not yet wholly banished the old. Perhaps it never will wholly banish it. But it tended now to become the rule and to give tone to the life of the time. Men who had accumulated wealth in trade sought by purchasing lands with their gains to rise to the social level of those who were born to their social position. Once the land was in their possession, they tended to manage it much as they had managed their ventures in trade. They sought, that is, to make it a profitable investment. Sometimes sons of wealthy traders found wives among the daughters of landlords and so came into landed estates. In that case, the great house might be maintained with something of its former lavish scale, with a retinue of hangers-on who ministered more to the vanity than to the purse of the proprietor. But the commercial ideal entered even here, and rents were likely to be raised and the old customs gradually changed. Then, too, the introduction of a money economy and the commercial spirit stimulated the thrifty and provident among the tenants to save and to add to their holdings and so to elevate themselves gradually in the social scale.

Several factors coöperated to facilitate these changes. The Black Death of the fourteenth century, as we know, caused a temporary disarrangement of the existing order and made experiment easier. Likewise, the expropriation of the lands of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII placed these estates in new hands, in many cases in the hands of men impelled by the spirit of trade. These significant incidents but made easier a process of change that was resulting from the character of English trade. Wool commanded the readiest market of any commodity produced in rural England. As the use of cloth became more extensive, the enlarged demand for wool made the raising of sheep profitable, and so grazing began to vie with farming as the normal vocation in many parts of England. But in the midland district, where the open-field system of agriculture had prevailed from early times, sheep-raising could be introduced profitably only at the cost of a disarrangement of the customary organization of the community life. Since sheep-raising was much more profitable than agriculture, these agricultural villages, which had discovered weaknesses in their organization long before the sixteenth century, began in many places to give place to the new economy.

Sheep could be herded to advantage neither on the old

common and waste land nor on the arable strips between crops. They required enclosed areas in grass. The introduction of sheep-raising, therefore, meant the transformation of land that had formerly been in the arable strips or in the common or waste into enclosed pastures. In the case of the arable strips, the change was usually effected by a negotiation in which the wealthier landlord was able to exert pressure that was sometimes hardly fair on the less powerful tenants. The land formerly held as commons caused more friction. The law provided that a sufficient amount should be left to afford the privileges to which the tenants of the manor had a customary claim. But "sufficient" is an elastic word when its interpretation is left largely in the hands of one of the interested parties to a quarrel, and so the fences and hedges were built without strict regard for the feelings of the poorer tenants. Not all of the enclosed land was used for grazing. Many of the thriftier and more industrious farmers had discovered that there were disadvantages in plowing in coöperation with the more indolent members of the village community. Again, in cases where the cultivation of the strips had become an individual matter, it was decidedly to the advantage of the cultivator to have his lands together rather than scattered. Landlords, too, began to discover advantages in enclosures for agricultural purposes. But it is a fact, nevertheless, that most of the enclosures that took place between the middle of the fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth were due to the increase in grazing and to the spread of the commercial spirit, which brought into existence landlords whose primary interest was in the profits that might accrue.

The increase in prices in the latter half of the sixteenth century, due to the influx of the precious metals, to the introduction of luxuries on a large scale, and to the consequent increase in trade, tended to disarrange further the old relationships. Wages did not keep pace with prices. Local authorities undertook to adjust the balance, but these authorities were likely to see the immediate interests of their own class more clearly than the difficulties of the laborers. Moreover, the herding of sheep required less labor, and that less skilled, than was required where agriculture prevailed. Therefore, when the old village communities were replaced by enclosed pastures for sheep, many cottars and laborers were turned adrift. Some of them, able to adjust themselves to new surroundings, found employment in the less skilled crafts. Many of them became beggars

and vagrants and thronged the streets of the towns and the lanes of the country, Dogberry's "vagrom men" or worse.

This impoverishment of the thriftless and indolent and of those who were unable to find a place for themselves in the new scheme of things was emphasized in the sharp contrast between the conditions of these unfortunates and the rising standard of living of the lords of the land and of the thriving farmers. Wealth was accumulated on a scale far more lavish than had been the case hitherto, and a larger proportion of the population than ever before had a share. On the other hand, those who had received comparatively large bounties under the older régime, or who had been able to subsist by rendering customary services as cottars or as smaller tenants, now faced real poverty. The competitive element was creeping in, and these groups, whosoever the fault, were not the most productive elements of the population, and so they found it difficult to survive.

The Statute of Labor and Apprentices (1563) was in part an attempt to remedy these conditions, as was the Poor Law of a later period in Elizabeth's reign (1601). The earlier act symbolizes and evidences the progress that had been made toward substituting national action for action by lesser units in social and political matters. Every additional duty thus assumed by the state at large meant a strengthening of its hands, since it implied either the contrivance of new agencies of administration or an addition to the powers and importance of those already existing. This growth of the importance of the central government, even though it acted through individuals who had obtained their positions because of their own local prestige and importance, stimulated a common type of social life throughout the country. It thus helped to create a basis for a national consciousness in a way that was probably intended as little as it was understood by those responsible for the measures in question.

The Statute of Labor and Apprentices is a striking illustration of the compromises that characterized most of the acts of government in Elizabeth's reign. The act professed to recognize things as they existed rather than to introduce innovations. But the creation of national standards, where before they had been provincial or local, was in itself a noteworthy achievement, even though the national standards recognized the existence of the current discriminations among classes and groups. Apprenticeship in the more exclusive trades, for example, such as that of goldsmith, mercer, and clothier, was limited to forty-shilling freeholders in the towns. Recruits to the humbler trades of

the artisans—of smith, carpenter, wheelwright, and the like—could be drawn from any class in country or town. What was probably more to the point in the intention of those responsible for the statute, all able-bodied persons, who could not claim exemption for one of a number of enumerated grounds and who were not trained to another craft, were liable to service as agricultural laborers and could be obliged to work as directed for wages to be fixed by the local authorities. No person could leave the parish or town in which he had been employed without testimonials from resident householders or other proper authorities. Scholars, the owners of considerable property, and persons of gentle birth—the last an elastic requirement—were exempt from the provisions of this statute. It was not designed to destroy the gilds and other local organizations; it merely supplied these lesser groups with general regulations and gave them a subordinate position as part of the machinery of law-enforcement.

The famous Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which is further evidence of the tendency of the national government to assume responsibility for the regulation of society in all of its aspects, like the Statute of Labor and Apprentices, was the culmination of many previous attempts to deal with the subject extending over more than a century. In fact, a law dating from 1349 forbade the giving of alms to anybody who was able to work. The culminating statute in the reign of Elizabeth made the parish, now changed somewhat from its earlier ecclesiastical character, the unit of administration and provided for the levy of local rates or taxes to care for the poor, under the supervision of overseers appointed by and responsible to the Justices of the Peace. The infirm and impotent were to be maintained in houses established for the purpose. Able-bodied persons could be set to work under prescribed penalties at tasks which it was the business of the overseers to provide. The fundamental point for us is that the problem of relief was recognized as a matter of public concern. The state was becoming increasingly aware of all of its members. Neither the humble nor the great escaped the long arm of the law. The mode of operation was to supplement agencies already existing with the power of the general government, creating in some cases new machinery where it seemed necessary and expedient. By this same method, the Queen and her ministers made ready to defend the kingdom against the attack from foreign enemies of which they were growing fearful.

THE GROWTH OF SEAPOWER AND THE TRIUMPH OF ELIZABETH

Nothing illustrates better the advantages England reaped from the dilatory policy adopted by Elizabeth in the first thirty years of her reign than the strength the nation was able to acquire before the Spanish attack finally came. This strength was in part due to the beginnings of a royal navy made in the reign of Henry VII. Henry VIII carried forward the work and laid the foundation for an efficient naval administration on which his daughter built. Indeed, Henry did more than that; his naval architects made extraordinary progress toward developing the type of vessel that became the glory of the navy and the defence of the kingdom in the later reign. Among the Mediterranean navies galleys, propelled in large part by oars after the manner of the boats of the earlier Northmen, were still regarded as the most effective fighting ships because of the readiness with which they could be handled. The large, slow vessels that went on the longer trading voyages across the ocean were equipped, it is true, with some means of defence, else they would scarcely have dared to venture forth. But, on the best equipped fighting vessels, the guns could only fire straight ahead, and the ram was probably their most effective weapon. A favorite method of fighting was to grapple the enemy ship and then engage in combat with its crew after the manner of soldiers on land. The Venetians led the way in the construction of a sailing ship capable of being maneuvered more easily. The shipbuilders of Henry VIII made further experiments which led to the development of the type of vessel that came to be called the galleon. After a period of neglect under Edward and Mary, the navy was revived under Elizabeth, and further progress was made in the development of seaworthy sailing vessels, armed with guns that could be fired broadside and capable of being maneuvered with still greater facility. No doubt progress in this direction was stimulated by the character of the activities in which many of the seamen of Elizabeth's time engaged. It was important that they be able to remain at sea for a long period, that they have speed to appear on the scene suddenly, weapons to attack their prey with immediate effect, and the ability to get away with despatch. For these purposes, the galleon was better fitted than any other type of vessel that had so far appeared on the sea.

But the ships actually built and owned by the government were by no means the largest element in the maritime power of

the England of Elizabeth. Much after the manner of medieval kings, who obtained the ships they needed by commandeering any that chanced to be in their harbors, the government of Elizabeth's time counted the merchantmen that habitually went armed for defence as a normal part of the available fighting force of the kingdom. The navigation acts of earlier reigns had been passed largely in an effort to encourage the building of ships of this character. Moreover, Hawkins and Drake were not wholly engaged in exploits of piracy when they sailed with the encouragement of the Queen to pillage the commerce of a kingdom with which England was nominally at peace. There is no better evidence of the shadowy character of the distinctions that differentiated war from piracy at this time than the appointment of Hawkins in 1578 as treasurer and comptroller of the royal navy. It was in his administration that the seapower of England was made ready for its first signal victory.

The war with Spain may be said to have begun in 1585, when Philip II seized a number of English merchantmen loaded with grain which he had induced to enter Spanish ports under a promise of protection. The closing of his ports to English trade followed. As a reprisal against this measure, Elizabeth authorized Drake, with two vessels from the royal navy and twenty-seven merchantmen and privateers financed by a joint stock company, to take vengeance on the Spanish colonies and Spanish trade. This voyage was so successful that for several years afterward Philip found his colonies to be financial liabilities rather than assets. But he did not make peace, and, in 1587, Drake took another fleet to the coast of Spain, entered the harbor of Cadiz, and destroyed there a number of vessels that were in preparation for an attack on England. These were somewhat harsher measures than Elizabeth and the more peacefully inclined of her ministers felt that the circumstances justified, and Drake received a reprimand. But Philip was in earnest, and, in 1588, he sailed with one hundred and twenty ships and twenty-four thousand men to attempt an invasion of England. In the fight that ensued, the English demonstrated their superiority in seamanship and in the type of vessel they had developed. In this memorable battle, the great Armada was defeated by the royal navy supported by the very marine forces from which Spanish commerce had in the past suffered so severely. After their defeat, some of the surviving Spanish ships were destroyed in a storm that drove them to the north of Scotland while they were trying to find their way back to their homeland.

Drake now (1589) led an expedition against Lisbon, in the hope that the Portuguese would rebel against Philip if given encouragement, a somewhat disappointing venture. Profiting by his former defeat, Philip began to collect another armada, containing vessels of an improved design, and was soon threatening England again. Again Hawkins and Drake took the war to the Spanish dominions in the Western Hemisphere. This time they met with stronger opposition than before, and both Hawkins and Drake died before the expedition returned. The news of Drake's death did not reach England before another fleet was in preparation to attack Spain. A second victory at Cadiz spurred Philip to more feverish efforts in gathering another armada to attack England, but a storm dispersed it before it came in sight of the coast against which it was sent. Philip died in 1598. When Elizabeth followed him to the grave five years later, her successor refused to continue the war, and a peace was concluded in which the issues between her and Philip were ignored.

That the Spanish danger had not disappeared, English efforts to establish rival colonies to those of Spain in the western world clearly indicated. But the maritime exploits of Elizabeth's subjects gave England the rank of a first-rate power. They went far also to convince the English themselves that the surest defence of their country lay on the sea, that the most effective place to meet invaders was before they landed. The war was thus a triumph for the policy of Elizabeth, despite its apparently inconclusive character.

The nation had grown strong and, in the face of danger, had been able to marshal its strength against the enemy. The Queen's handiwork had stood the test, and she reaped a large store of gratitude from her subjects. But, important as it was, the successful stand against Spain was not necessarily the most important aspect of the triumph of Elizabeth. It rather illustrated the spirit and methods characteristic of most phases of her reign. Her triumph was the victory of compromise and tolerance. Whether her compromises were the acme of statesmanship or the results of a natural timidity at the prospect of making decisive commitments that had the possibilities of failure or disaster, we need not try to decide. At any rate, she and her counselors were seldom zealots in any cause. They seem to have done each day's work as it came to hand, in the hope that the morrow would bring something better. The merit of their method is that the morrow did not disappoint them. A recapitu-

lation of their general policies and the results that accrued illustrates the character of the achievements of the reign.

(1) One of the most permanent of Elizabeth's achievements was the settlement of the Church. On this question, she and her advisers deliberately selected a middle ground. The action of extremists on both sides in the two preceding reigns had prepared the way for this policy. Extremists were not wanting in the reign of Elizabeth. The Catholic party accumulated zeal for the Roman cause after the Council of Trent, on the one hand; on the other, the Puritans, stimulated by Thomas Cartwright, were changing the emphasis in their opposition to the national establishment from the earlier matters of vestments and ceremonies to more fundamental questions of organization. They cited the Scriptures in support of a form of ecclesiastical government which they represented as divinely appointed, and they sought to identify the "prelacy" of the national Church with the "popery" of the Roman curia. This unqualified appeal to the Scriptures led others, of whom Robert Brown was a type, to even more radical conclusions. A group thus emerged opposed to both the Presbyterian system of Cartwright and the prelacy of the established Church. The national Church, however, was not without defenders among scholars as among statesmen. Richard Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-1597) offered a defence of it characteristic of both the Church and the reign. He suggested, as a supplement and reënforcement for the Scriptures as a guide to conduct, "all the sources of light and truth with which man finds himself encompassed." The Church, as he interpreted it, was not an institution stereotyped for all time in the pages of the New Testament, but a living body capable of adapting its organization to suit the varying needs of the ages. In early society men had by common consent inaugurated government; in this way, the "Law of the Commonwealth" had been instituted. Once in existence, this compact became perpetually binding and obligated men to acquiesce in the measures of the government of the day. The long debate on the subjects thus outlined by Hooker was just beginning. Perhaps the end has scarcely yet been reached. But the English Church, as organized under the elastic terms of the Elizabethan settlement, had the support of the bulk of the nation. Administered with a reasonably tolerant spirit, it survived until a generation could grow up that accepted it as a matter of course and was thus able to weather in the end fierce attacks destined to be made on it from both directions.

(2) The foreign and ecclesiastical policies of Elizabeth were intimately related with each other, and both turned rather on the secular interests of the kingdom than on any effort to support a consistent doctrine or polity. The nationalization of the English Church invited the hostility of those who upheld the Roman hierarchy and made Elizabeth a natural ally of the Continental Protestants. But Elizabeth and her statesmen neither committed themselves wholly to the Protestant cause nor gave up hope of conciliating the Catholic powers. On the point that the Church of England must be national in organization, they were uncompromising; other countries might, as far as English statesmen were concerned, manage their own ecclesiastical affairs to suit their several wishes, if only they would cease to intermeddle with the Church in England. When England in this period gave grudging assistance to the Huguenots or to the Dutch, it was as a measure of self-defence rather than as a positive inclination to help Protestants as such. Similarly, when the war finally broke against Philip II, the militant apostle of the Catholic Reformation, as far as ecclesiastical matters were involved, the English fought in defence of their own independence rather with any expectation of promoting their own views in the lands of their enemies.

(3) Closely related to the foreign and ecclesiastical policies of Elizabeth, was the question of who should succeed her on the English throne. If she ever formulated any definite program on this question, she did not declare it. She persistently disregarded the plans and suggestions of her counselors. When she reached the end of her reign, the succession was undisputed, and the solution reached was in no small degree her personal achievement, yet it is not easy to say in how far she had consciously striven for the solution that was adopted. She used no such strong measures as had her own father to settle a similar question. By a process of elimination, the rival claimants passed from the scene or became obviously disqualified. She simply met with a large measure of patience and tolerance the practical difficulties as they arose, seldom taking definite action when it could be avoided. In the end she outlived her rivals and left the throne to James, son of Mary Stuart of Scotland.

(4) Elizabeth claimed a similar feminine privilege of inconstancy in her policies of trade and foreign enterprise. She alternately encouraged and disgraced the sea captains who contributed so much to make her realm wealthy and powerful.

Their methods, when challenged, were not always susceptible of defence. Yet there was much to justify them, and she gave them encouragement and shared their profits when it was safe to do so. Apparently her subjects understood the difficulties of the game she was playing and did not long store up resentment for the periods of disgrace they suffered. The Queen, on the other hand, seldom pushed matters to extremities when circumstances obliged her to take steps against those who offended in her service.

(5) This same spirit of hesitant experiment characterized the measures adopted in Elizabeth's reign to remedy the social ills to which her kingdom had fallen heir. In theory, the national government assumed the burden of responsibility and prescribed remedial measures. But the administration of these remedial measures was largely left in the hands of the very ruling classes in the localities that were responsible for the existence of the conditions. The result was to stimulate in the members of this substantial class a better knowledge of the conditions and some consciousness of their responsibility for them, without losing their support by arbitrary action contrary to their wishes. If the remedies provided were not in the end effective, it is doubtful whether any remedies administered by the machinery available at the time could have accomplished more. At any rate, the constituent groups in the nation became familiar with the notion that these were national rather than local questions, and so a foundation was laid for more effective action in later centuries.

(6) Perhaps the triumph of Elizabeth is seen at its height in the more practical matters of the management of the government. The divinity that hedges a king was very real in her thoughts and made her reluctant to take some of the steps urged by her advisers. But she usually yielded in the end when pressed by circumstances, as the execution of Mary Stuart illustrates. Her Privy Council was composed of a score or less of the men of her household and of those holding the important offices of state. She did not meet with this body personally in the almost daily sessions it must have held, yet she was always consulted. She announced her views in no uncertain terms and in some matters, notably that of her own marriage, kept her own counsel. Nevertheless, she willingly tolerated those who opposed her wishes, and, in the end, she accepted the advice of her counselors on most questions. The Privy Council itself had an apparently unlimited field of action. It deliberated on matters

of national policy and found time the same day to undertake the settlement of private quarrels. As a council it seldom took action that could be called judicial, but it frequently undertook to adjust disputes that might well have been left to the courts. In fact, its own members, in the prerogative courts, such as the Star Chamber, sought to improve the peace of the kingdom by using more direct and effective methods of procedure than were then familiar in the older courts of the common law. The only universal principle that seems to have governed the action of the council was a general disposition to deal in the most direct and forthright manner possible with any question that needed attention for the moment. For example, when it was expedient to use torture to procure evidence, the Privy Council resorted to that method, though it denied a similar privilege to any other body in the kingdom.

As regards the House of Commons, its privileges grew in Elizabeth's reign until she has been called by the most recent student of the subject¹ "the splendid betrayer of the cause of the monarchy." Yet she persisted in the view that it was beyond the province of parliament to consider, unless moved thereto by the crown, matters pertaining to her prerogative, such as the succession to the throne, the organization of the Church, and similar topics. But the speaker of each parliament now regularly claimed, and she granted formally to its members, freedom of speech, from arrest, and other liberties. Although she and most of the statesmen of her time understood this freedom of speech to be limited to words spoken in parliament and on matters proper to be considered by that body, men like Peter Wentworth were beginning to claim a right to concert measures among members outside of the house and to consider within it matters that the Queen felt were covered by her prerogative. With the growth of this spirit, there must inevitably come a time when the crown would have to yield or else face a trial of strength with the legislature, but that event was postponed to a later reign. While Elizabeth did not hesitate to lecture parliament and to prescribe limits to its power, when there was a conflict of wills, she knew how to yield gracefully in the end. Perhaps because she had this capacity, parliament seldom pushed matters to a test. Finally, the introduction of procedure by committee of the whole enabled parliament, almost without making anybody aware of what was in process, gradually to steal from the Privy Council the function of initiating legislation.

¹ Professor J. E. Neale.

The House of Lords was now acquiring the character in which it was to become familiar in later times. Only the archbishops and bishops remained of those who had formerly sat for the estates of the Church. The older landed nobility were represented by a comparatively few descendants and those not a dominating force in this generation. More of the lay peers were men who had recently acquired landed estates either by royal favor or by purchase and whose point of view, in consequence, differed little from that of the group that dominated the House of Commons. The lower house was now composed more largely of townsmen than formerly, and even knights of the shire, by processes we have already described, had imbibed a spirit similar in many respects to that which characterized the burgesses.

In short, the ruling class had been enlarged and transformed by additions from below and by accessions from lower strata to the number of the older ruling group. The result was that England was ruled by a body of people larger in actual numbers and having a greater homogeneity of interests than was the case in any country on the Continent. This enlarged ruling class could not be defied with impunity, but it could be led with comparative ease by those who were careful of its common interests and feelings. It was conservative on most matters by the very nature of its composition and had little relish for radical change. Thus parliament was rapidly becoming a representative body, in which the dominant feeling of the nation could find expression. Of course it was not a popular assembly. It represented a larger number of people than formerly, in that the commercial spirit had in a large degree superseded the older feudal point of view and had made persons who were substantially prosperous aware of their power, but no very large proportion of the population participated in elections. Parliament simply represented those whose social position or achievements made them potential in society.

(7) The general result of all these compromises was a paradox. Although a ferment was brewing in both religious and political matters that later threatened to divide society within the country, an immediate threat from without served to draw most of the factions together for the moment for strenuous common action in defence. This common defensive action resulted in new ventures in trade and new projects of empire that in the end furnished an additional bond of unity. Furthermore, the generation that grew up in Elizabeth's time remembered vaguely

if at all the state of things that had preceded her. Her subjects in her later years were to the manner born. They regarded the compromises achieved by their fathers as in the nature of ancient heritages, to be cherished henceforth as the immemorable rights of Englishmen. Finally, the spirit that animated the national life in this period found outlet in an exuberant literature, that was in part more or less conscious propaganda in behalf of the nation that was taking shape and in part reflective of the character it was beginning to assume.

DRAMATIZING THE NATION

The elusive thing we sometimes call "national consciousness," being in the nature of an emotion felt in common by the members of a group of considerable size, found unconscious utterance in the chance expressions of poets and dramatists before philosophers or statesmen were aware of its existence. Once it had impressed his sensitive nature, a poet served as a propagator of this emotion, which had hitherto been felt only by himself and his kind. Few ages have been richer in circumstances calculated to stir the heart of a poet than was that of Elizabeth. Conditions were admirably adapted to invite the expression of the feelings that the circumstances of the time aroused. The influx of wealth and the emergence of a prosperous class with leisure and means furnished an audience on a scale hitherto lacking. The dangers which threatened the established order in the kingdom both from without and within drew together those who had a stake in society and gave them open ears for a stirring voice. Newly found lands, fabulously rich, and undiscovered countries as well invited adventure on a scale hitherto undreamed and fed the imagination with marvelous possibilities almost too gorgeous for utterance. The organization of the machinery for the manufacture and distribution of printed books, pamphlets, and broadsides facilitated the publication of anything that suited the mood of the moment. The erection of public playhouses, which were built in increasing numbers in the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth, afforded another and perhaps the most effective forum in that age for those who made it their task to stir thought and feeling.

The drama was the overshadowing form in which the spirit of the nation found expression in the last decades of the reign of Elizabeth and in the earlier period of that of her successor, an

interval which is better considered as a single unit of time. But notable voices were heard in other fields. The English Bible received its finishing touches in the reign of James and began to exert its age-long influence on the style of all who speak and write the English language. Later translators have improved the accuracy of the meaning, but none of them has manifested the same literary qualities as appear in this work of many hands that labored while most of what is worth while in England literature had yet to be imagined and while the language was still young. Perhaps this linguistically youthful quality of the style is part of the merit that has contributed to give this work a lasting fame.

Many of the dramatists of this age were also poets. Men like Shakespeare and Ben Jonson united with scores of others to swell a volume of lyric song that almost rivals the drama itself in its manifold revelation of the spirit of the time that produced it. Translators were busy bringing to England the literature of the ancients and of the more modern Continental authors, thus affording rich storehouses from which the native writers borrowed in form, in inspiration, and in materials. Francis Bacon was the most notable, but he was not the only philosopher the age produced, else he would have had no audience to which to address himself. He illustrates a tendency to turn from the arid speculations of the schoolmen, typical of most of the philosophical writing in the past, to an inductive study of realities, indicative of the practical character of the everyday world in which he lived. But he was not the only man of that type; he but stood head and shoulders above others who had gone before and still others who followed in his wake. We scarcely need to be told that among those who wrote in a time so rich in literature were men like Raphael Holinshed and John Stow, who made it their business to ferret out and chronicle the stories of heroes and heroic deeds that constituted a part of the nation's heritage from the past.

The "Stationers Company" procured a royal charter the year before Elizabeth succeeded to the throne; by 1560 it was one of the liveried companies of London. This company held a monopoly of the legitimate printing trade of the kingdom. Only at the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, were presses allowed outside of the capital. Here began the long and as yet unfinished tale of the efforts of Church and state to restrain the publication of ideas and opinions within predetermined bounds. The authorities then were no better able than those

of later times to formulate regulations which suited their views and were at the same time enforceable. For, if printing was a closed trade, publication was left open for any who cared to try the venture and who could find a printer to supply his wares. Authors were at the mercy of booksellers or publishers, and much of the literature that survives was published by the booksellers, with little or no profit accruing to the authors.

The time of the newspaper was not yet. Even the *Weekly Newes*, which lacked something of the character that its name implies, did not appear until 1622 and did not continue them. Meanwhile, ballads, broadsides, pamphlets, and occasional compilations had to suffice. Those occupying positions of privilege or power had access to written news-letters, but the England, and even the London, of Elizabeth was largely lacking in that machinery of easy intercommunication which is nowadays accepted as a matter of course. There were at the close of the sixteenth century approximately a quarter of a million people in the cities and environs of London and Westminster, and among that number was included, at one season of the year or another, most of the people who counted in the kingdom. As a rule, the sessions of parliament were held at Westminster. London surpassed all of its rivals as a financial and commercial center and on that account attracted the ambitious and the influential, whether they merely tarried for a while in one of the numerous inns or had permanent dwelling places. Even more than in later times, the London of Elizabeth was representative of the nation. It was in London, or rather just without the city, therefore, that theaters were now built which filled a need nothing else had yet supplied. The dramatists who began to multiply and flourish at the capital addressed more representative audiences on more direct and intimate terms than any other national spokesmen who were contemporary with them or who had preceded them. The preachers, who might have had access to larger audiences, were somewhat too polemical in their style to serve the same purpose. It was, therefore, in the groups gathered about the stage, who felt the tense emotions engendered by the drama, that the seeds of national feeling found the soil most conducive to their germination and growth in the time of Elizabeth and the first James.

The Elizabethan stage was the flower of a plant that had several roots. In the latter decades of the sixteenth century young men like John Lyly, George Peele, and Robert Greene came to London from the universities, where they had studied and

experimented with the drama of the ancients and of the Continent. Much of their work was thus imitative and took the form of an attempt to introduce into England the drama of other lands. In the meantime, other forces were at work to provide the audiences and a stage for a native drama when it should come. There were the religious mystery plays, presented on festive days by the older gilds and similar companies. The court of Henry VIII took delight in masks and pageants, for which large sums were expended. Familiar, also, were the "morality" plays, in which vice, virtue, perseverance, patience, mind, will, and similar abstract characters endeavored to make themselves live in the imaginations of the audience. Lest the audience weary, occasional comic interludes were interspersed in the mystery or morality plays, affording to local wits an opportunity to make hits at current personalities and questions. Some of the greater noblemen had bands of minstrels or players, wearing their livery, who lived by the entertainment they furnished. Later, professional companies sought the patronage of noblemen, even after the drama was placed on a commercial basis. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign some of the favorite players were attached to the royal court and received certain privileges and a modicum of remuneration from the exchequer. With the exception of the plays presented in the royal palaces, in the halls of the nobles, or under the auspices of a religious organization, even at as late a date as the accession of Elizabeth, the players usually had no better place for their performances than the inn yards, despite the fact that the drama was becoming so important that in the reign of Edward VI the Privy Council deemed it expedient to exercise control over the dramatic companies attached to the noble houses. Not until 1576 did James Burbage erect the first permanent building in England designed specifically for theatrical purposes. He and four other servants of the Earl of Leicester had received license two years before from the master of the revels to perform "Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, and Stage Playes both in London and Elsewhere."

This first house was called the "Theater"; another, called the "Curtain," was erected a little later in 1576 by another company. Others followed in rapid succession. It was with the sons of Burbage that William Shakespeare associated himself soon after the uncertain time in the last decade but one of the sixteenth century when he came up to London. The manner in which these playhouses were managed hastened the develop-

ment of the drama. Other members of the company besides Shakespeare were at the same time stockholders in the house, partners in the management, actors, and dramatists. The purveyance of theatrical entertainment was their whole life. Their income from their work at every turn depended on their ability to sense the humor of their audiences and to contrive diversion suitable to the state of mind of the crowd. This very practical motive did not supply imagination and fire to a dramatist who lacked it, but it was a powerful incentive to induce work in one who had talent. Much of the genius of Shakespeare consisted in his ability to respond to the demands of his task at every turn. Beginning as a fertile maker of phrases, he rose to his opportunities as they came. As he conceived his task, it was probably to put on a better play than his rivals and one better suited to the popular mood of the moment. Usually he took familiar stories, themes others had tried, and gave them a new life. Since the plots in outline were ready at hand, he could spend more time working out their details and in breathing into the lines and the action the qualities of a living spirit.

Ben Jonson, one of the greatest of his contemporaries, whose "rare" qualities are proclaimed to every eye that glances down at the flagstone where his bones repose in Westminster Abbey, is reported to have remarked that "Shakespeare lacked art." And so he did, in the sense that Jonson meant. Therein is the essential difference between the two dramatists that, in later generations, sentences the one to the solitary company of the few students of literary history, while the other is the glory of his nation, and his name is familiar to multitudes who may never see or read one of his plays. Jonson was a conscious artist, who knew the canons of his trade and conformed to them. Shakespeare was an actor, manager, and playwright, who had a day's work to do and lent the most helpful hand he could. As he grew in age and experience, observing the effects produced on audiences by the handiwork of himself and others, he approached perfection in his art, but he was never so much a conscious artist as he was a dramatic poet, endowed with genius and favored by circumstances with conditions that called forth the best of which he was capable.

When the Spanish war broke out, as is ever the case in a national war, the country drew together for the struggle. Dim figures of British mythology poured out of legends and chap-books to join the more solid characters of the chronicles in their heroics on the stage and to stir the patriotism of those who at-

tended London theaters. It was the task of the dramatist to endow these figures with thoughts and feelings appropriate to the matter in hand and so to animate them that they would kindle responses in audiences agog with the passions of the day. The chronicle play achieved its greatest popularity and began to decline in this short span from 1588 to the death of Elizabeth. How far the drama was consciously a part of the propaganda normal in a war that imposed a supreme test on the nation, and how far it was merely an unconscious reflection of the spirit of the time, is not easy to determine. We know that agitators about the court and capital were not averse to using plays for propagating their views. In *Gorboduc*, one of the earlier of the plays based on British mythology, as presented before the Queen in 1563, shortly after her accession, Elizabeth was reminded of the danger to the kingdom arising from the lack of a certain heir to the crown. But the use made of the reign of King John illustrates better the adaptation of the chronicle to serve the needs of political propaganda. It was first used by Bishop Bale, (d. 1563) whose *Kynge Johan* was rather in the manner of the older morality play than a chronicle play of the type later familiar. Even in his hands, the struggle between John and the Church became a prototype of the same struggle in later reigns. Stephen Langton was appropriately represented as "Sedition" and the Pope as "Usurped Power." Magna Carta, which was destined to be rediscovered and enshrined in the seventeenth century, naturally had no place in this or in later plays of Elizabeth's time that were based on John's reign. The next stage in the use of the material was *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England*, which was first enacted in the year of the Armada. The character representing the King speaks to the point and voices one of the grievances of the hour:

The Pope of Rome, 'tis he that is the cause,
 He curseth thee, he sets thy subjects free
 From due obedience to their sovereign;
 He animates thy nobles in their warres,
 He gives away the crowne to Philip's sonne
 And pardons all that seek to murder thee.

And then the remedy:

Let England live but true within it selfe,
 And all the world can never wrong her state.

If England's Peeres and people joyne in one,
 Nor Pope, nor France, nor Spain can do them wrong.

Shakespeare was manifestly fired with the same emotion or, at any rate, he knew the response it would kindle in his audience, when he worked over these materials. He represented the King as declaiming a challenge to the papal supremacy addressed to the Papal Legate in words that ring even now:

Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
So slight, unworthy and ridiculous,
To charge me to an answer as the Pope.
Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
Add thus much more, that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.

No doubt the audience greeted this defiance with the applause the dramatist anticipated. The final moral of the piece is pointed in the closing words spoken, after John has made his submission in an effort to keep out the invader, by the King's illegitimate nephew, who is in a fashion the hero of the play:

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.
Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

The growing tendency to personify the nation and to let loyalty to it outrival loyalty to the king, that begins to be evident in the more poetic of these plays, probably stole upon the dramatist unawares. There was still an element of divinity that hedged a king; there would have to be in plays likely to please Elizabeth or James, and the playwright certainly had no will to displease the sovereign. Nevertheless, the other thoughts were cropping out with greater frequency, with now and then hints that the interests of the nation were to be preferred to the will of the king should a conflict arise between the two.

The poets and dramatists did not confine themselves to the rising tide of patriotism at home. They sensed also the adventures that awaited in distant lands. The hero of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, one of the earlier of the plays, exclaimed:

Give me a map; then let me see how much
Is left to conquer all the world.

In *Henry VIII* Cranmer is made to foretell a king who should be honored "Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine"

and who should make new nations. This idea of a new nation was not yet a commonplace, though Raleigh in 1602 still hoped to live to see Virginia "an English nation." The scene of *The Tempest*, among the last of the plays attributed to Shakespeare, is located in the Bermudas, though the thought of empire seems to have stirred him less than it did others of his contemporaries. Michael Drayton, for example, in *England's Heroical Epistle*, spoke in no uncertain tones, however much they may have lacked in poesy:

A thousand kingdoms will we seek from far,
 As many nations waste in civil war;
 Where the dishevelled ghastly sea-nymph sings,
 Our well-rigged ships shall stretch their swelling wings,
 And drag their anchors through the sandy foam,
 About the world in every clime to roam;
 And then unchristian countries call our own
 Where scarce the name of England hath been known.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

E. S. Beesley, *Queen Elizabeth*; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. iv, v; *Cambridge Modern History*, II. ch. xvi; Julian Corbett, *Sir Francis Drake*; W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land*, chs. viii-xi; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, II. chs. vi-viii; *England's Industrial Development*, chs. ix-xi; J. J. Jusserand, *The School for Ambassadors and Other Essays*, chs. viii, ix; E. A. G. Lamborn and G. B. Harrison, *Shakespeare, the Man and his Stage*; R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, chs. iii-iv; J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, I. Part I; J. R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, pp. 130-179; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part II; Barrett Wendell, *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*, chs. i-vii.

FOR WIDER READING

J. Q. Adams, *Life of Shakespeare*; G. P. Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*; C. F. T. Brooke, *Tudor Drama*; *Cambridge Modern History*, III. chs. viii-xi; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV-VII; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 Vols.; E. P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, 2 Vols.; Julian Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 2 Vols.; *The Successors of Drake*; Louis Einstein, *Tudor Ideals*; W. H. Frere, *A History of the English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, chs. i-xvi; A. D. Innes, *England Under the Tudors*, chs. xvi-xviii; *Ten Tudor Statesmen*, chs. viii-x; Martin Hume, *Two English Queens and Philip*, chs. v-ix; *The Great Lord Burghley; Treason and Plot*; J. W. Jeudwine, *Studies in Empire and Trade*, chs. x-xix; J. J. Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*, III; W. P. M. Kennedy, *Studies in Tudor History*, chs. vi-x; A. J. Klein, *Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth Queen of England*;

Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare*; John Lingard, *History of England*, VII. chs. iv-v; VIII. chs. i-vii; C. P. Lucas, *The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise*; A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church Under Elizabeth* (J. R. McKee, Tr.); J. E. Neale, "The Commons Privilege of Free Speech in Parliament," in R. W. Seton-Watson (Ed.), *Tudor Studies*; A. F. Pollard, *The History of England 1547-1603*, chs. x-xxiv; Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, 3 Vols.; F. E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play; Shakespeare's England, An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*, 2 Vols.; H. T. Stephenson, *Shakespeare's London*; R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*; Lilian Winstanley, *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Shepherd, pp. 118-119, contains a map showing the distribution of territory in Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the route of the Spanish Armada. A. D. Innes, *England Under the Tudors*, appendix, contains a map indicating Drake's voyage around the world and the location of the early Spanish and Portuguese explorations and settlements; at the same place is a map showing the extent of the possessions of the various dynasties in Europe and another showing the extent of Spanish America about 1580. A reproduction of a contemporary map in W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. 332, indicates the notion of the New World current in England in 1587. A smaller map in the same work (I. 278) shows the geographical distribution of religions in Europe in 1550. The extent of the Protestant movement in its various forms to 1560 may be seen on a map in *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 18; No. 24 in the same work illustrates the naval war of Elizabeth. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 163, 172, 221, 222, 223, contains six maps illustrating the enclosures of English lands in the sixteenth century. The voyages of discovery and the distribution of territory in 1529 are indicated in *Muir*, f. 47, with inserts of reproductions of earlier maps. Drake's voyages may be traced in *Muir*, f. 48.

CHAPTER XII

A FOREIGN DYNASTY AND THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

KINGS BY DIVINE RIGHT

Henry VIII and Elizabeth live as among the greatest of English sovereigns because, consciously or unconsciously, they were aware of the rising tide of national feeling that England was experiencing in their time and were able to shape their policies largely to suit its demands. Doubtless they influenced the course of events in some degree, but they did not undertake to stem the prevailing currents already flowing. The Stuarts failed as English rulers because they were unaware of the existence of these forces and blindly sought to oppose where the greater Tudors had been satisfied to lead and to direct. This incapacity, which time was to reveal as a characteristic of the house, was manifest before James had completed his first journey from Scotland to his English capital. The new King, while he was *en route*, ordered a thief to be hanged without trial, a startling innovation to Englishmen accustomed to the orderly if sometimes inadequate procedure of the courts of common law. He brought in his train a procession of Scots, on whom he began to bestow marks of favor before the end of the journey. While he kept as one of his chief advisers Sir Robert Cecil, whom he afterward made Earl of Salisbury, he restored to power and place the members of the influential Howard family. On the other hand, Raleigh, one of the most pronounced supporters among the surviving Elizabethans of the war with Spain, soon found himself in disgrace and before long in the Tower under sentence of death.

Aside from his native incapacity, suggested by the remark of a recent historian that "James was one of those singular persons who, although not wicked, do things of which the wicked would be ashamed," there were other reasons why his rôle as king of England was certain to be troublesome. His central difficulty, and one from which radiated many others he faced, was his

obstinate belief that his dynasty was divinely inspired to rule. His views on this subject were formulated in his pamphlet, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchie*, written five years before he assumed the English crown. The language used by parliament in answer to his first speech from the throne is substantially an acquiescence in the King's theory. The crown of England, the argument ran, descended to James on the death of Elizabeth "by inherent Birthright, and lawful and undoubted succession . . . as being lineally, justly and lawfully, next and sole Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm." Elizabeth might also have claimed a divine sanction for her government, but it was *de facto* rather than hereditary; its best supports were acts of parliament, the will of her father, and the acquiescence of her subjects. Both the will of Henry VIII and the acts of parliament establishing its validity were against the claims of James¹ who, therefore, had a divine, hereditary claim or none that was defensible in theory. But the preliminary acquiescence of parliament in the hereditary claims of the King did not betoken acceptance of all that his theories implied. It was soon manifest that should James insist strictly on these claims he would in the end alienate support that was essential for the successful government of England.

But James had served his royal apprenticeship in Scotland, and he never understood that the time had passed in the southern kingdom when a king could exert his authority in defiance of the interests of the substantial classes in the kingdom. In Scotland, acting on his theory of divine appointment, though he scarcely attained to all that he claimed, he did succeed in bringing both the powerful nobles and the Church into a state of subordination extraordinary for the time. Perhaps the promise of his inheritance in England was not unconnected with his success in the northern kingdom. At any rate, James came to England after a period of comparative success in his native kingdom based on a theory of monarchy which was also his most plausible and logical claim to the English throne, a claim which he could support with ampler citations of authority than any other sovereign who had occupied it for centuries. The point needs emphasis, since a modern student is likely to think it lacking in substance. In James's opinion, the theory was a vital thing. It was the determining factor in many of

¹The will of Henry VIII left the crown to the heirs of his younger sister, Mary, in case his own children should leave no heirs. James was grandson of the older sister, Margaret.

his policies; because of it, he could not easily work in harmony with some of the leaders who were now coming forward in parliament and who thought in national rather than in dynastic terms. Neither James nor his descendants were ever able to rid their minds of the dynastic view.

This conception of monarchy involved James in embarrassments almost from the beginning of his well-intentioned effort to govern England. Both the Catholics and the more Protestant Puritans had hoped that the new King would be more tolerant of their views than the old Queen had been in her later days. On the one hand, was he not the son of Mary Stuart, a devout Catholic, and was not Scotland a scene of Presbyterian triumph on the other? As a matter of fact, while James had accepted parts of the theology of Calvin, the Erastian system of England agreed better with his views of monarchy than did the Presbyterianism of Knox and Melville or the traditional views of the Roman pontiff. He consented to meet the Protestants in a conference at Hampton Court, but when their spokesman inadvertently made reference to synods and presbyters, James lost his temper and declared that Presbyterianism as little agreed "with monarchy as God with the Devil." If they did not "conform themselves," he threatened to "harry them out of the land." As regards law-abiding Catholics, on the other hand, his original intention seems to have been to practice toleration. But the plots of Elizabeth's reign and the threat of Spain were still too vivid in the minds of the parliamentary leaders for them to asquiesce in this intention. Parliament besought the King to enforce the laws against recusants, and several plots of independent Catholic groups, culminating in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, lost them any sympathy they might otherwise have had from him. Charles I, when he succeeded his father, was both an Erastian in polity and an Arminian in theology.¹ The Church of Henry VIII and Elizabeth thus found itself caught between two opposing fires. The strength of its position, as time was to prove, lay in the fact that each of the parties opposed to it had more in common with the national Church than they had with each other.

The King's conception of monarchy was a fundamental issue also in his quarrel with the courts of law. This quarrel, like most quarrels, led both participants to support more extreme

¹Thomas Erastus was a German theologian, who held that the state was supreme in ecclesiastical matters. James Arminius was a Dutch theologian, who published a rival system of theology to that of Calvin.

views than the facts probably warranted. In the view of the King, which doubtless had a certain support from tradition, the whole function of doing justice was a matter of royal prerogative. He saw nothing exceptional in condemning a thief to the gallows by his own fiat. In the view of the Lord Chief Justice Coke of the king's bench, on the other hand, the judges of the common law courts had the right to fix the bounds of all other jurisdictions. The law was supreme, the King himself being subject to it. Once grant the correctness of this assumption, and it was beyond the power of the King to change law. But the appointment of judges rested with the King, and Coke fought a losing battle. Appeals were made to Magna Carta and to the "law of the land." The point came to an issue in 1616, when the judges, led by Coke, defied the King by proceeding to hear a case in which James had requested that they delay judgment. Coke was dismissed from office; the rest of the judges in the end submitted to the King. His Majesty read them a lecture a few days later in which he told them among other things: "As for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His Word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that, but rest in that which is the king's word revealed in his law."

Parliament offered a more serious difficulty. The King might declaim that its privileges were held by "grace," and not by "right" as the members of the lower house insisted. He did give solemn warning that the members of the houses were not to "presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state," especially that they were not to "determine anything" concerning the proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales. Charles, in the next reign, when his favorite was threatened with impeachment, might expostulate with the members, calling on them to "Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." The House of Commons might in turn protest to James, "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs con-

cerning the king, state and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matters of counsel and debate in parliament." But the position of neither party was much strengthened by the arguments used in supporting its contentions. The essence of the situation was the comparative helplessness of the King, possessing, as he did, few resources other than those granted by parliament. By one makeshift or another, the King might postpone the day of reckoning, but parliament held the whip hand. It was not a question so much of theory or doctrine as of actual condition. The Tudors had found it expedient to rule the kingdom with the consent and coöperation of parliament. They had thus taught the parliamentary leaders to expect that they would be consulted on important matters. Parliament could be managed and conciliated; it could not be defied with impunity. This fact is clearly evident in the weakness of the foreign policy of both James and his son. Since they thought first of dynastic interests and seldom took counsel with parliament, they did not have from parliament grants of resources sufficient to make their policies prevail.

James began his reign by declaring the war with Spain at an end. Since as king of Scotland he was not at war, neither would he be at war as king of England. Perhaps the war had served its purpose; anyhow the King's English subjects made no objection to the terms of peace, inconclusive though they were. But they still esteemed Spain the national enemy, and they were ready for a renewal of hostilities should it become necessary. When James called them to arms in another cause, they paid little heed. Like most of his contemporaries on the Continent, James was still thinking in terms of conquest by marriage, that is of dynastic diplomacy. England had outgrown that method of statecraft as a national consciousness had developed, a fact patent to the parliamentary leaders, but one which the Stuart monarchs never understood. The King's long cherished scheme of a matrimonial alliance with Spain found little support in parliament. Previous Spanish marriages had brought none too happy results, and the marriage of a prince and a princess would not obliterate the Spanish supremacy in the Western Hemisphere, the Spanish enthusiasm for the Roman Church, or the Hapsburg danger on the Continent. Parliament might have responded to a call to a war with Spain, but not to intermarriage with her royal house.

Neither James nor Charles fared much better in his efforts to obtain the support of parliament for intervention in the Continental war on the Protestant side. From 1618 to 1648 occurred a series of wars usually called the Thirty Years' War. Its first stage was in Bohemia. After a revolt against the Catholic rulers, the rebels invited Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate, a Protestant German prince, to accept the crown. Frederick had, in 1613, married James's daughter, Elizabeth, and was also head of a union of Protestant princes organized in 1609. As a counter move to the Protestant Union, a Catholic League was organized in the next year under the leadership of Bavaria. The acceptance by Frederick of the Bohemian crown, contrary to the advice of his father-in-law, was the signal for the beginning of a long struggle. Frederick's career as king ended a few months after it began, and the League, not content with expelling him from Bohemia, began to make inroads on his Palatine territory. James tried in vain to induce parliament to provide funds for sending aid to his daughter. At the time of his death, he had only succeeded in enlisting in Frederick's behalf the services of his own brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, on condition that English troops and English money be sent to help in the enterprise. Charles closed the agreement with his uncle after the death of his father. But parliament saw no good in so ambitious a project, undertaken without its consent, and the efforts of James and Charles to send succor to Elizabeth were thus rendered ineffective in the end. The Protestant party later found a leader in Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, after the defeat of the King of Denmark, who had waited in vain for English aid. After the death of Gustavus (November, 1632) the revived French monarchy upheld the Protestant cause, which is a sufficient indication that the issues of the struggle were not wholly religious, at any rate in its later stages. The French monarchy in the days of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, to say nothing of Louis XIV, certainly had little sympathy with Protestantism. It was rather a new threat of a union of the Spanish and Austrian houses of Hapsburg that inspired it to action. Meanwhile, Charles I and his parliaments became involved in the constitutional dispute that had been brewing ever since his father journeyed from Scotland to London, and for the space of two decades (1630-1650) England left the Continent to its own devices. In these decades occurred the last half of the Thirty Years' War and its settlement at Westphalia in 1648.

In the earlier stages of the war, the parliamentary leaders had

not been necessarily insincere in their expressions of sympathy with the Protestant cause. But they felt that the projects of James and Charles were designed rather to promote the interests of their own family than those of England. A war with Spain they might have supported. But James did not abandon until his last days his curious ambition that his son should wed a Spanish princess. To be sure, the Spanish King sent an army to help in the subjugation of the Palatinate. And if James did not perceive the incongruity of the situation, parliament, at any rate, had no mind to send an English army to rescue the dominions of the King's son-in-law from an attack that was assisted by the very house from which he was seeking a wife for his son.

Moreover, after the death of Robert Cecil, James was inclined to seek advice from vain and handsome young men rather than from statesmen of ability. The first favorite was a Scot, Robert Carr, who became in time Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset and married under disgraceful circumstances a daughter of the house of Howard. When he fell from favor, being with his countess charged with complicity in murder, he was replaced by another young man of the same type, George Villiers, soon to be Marquis and then Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham won the favor of Charles before the death of his father and so extended his influence into the reign of the son. The character of Buckingham was as little calculated to win the support of parliament as were the methods by which he had risen to power. Since both James and Charles seldom took counsel with parliament in shaping their policies, parliament was wary in lending them support.

For the space of a few months only were Charles and Buckingham almost popular with the national leaders, and that temporary favor was due to the failure of a project which the King had at heart. In 1622 the Prince and the favorite went to Spain in person to pay court to the Spanish princess, a fantastic project, which they pursued in a fantastic manner. The journey had the effect of convincing Charles that there was no hope that his father's cherished scheme would ever come to a successful issue. Both he and Buckingham returned from the trip ready for a war with Spain, which parliament was ready to support. But the navy had fallen into decay, and Drake and his contemporaries had left no comparable successors. Nor was this the whole difficulty. Disappointed in Spain, Charles took a wife from the French ruling house (1624). To obtain her hand, he promised secretly what he found himself unable actually to per-

form; namely, that laws in England against the Catholics would be relaxed. When trouble developed between the French King and his Huguenot subjects, Charles first encouraged the rebels against his new ally and then permitted some of his own ships to be used against the Protestants with whom he sympathized. In the end, he found himself at war with both Spain and France, without means for carrying on hostilities against either. This display of incapacity in both diplomacy and war did not make the parliamentary leaders any the less grudging in their support.

The same influential groups that opposed at almost every turn the policies of this foreign dynasty were carrying on in other fields than politics the Elizabethan tradition. The Stuarts were incapable of understanding the spirit that impelled this enterprise, and so could not give it sympathetic support. The real scepter in England was in the hands of those actuated by the spirit of trade. The first permanent English settlement planted across the seas bore the name of James, but it was the handiwork of a company of merchants. In the end, since the Stuarts were unable to adjust themselves to the conditions that prevailed in England, they were deposed in favor of more pliable monarchs. The growth of the nation was merely hindered and perhaps delayed, it was not thwarted by their well-intentioned obstinacy.

THE MERCANTILE PHILOSOPHY OF EMPIRE

While the first attempts of the English at foreign colonization were in part incidental to the rivalry with Spain, they were not wholly unpremeditated, and they were supported by a more consistent philosophy than most similar undertakings can boast. It is important to apprehend the elements of this philosophy as an aid to understanding both the earlier growth of the empire and the weaknesses which finally threatened its dissolution. Only in a slight degree was it a speculative philosophy; rather did it seem to those who formulated it to be a logical statement of things which they saw taking place before their eyes. As is likely to be the case with a philosophy formulated by merchants, it was a system in which commerce played a predominant part, but there was more to it than trade. As we have seen, one of the primary forces in drawing the nation together in the first place was the impracticability of carrying on trade without a central power strong enough to keep its gates open and its ways clear. Thus, the mercantile philosophy of empire was a philosophy of

diplomacy, of war, of government, and, after a fashion, of religion, as well as of economics.

The cardinal doctrine of the mercantile creed was that a nation, like an individual or a company, is enriched in proportion as its income exceeds its expenditures. The most desirable form of wealth was that which was most mobile, which could be most readily used in supplying immediate wants and in facilitating further accumulation. Since the precious metals excelled in these qualities, they were wealth *par excellence*. Had not the flow of gold and silver from the New World made Spain strong? Had not England's ill-gotten share in these spoils done much to enable her to stand against Spain? The Spanish danger might disappear or, at any rate, be much diminished, if England, like her rival, could find a source of the coveted metals. Portugal had fattened on the trade with the Orient; why should England have to pay this toll, particularly after the absorption of Portugal by Spain? Why, indeed, should not England herself participate in the profits of this trade? Those who had sailed on vain quests of a northeast or a northwest passage were seeking by peaceable means affirmative answers to these questions. Raleigh, in his unsuccessful, because unsupported, enterprises in Virginia, was in reality offering battle to Spain by seeking to outrival her on her own ground. He never gave up the thought. James granted him leave for a final expedition to Guiana, foredoomed to failure by the very conditions under which it was undertaken, before sending him to the scaffold. To be sure, most of those who engaged in these ventures were primarily thinking of accumulating wealth for themselves, but was not their wealth a component part of the wealth of the nation? Founded on this central ambition, the philosophy of empire unfolded as the philosophers acquired experience in empire-building.

The basal facts were that England had certain surplus commodities of which she wished to make profitable disposition; she found herself habitually in need of certain other commodities which she did not produce, some of them luxuries, others necessities if her enterprises were to go forward in the accustomed way; she also had denizens ambitious to add to their own accumulations. How could these ends best be served? The first necessity was that those having common interests should make a common cause. This necessity was one of the most potent mainsprings of national feeling itself. The underlying articles in the mercantile creed of empire are thus fairly clear. England needed to acquire dominion over sources of supply of certain commodi-

ties not produced in the kingdom as it then existed. She needed access to markets wherein to dispose of any surplus she might produce. Above all, she coveted a natural source of supply of the precious metals, of which it seemed impossible to have too large a store. Furthermore, all of this trade must be English borne if England was to reap its profits to the fullest degree and to have at hand ships and mariners wherewith to defend that which would always be in danger of attack from rivals. There would be rivals, since other peoples had similar ambitions, and so it behooved England to be alert to establish herself at every point of vantage and to be on her guard lest she be deprived of the advantages she gained.

Other points had also a place in the propaganda by which the spirit of empire was in time engendered in England. The hope of discovering mines of the precious metals was ever present. Another familiar item was that the new settlements would be a point of departure from which to attack Spanish America; in fact, in view of the earlier claims of Spain, the very establishment of a settlement would be an attack on that country. Then there were natives in the New World untaught in Christianity and in the practice of thrift and industry. While performance never approached promise on these points, they cannot be neglected in a statement of the doctrines on which the colonies were based. By thus spreading Protestantism and increasing the area under Protestant control, strength would be added to the Protestant cause in a region where the Catholic powers had hitherto predominated. Then, too, it might be argued that an increase in the wealth and territory of the kingdom would result in an increase in revenues. That was a point of some importance, for it was clear from the outset that colonies would have to be administered and defended, both undertakings that entailed added burdens on England, burdens not easy to justify unless the colonies proved to be profitable enterprises. The main hope that they would thus justify their cost rested on the two items of population and trade.

The transformation of rural life incidental to the enclosure of agricultural land, the spread of sheep-raising, and the readjustments in the distribution of population that ensued, combined with the growth of trade and manufacturing to leave the impression in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that England was overpopulated. Vagabonds and "sturdy beggars" had to be dealt with by acts of parliament, and paupers were a perennial worry to parish overseers. Yet a part of the strength

of a nation was in the number of its people. On this account, it was important to find in new lands a place of abode for the surplus population that England seemed unable to support in comfort at home, lest it either escape to other rival countries or else remain at home as a burden. This point was only less prominent in the arguments in behalf of colonization than the more fundamental question of trade. On the last point, there was no room for difference of opinion. If, as later came to be the feeling, the wealth of a nation was enhanced by so much as it had a surplus of exports over imports, the ideal arrangement would be to purchase nothing whatever from without its dominions, to find markets for any surplus produced, and to accumulate additional income by participating in the carrying trade and commerce of other countries. The most desirable type of colonies, therefore, were those able to supply commodities not produced in England and having at the same time need of the surplus products of the mother country. It was taken for granted that this trade would travel in native bottoms and that the colonies would be complementary to and competitors of the home land.

The mercantile philosophy of colonies was thus in essence a doctrine of national unity and self-sufficiency expressed in terms of economics. The theory was a natural accompaniment of the growth of a national consciousness. The colonies planted were a characteristic handiwork of the class that wrought the nation itself. This group was but reaching out across the seas to safeguard its position, to enhance its own power, and to free itself from the necessity of depending for essential commodities on countries beyond its control. But it was easier to formulate this policy than it was to transmute it into an accomplished fact.

PROMOTERS OF OVERSEAS ENTERPRISE

The earlier founders of the English colonies soon discovered that they faced two radically different types of problems. The native population in the Western Hemisphere was too small and the people were too primitive to be profitable customers for English merchandise or to supply many of the desired commodities in return. Only by the long and laborious process of transplanting there an English population could the desired purposes be served. Raleigh, we have seen, realized this fact, and Richard Rich, who accompanied the voyagers who actually succeeded in planting the first English colony in America in 1607, gave

expression to the same point in his *Newes from Virginia* published after his return:

Let England know our willingnesse,
For that our work is good,
We hope to plant a nation,
Where none before hath stood.

In the Orient the case was different. There multitudes of people were already in existence with venerable civilizations. The task in that quarter was to develop trade so that English merchants might transport thence commodities needed at home and find a market there for English products. A measure of dominion over certain "factories" or trading posts was an obvious advantage in the development of this enterprise. That the extent of these dominions should increase with the growth of trade was natural enough, though it was not necessarily foreseen in the outset.

But these general statements of the aims and methods of those who promoted the growth of the overseas dominions may leave the impression that the projection of these undertakings was simpler than was actually the case. Most of the earlier ventures in both America and the Orient were disastrous to those who undertook them. Until the Spaniards learned how to defend their treasure-laden fleets, it was more profitable to engage in the risky and scarcely legitimate business of taking by force what other hands had gathered than it was to labor at the painful task of peopling the wilderness with civilized communities. Therefore Raleigh's colonizing ventures failed in the midst of the more successful, if less honorable, enterprises of Drake and his kind. Before English trade overseas could be established on a permanent basis, a period of agitation was necessary to convince the wealthier merchants that the undertaking was sound and would in the end bring remuneration for the outlay of large sums and the expenditure of much labor and pains.

The character of these foreign undertakings made it necessary that they have the support of the government in addition to that of private venturers. But the government was scarcely yet well enough organized or sure enough of its income to embark on them on its own account. For the time, most of the impetus to action came from the wealthier merchants in London and the other trading towns. Since the merchants could not go forward without the acquiescence of the King, they found it expedient to enlist the support of the coterie in the royal circle. But the members of his council most sympathetic with these enterprises were

those who survived from the Elizabethan group. These latter were able to conceive of the venture as having a national character; those more intimately associated with James and Charles were usually actuated by more narrowly personal interests.

Most of these projects, as they took shape, were organized as joint stock companies. In the older "regulated companies," like the Merchant Adventurers and their kind, the privileges granted to the company were enjoyed by all of its members; the actual trading was done by the members severally or by associated groups, who joined in a given venture and shared its profits or losses. The foundation of a colony required a larger investment, with the probability of a considerable period between the projection of the enterprise and any profits that might accrue. The venture could not be closed out on the return of the first voyagers. Subscriptions in the earlier colonizing companies, therefore, were made to run for a term of years. In the British East India Company as first organized (1600), on the other hand, some of the conditions of a regulated company were retained. A monopoly of the privilege of trading in that region was granted to the entire membership of the company, but not all members were required to subscribe to the expense of every voyage. Each voyage stood as a separate venture, and its profits or losses were distributed to the shareholders of the joint stock ventured. But a voyage to the Orient might require several years, and experience soon demonstrated the advantage of establishing factories at which to assemble cargoes between voyages and of providing for their defence and maintenance. In the course of time, this necessity for so much expenditure in behalf of the whole membership of the company made it practically imperative that the trade itself be put on a joint stock basis, though the earlier form of organization lasted through the first half of the seventeenth century.

After the machinery of organization became familiar, an epidemic of companies infected the English trading towns. The Muscovy Company, next to the Merchant Adventurers one of the earliest of these organizations, antedated, as we know, the reign of Elizabeth. The first Cathay Company followed in 1576; the Eastland Company for trade in the Baltic regions, in 1579; the Turkey Company for trade in the Levant, in 1581; the Morocco Company for trade in the Barbary States, in 1585; the first African Company, in 1588; and the East India Company, destined to become the greatest of them all, in 1600. The London and Plymouth Companies for colonizing Virginia were

first chartered in 1606, though the former was reorganized three years later. In the same year (1609) the Guiana Company came into being, followed, in 1610, by the Newfoundland Company, in 1612, by the Bermuda Company, in 1618, by the second African Company, in 1620, by the New England Company, in 1629, by the Massachusetts Bay Company, in 1631, by the third African Company, and, in 1635, by the China Company. This list is not complete, but it indicates the widespread interests and ambitions of that generation of English merchants. As far as we can identify the active personalities who had a hand in these undertakings, however, the leading mercantile spirits of the day had a finger in almost every pie. Sir Thomas Smith, for example, who was first governor of the East India Company, was also treasurer of the Virginia Company and a director of many other similar enterprises. Sir Edwin Sandys, a contemporary of Smith, was another London merchant likely to be found among the promoters of these projects. These two are but better known types of whom there were many lesser examples. The overlapping of interests extended to the mariners actually enlisted in the enterprises. Captain Christopher Newport, who commanded the expedition that settled Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, later made two successful voyages for the East India Company and died before the completion of a third.

But no prosaic cataloguing of the amazing undertakings of these two generations of English merchants leaves an adequate picture of the difficulties with which they were beset. Experience demonstrated that immediate large returns were to be expected only from the trade with the Orient, yet they never despaired of the adventures in America. No doubt the rapid accumulation of wealth had bred in many who profited thereby a gambler's instinct. Even so, an atmosphere in which fortunes are risked on such immense uncertainties is not usually the creation of accidental circumstances. That the expansion of the national spirit to include an ambition to dominate lands beyond the British Isles found expression in contemporary literature, we have already noted. These more or less conscious expressions, which served in turn as propaganda, are testimonials of the emotions to which the poets and dramatists found their audiences responsive. As far as they were without conscious intent, they indicate the success of the propaganda that was under way. Of such a character was the comedy of city life, *Eastward Hoe*, in which Ben Jonson himself collaborated with George Chapman and John Marston. Although some lines in criticism of the

Scots got the authors into temporary embarrassment, the play was later enacted at court for the entertainment of the King. A swashbuckling officer and gentleman, who meditated recuperating his depleted fortunes in the New World, has been called "one of the first of a long and illustrious line of Virginia Colonels." His scapegrace followers enlisted for the voyage in a tavern scene reflecting the loose talk of the town that attended the first American ventures. Said one of them: "I tell thee golde is more plentiful there than copper is with us." It was, he said, as pleasant a country "as ever the sun shined on; temperate and full of all sorts of excellent viands; wild bore is as common there as our tamest bacon is here; venison as mutton."

When the venture was actually under way, other patriotic bards were even more outspoken. Drayton's ode, *To the Virginian Voyage*, indicates something of both the spirit and motives of the undertaking:

You brave heroic minds
 Worthy your country's name,
 That honour still pursue;
 Go and subdue!
 Whilst loitering hinds
 Lurk here at home with shame.

Britons, you stay too long:
 Quickly aboard bestow you,
 And with a merry gale
 Swell your stretch'd sail
 With vows as strong
 As the winds that blow you.

.

And cheerfully at sea
 Success you will entice
 To get the pearl and gold,
 And ours to hold
Virginia,
 Earth's only paradise.

Where nature hath in store
 Fowl, venison and fish,
 And the fruitfull'st soil
 Without your toil
 Three harvests more,
 All greater than your wish.

.

And in regions far,
 Such heroes bring ye forth
 As those from whom we came;
 And plant our name
 Under that star
 Not known unto our North.

Thy *Voyages* attend,
 Industrious Hakluyt,
 Whose reading shall inflame
 Men to seek fame,
 And much commend
 To after times thy wit.

Well might the poet invoke perusal of the collections of the industrious geographer, who was himself one of the members of the Virginia Company. Richard Hakluyt did not labor alone at his task, but he probably did more than any other single man to provide materials for the use of the agitators in behalf of expansion. Others, among whom Richard Eden was noteworthy, had worked at the task before him. Others came after him, of whom Samuel Purchas deserves mention. But the richest storehouse from which the advocates of colonization and empire derived materials was Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth of any time within the compasse of these 1500 years*, of which the first edition, dedicated to Elizabeth's great minister, Walsingham, appeared in 1589. A second enlarged edition in three volumes, dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, appeared in the last years of the century. Space forbids mention of the brochures, reports, and pamphlets that multiplied, as the activity of the promoters of overseas enterprises increased. Typical was a pamphlet of some twelve thousand words dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith and published in 1609 in the agitation preceding the second charter of the Virginia Company. Its character is sufficiently evident from its full title: *Nova Britannia. Offering most excellent fruites by plaining in Virginia, Exciting all such as be well effected to further the same*. The facts used were available in Hakluyt; the argument was the familiar doctrine of the mercantile empire. In view of the comparative failure of the Virginia adventure thus far, these arguments were pertinent.

The second charter of the Virginia Company is itself evidence that the size of the undertaking was beginning to be more appre-

ciated. The list of members included a number of nobles and gentry in addition to the earlier subscribers. In fact, support was solicited from all the Livery companies of London, and pressure was used to induce these groups to "venture money to Virginia." The voice of the clergy was enlisted to speak from the pulpit in favor of the undertaking. Daniel Price, the Prince's chaplain, took occasion in a sermon at Saint Paul's Cross on May 28, 1609, to reprove "those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of Virginia." About the same time, a preacher of Southwark published a sermon entitled *Virginia*, "Preached at White-Chappel in the presence of many Honourable and Worshippfull, the Adventurers and Planters from Virginia." They had more need of inspiration and encouragement than they probably realized. They had embarked on an undertaking the outcome of which one in their time could scarcely dream. Only something akin to the spirit then surging in the expanding English nation could have carried it to the measure of success it achieved.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

At the beginning of the period of colonization there were three important classes of commodities that England was obliged to obtain from foreign countries. First and most essential in the esteem of traders and statesmen of the time were the precious metals, currently regarded as the very bone and sinew of the national being. Scarcely less important were naval stores, timber, cordage, canvas, etc., then obtained chiefly from the Baltic regions. Finally, the spices of the East were luxuries that had long been regarded as necessities. First the Italian cities, later the Portuguese, and still more recently the Dutch had amassed fortunes from the toll they had taken from the people of Western Europe by means of this trade. There were also other commodities of scarcely less importance in the estimation of the merchant princes. The East sent cottons, silks, precious stones, and other rare goods in addition to spices. Another important factor in commerce was the custom of observing religious fasts, in which periods quantities of fish were needed to console stomachs that for the good of the soul were denied other flesh. A fishing ground was almost as much to be coveted as a gold mine. What is more, it might serve as a training school for seamen and so be a source of strength for a

naval power. In the past England had in a large part depended for these goods on foreign traders, who brought them in foreign vessels and thereby contributed to enrich foreign states. English merchants were now determined, as far as they could, to remedy these conditions.

As we have noted, the East India Company was as a rule a profitable enterprise from the outset. In Eastern trade the problems were to keep the way clear, to establish factories for the collection of cargoes, to contend against rivals earlier in the field, and, finally, to dispose of return cargoes at a profit. Aside from the inevitable risks involved in so long and dangerous a voyage, the company faced opposition in two directions. At home the necessity that specie be taken on outgoing voyages to pay part of the purchase price of return cargoes aroused opposition among the cruder worshippers at the shrine of the precious metals, who held that the export of these unique commodities tended to impoverish the nation, no matter what goods were received in exchange. The doctrine of a favorable balance of trade as the goal of the nation's economic ambition was finally accepted as an answer to this objection. A more serious difficulty was the opposition of persons jealous of the monopoly granted to the company. The royal habit of granting to favorites monopolies of many branches of domestic trade tended to reflect disfavor on the larger and more legitimate monopolies. A rival group began to trade with the Orient and to engage in practices that detracted from the good reputation it was necessary for the representatives of the company to maintain in the early days of its existence if its affairs were to prosper. But the most serious obstacle the company had to surmount was the hostility of the Dutch, who were now beginning to usurp the dominant place of the Portuguese. Ultimately they were able practically to exclude the English from the trade with the spice islands. Thus shut out of the more lucrative older trade, the English finally turned their attention to the continental peninsula and there laid the foundation of the later Indian Empire.

The Western Hemisphere offered a quite different problem. The fisheries of Newfoundland were the most promising source of immediate profit, unless somehow the longed-for goldfield should be discovered. The banks of the coast of the island had been visited by European fishermen since the time of Cabot, though permanent settlements had not as yet been established. The fishermen used the island to dry their catch, but few of them remained through the year. Now that Spain and

Portugal had begun to decline in maritime power, England and France were left to struggle for possession of this region. The Englishmen most interested hailed chiefly from Bristol and the southwestern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Hampshire. In 1610 a company of adventurers, with John Guy, a Bristol merchant, as their leading promoter, obtained a charter to settle the island, but the fishing colonies made trouble, and the settlement had difficulties from the outset. Later, other adventurers embarked on the same undertaking, but with scarcely greater success. The fisheries, however, grew in importance all the while. Before the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century they employed over five thousand men using two-hundred-fifty ships of an average size of sixty tons burden. These fisheries were one of the chief recruiting grounds of the navy. Some Scots in this same period undertook to settle in Nova Scotia as rivals of the French, who had in 1604 established themselves on the peninsula at Port Royal (now Annapolis).

Raleigh's first attempts to plant a colony on the North American continent, as we know, resulted in failure. Little more came of his later efforts to make a settlement in Guiana after his visit to that region, though several attempts were made there between the great Elizabethan's two expeditions. Further attempts were made in 1618, in 1627, and in 1642. But internal troubles in England left the Dutch free to succeed where the English had failed. Later projects on the northern continent were more fruitful.

The London Company, the first that actually established a colony that was to endure, did not yield a profit to the adventurers. The first voyagers returned laden with worthless sand glittering with deceptive particles of mica instead of the desired gold. They reported no better success in the efforts to find a passage through the continent to the Pacific Ocean, for which they had been tempted to search by mistaken reports of the natives. This first expedition was composed of voyagers ill-suited to undertake the hardships of pioneer settlement, and most of them perished from their own incompetence and inexperience. They were held to their task by the efforts of the redoubtable Captain John Smith, whose tendency in his reports to magnify his own prowess need not obscure his meritorious service in the earlier months of the venture. These months, however, were fruitful of little but experience. Indeed, hundreds of others had to come and die before their successors learned how to make the new land habitable. We cannot tell here the story of

their adventures. The glamor that time has thrown about these pioneering spirits makes less easy the difficult task of recalling the hard, prosaic obstacles they had to overcome. The trouble was not so much to induce adventurous younger sons and men whom life had in some measure disappointed to seek a renewal of their fortunes in the new land. They could usually afford money for their passage, and, under the terms of the charter, as the company was reorganized in 1609, an adventurer who paid his own fare became a shareholder. The case was different with the laborers, whose presence was essential if the colony was to produce the commodities desired or was to become a market for the English surplus. More or less successful efforts were made to send children who were on the parish. Others were sent from prison. In time, even a large number agreed to submit to a term of enforced servitude evidenced by indenture in order to escape from the hard life at home to the new land, concerning which dazzling, if scarcely accurate, descriptions came back. The growth of "indented" servitude tempted ship-masters to spirit away unwilling emigrants, whom they could easily sell to established planters at a profit.

But the English adventurers reaped as little profit from the Virginia colony under the second as under the first charter. It was an enterprise, it is easy to see now, unlikely to yield a return to stockholders. Under the original plan, the settlers were to work for the company, the crown receiving a share of all the precious metals obtained and a duty on the trade. The communistic principle was not wholly abandoned under the second charter; it could not well be abandoned if the company was to be profitable to its shareholders. Under this charter, however, a period of seven years was fixed at the end of which the land was to be divided among the shareholders at home and in the colony in proportion to the number of shares held by each. Meantime, the company was to supply the settlers with food, clothing, and other necessities. Under the first charter the community was to be governed by a council appointed at home but allowed to perfect its own organization in the colony, which it was to govern under instructions from home. Under the second charter the colony was placed under the control of a governor and other officials appointed by the officers of the company at home. This proved a more practicable arrangement than the first and served better for the maintenance of discipline in the trying early days of the settlement. But by 1619 the leaders in the company discovered that it was necessary for the

government to have the coöperation of the settlers if they were to remain contented. Accordingly, the governor was instructed to summon representatives of the various communities to coöperate locally at the task of finding ways and means of keeping the colony safe and in order.

That the colony would never be a profitable venture, was becoming increasingly evident to the shareholders, and a party arose among them that sought to justify the undertaking as promoting "the honour and safety of the Kingdom, the strength of our navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade." Even so, that view offered little incentive to attract further capital. The time was coming when the venture would naturally have to fall to the crown. We need not pass on the morality of the procedure by which the charter was abrogated in 1624 to appreciate that some such event was inevitable in time. Probably the government under the Stuart monarchy would not have initiated the movement that resulted in the founding of the colonies, but, since any profit that might accrue would be for a long time deferred and would advantage the nation at large, the continuance of the undertakings was manifestly a task for the national government. Curiously enough, however, the best chance of success the Virginia colony had depended on a commodity that found little favor in the King's sight. As was his wont in matters on which he had positive views, James published as early as 1604 a *Counter-Blaste to Tobacco*. Charles inherited his father's views, though he expressed them with more moderation. Despite this opposition at home, tobacco became the staple product and even the standard of value in the colony. In the end, the mother country was reconciled, though reluctantly, to the inevitable and reserved the home market for the colonial weed, prohibiting at the same time its production in England. For the time, this unsatisfactory staple was the only commodity sent in quantities from Virginia that fitted into the needs of England. As yet neither naval stores nor precious metals had been found.

The colonies planted in more northerly regions soon after that in Virginia were even less satisfactory in this respect. They were unlike the earlier colony in that they were founded under somewhat different auspices. The Puritan settlement established at Plymouth in 1620 contained a nucleus of persons of substance who were fleeing from a wrath which they feared in times shortly to come might be increasingly visited in England on those holding their religious views. The capital for their ven-

ture, like that in the south, was furnished by men who hoped to reap a profit from it. The leaders among the settlers, a minority of the total number, accumulated funds with which to purchase the shares of those who supplied the capital and so obtained a large measure of freedom to manage the affairs of the undertaking. Many of the settlers, like those in the south, were primarily interested in seeking a better economic chance than they had had at home. This was especially true of those on whom fell the burden of the drudgery inescapable in founding a new settlement, though their descendants, in time, acquired something of the tone of the little group that dominated the earlier settlement.

The Massachusetts Bay Company furnished still another variation of the process of planting a colony by a chartered company. Some of the shareholders in that case, being men of some substance, came in person (1629) bringing with them their charter and laborers and tenants. They were, on that account, able to establish themselves with less difficulty than did the colonists who had to serve a period of commercial apprenticeship in an effort to earn a profit for shareholders at home. Before the end of this earlier period, private individuals again essayed the task at which Raleigh had failed. Cecilus Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, under a charter granted by Charles I to his father, the first Lord, founded a settlement in 1634 on the Chesapeake Bay in the hope that it might serve as a refuge for his fellow Roman Catholics who found themselves uncomfortable at home. Baltimore showed how proprietary colonies might be made a success by introducing a system of quitrents, a species of feudal dues which he tried to collect from the landholders of the colony. But this was a system easier to inaugurate than to maintain as a permanent policy in a country where land was to be had for the taking.

Even in these early years the abundant supply of land available to settlers who subdued it made it difficult to impose on the colonists any strong measures of subjection. They soon came to regard the houses they built and the land they made arable as their own by a right superior to any that could be advanced by those who remained at home. Too many of them had an ancestry in which they as yet took no particular pride for them to cherish quite the same traditions as their kinsmen who were still across the seas. The tendency was to estimate a man by the capacity he developed under the difficult circumstances he faced in the new land. The new standards that soon appeared were, of course,

patterned largely after those prevalent in the old country, but they were applied without much regard for the antecedents of the settlers. Those who had sold themselves into servitude to procure passage money, if they survived the trying interval, had a chance of leaving to their children a better material heritage than might have been the case had they remained at home. Many were as thriftless under the new surroundings as they had been under the old, but others took up the challenge of the new opportunities and made good their claim to something better than the fortune their fathers had known. The new England, almost from its inception, thus began to grow up into a somewhat different land from the old.

But these far flung adventures were not without influence on the home country. New commodities were coming into use, as, for example, tobacco, which meant so much in the life of Virginia and in the island colonies of Bermuda and the West Indies. Later, sugar from the West Indies was used so widely that these colonies became more profitable than Virginia. The northern colonies, despite efforts to subsidize the production of hemp, never fitted into the mercantile scheme. A more difficult effect to describe, but one more profound, was the growing cosmopolitan character of London society as these contacts with the ends of the earth became familiar facts. Finally, foreign policy in the future must always take cognizance of the colonies. Statesmen, to be successful, had to learn to think in larger terms, a thing of which the monarchs of the house of Stuart sometimes proved to be incapable.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. chs. xiii-xxi; George B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. xi; G. L. Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, chs. i-vi; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. ch. iv; *Cambridge Modern History*, III. ch. xvii; E. P. Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, chs. vii-viii; H. E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, Book I; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, II. chs. x-xi; F. W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England*, Period III; J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, I. Part II; T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, chs. i-iv; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part III, chs. i-vii.

FOR WIDER READING

J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England*, chs. i-xi; B. W. Bond, *The Quit Rent System in the American Colonies*, ch. vii; Alexander Brown, *The*

Genesis of the United States, 2 Vols.; W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (4th Ed.), II. 171-402; J. E. Gillespie, *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700*; C. H. McIlwaine, *The Political Works of James I*; F. C. Montague, *The History of England 1603-1660*, chs. i-vii; A. P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*; H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, I; III. chs. i-iv; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, chs. i-vi; L. G. Tyler, *England in America 1580-1652*; R. G. Usher, *The Pilgrims and Their History*; T. J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, chs. i-iii.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The colonies of the European countries, 1600-1650, are indicated on maps in *Muir*, f. 48; *Shepherd*, p. 128. The possessions of the European world about 1608 are shown in W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. 329; the same work (II. 27) contains a reproduction of a map of the Western Hemisphere in 1630. For the trading areas of the Muscovy and Levant companies, see J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 115. For a map illustrating the streams of emigration from England, 1620-1642, see J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England*, p. 120; the frontispiece of the same work is a map of New England in 1640.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NATION REBELS

THE NATURE OF THE QUARREL

We have seen the emergence in England of a complex force, which is usually called none too definitely "national feeling." At best, it was difficult for a foreign ruler to understand and to identify himself with that spirit. The ponderous character of James I incapacitated him utterly for this task and caused him to bequeath to his son in England an heritage composed largely of failures and misunderstandings. Charles I was in some respects as ill-equipped as his father to accomplish the difficult feat of establishing a foreign dynasty on the English throne. "Born of a Scottish father and a Danish mother," says Gardiner, the historian of his reign, "with a grandmother who was half French by birth and altogether French by breeding, with a French wife, with German nephews, and a Dutch son-in-law, Charles had nothing in him in touch with that national feeling which no ruler of England can afford to despise." What is quite as much to the point, he never developed sufficient insight to enable him to understand that the self-consciousness of the nation was a reality that could no longer be ignored, much less defied, by a king who hoped to be tolerated in England. No doubt his convictions as to the nature of monarchy were genuine enough; perhaps there was support for most of them in previous English practice. In the end, he went to the block in his devotion to them. Unfortunately for him, they were based on a concept of kingship which England had outgrown by her very emergence into nationhood. The tenacity with which Charles clung to these doctrines of his father and persisted in his efforts to act on them endangered his throne; his own incapacity in the struggle, which was scarcely avoidable unless he experienced a change of heart, cost him both his crown and his head.

The quarrel which ended in civil war in 1641 began in a dispute between the nation as represented in parliament and the foreign dynasty lately come from Scotland. It is well to

remind ourselves, however, that the common emotions which we have called national feeling were probably shared in a real sense by no very large proportion of the total number of the population. The opposition that James and Charles encountered was from the classes actually represented in parliament: the more influential magnates in the House of Lords and the lesser, but still important, gentry in the shires and substantial townsmen in the House of Commons. Be it so, these were men from all parts of the realm and were influential with if they were not chosen by their humbler neighbors in the communities from which they came. The parliament with which James so seldom agreed, despite the comparatively small number of electors that participated in its selection, was nevertheless more nearly representative of the feelings surging within the kingdom than was any body that had ever previously undertaken to act for so large a number of people scattered over so extensive a territory. The force that opposed James and Charles, therefore, was in an important sense unlike any that a previous monarch had ever challenged. These hapless kings had to contend not merely against an aggregation of men coöperating in the name of their several communities; they aroused in these men a common fear for the future and so stirred them to fight for the defence of a common cause in the name of the traditions of a common country. It was not simply that James and Charles were foreigners; the point is rather that they insisted on adhering in practice to a type of monarchy incompatible with that with which the substantial classes in England were becoming familiar. Perhaps a compromise would have been possible had the King shown a tolerant disposition, but Charles elected to push the question to a final decision and so lost all.

The House of Lords, as constituted at the close of the sixteenth century, was a small body, in which the bishops merely by their numbers made an impressive showing. Though a large proportion of the lay lords owed their elevation to the Tudors, nevertheless the view prevailed that a peerage ought to be supported by extensive landed estates or by inherited family pretensions or both. A feeling also survived that the consideration of "high matters of state" belonged in a peculiar manner to the upper house and that the House of Commons was scarcely competent for that task. Whether because of her indecisive character or as a matter of policy, Elizabeth refrained from making many lords. It was otherwise with James I and Charles I. These Kings sometimes both sold peerages to supple-

ment their revenues and sought to insure support for their measures by creating new peers. They thus aroused antagonism among the older lords, both as the men elevated lacked family pretensions or landed estates and as the peers felt that the independence of their house was in jeopardy. Scions of the older houses in the Lords, therefore, developed a critical attitude toward the reigning house, and many later joined with groups in the lower house that opposed the measures of the King.

The House of Commons, which the Tudors ever conciliated and won and seldom or never defied, had thriven in power on that treatment. It informed James soon after his arrival in England that it had yielded much to his predecessor on account of her "age and sex," implying that he would do well not to count on so large a measure of tolerance. Instead of taking this hint, James, as we know, not only disregarded the wishes of parliament in important particulars and consulted it infrequently, but, a matter even less likely to win the coöperation he needed, he manifested such incompetence in selecting his advisers and in framing his policies, that the total impression left by his reign was one of failure. The parliament of 1621, by impeaching Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon for taking bribes, asserted a right and disposition to call the ministers of the king to account. Though Buckingham was not then attacked openly, there was a rising revolt against his ascendancy, led by the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron. Despite his heritage from his father of Buckingham as a minister and of scarcely feasible undertakings abroad, Charles might have retrieved the situation had he had the confidence of parliament. This confidence he did not win, because he sacrificed the substance of power in his zeal to maintain in their fullness his views of the royal prerogative. It is of little consequence that both James and Charles could usually cite valid precedents to support their contentions. Conditions had changed, and it was now prudent statesmanship to readjust the relations between king and parliament to suit these changes.

Not an unimportant item in these changes was in the character and state of mind of the House of Commons. The parliament that Charles I was to meet and to contend against unsuccessfully in 1640 was vastly different from the body that had coöperated with Henry VIII in separating the English Church from Rome. An American scholar has recently summarized in a few succinct sentences the changes that had taken place:¹

¹ Wallace Notestein, *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, p. xvi.

The years from the beginning of Elizabeth to the opening of hostilities in 1642 are the decisive age in the growth of the Commons as a working body. It can hardly be said too often that the pre-Elizabethan House of Commons was a somewhat rudimentary body and that the Long Parliament was in many ways a complex modern organization. A knight of the shire in 1558 who stepped into the medieval Commons would probably not have felt much out of place, but a Commoner of 1640 would; he would be more at home at Westminster today.

It was in the years between that the enormous growth took place. The rapid extension of committees and of the work of committees; the hitting upon and utilization of that wonderful device, the Committee of the Whole; the enlargement of general committees into committees of the whole house; the evolution of a parliamentary opposition into the leadership of the Commons, a leadership that filched from the Privy Council almost without observation the initiative in offering bills and in pressing them to passage—these and a score of other practices mark the beginning of modern parliamentary usage.

The most pressing problem of Charles, and one that he could not long postpone, was the raising of revenue. The country was at war with Spain when he came to the throne, a war that was managed too ineffectively to go well. Ordinarily on the accession of a new king, parliament voted the tonnage and poundage; that is, the usual import duties, for the duration of the reign. But, even in 1625, parliament already had too little confidence in Charles, or in Buckingham whom he retained, to conform to this custom. Sir Nathaniel Rich, who made the proposition in the House of Commons that served as a basis for action, is reported to have said in substance: "Some moved to give, and give presently, and some would not give at all, and some would give *sub modo*," as for himself, he wished that when the King made war it might be "debated and advised by his council," and he thought it a good plan to look into the King's affairs before making the grant. He professed to find a precedent for that procedure in the reign of Edward III, when that King, "pretending to make a war as now our king doth" and desiring subsidies, parliament—so he said—investigated before making the grant. Furthermore, the speaker thought that, before receiving the grant, Charles ought to make answer to the petition of parliament on the subject of religion.

Previous to this period most English Protestants, who had not simply conformed to the prevailing religious mode, had been Puritans in sympathy. They looked to the Bible as the ultimate source of authority in theological matters, though most of them acquiesced without difficulty in the Erastian organization of the Church as long as it was administered with tolerance. Now,

however, a party was growing in strength known as the Anglo-Catholic party or Arminians. This group saw in the episcopal form of Church government more than an efficient mode of ecclesiastical organization; they felt that it was a result of apostolic succession and so the only right and tolerable form of Church government. They felt also that the Scriptures needed to be interpreted in the light of the historical doctrines of the Church. Whereas James had tended to sympathize with the point of view of the Puritans, as far as it did not run counter to the episcopal organization, Charles was a zealous Arminian. Moreover, his marriage to a French princess and the favorable terms for the Roman Catholic Church contained in the marriage treaty made it easy for the English Protestants to fear that he sympathized with the Roman organization itself. When he reassured the House of Commons on that point, parliament granted him revenues for the war, but limited the duties to the period of one year. Buckingham tried to amend the situation by explaining that the revenue was needed to support the Protestant King of Denmark in his war in behalf of Charles's brother-in-law, Frederick, as well as for the fleet that was preparing against Spain. But when the members of parliament began to make personal attacks on Buckingham, Charles dissolved the body before it completed the process of granting him the customs revenues at all. Since Buckingham owed his position to royal favor, he had few friends among the older families in either house of parliament.

The expedition against Spain came to naught, and a second parliament was summoned in the spring of 1626. The King sought to make it an easier body to manage by nominating as sheriffs some of the more troublesome leaders in the previous parliament such as Thomas Wentworth and Sir Edward Coke, the former justice, thus making them ineligible to sit in the House of Commons. Charles sought also to prevent peers like Bristol and Arundel, who were hostile to Buckingham, from sitting in their house. But it was all to no good end. Bristol suggested to the House of Lords that he could prove Buckingham guilty of treason, and the House of Commons drew up a bill of impeachment, with Dudley Digges and John Eliot among the managers. The King sent these managers to the Tower, but was obliged to release them. This impeachment was based on the assumption that the minister of the king and not the monarch himself was responsible for royal measures, though it was well known that Charles had taken part personally in the

matters in question. In order to save his minister, Charles again dissolved parliament and tried to raise the needed revenues without the sanction of the legislature. He proceeded with the collection of the customs; he sought, but with little success, a free gift from the counties; he demanded a forced loan and imposed penalties to compel its payment in the face of a decision of the judges that the measure was illegal; he billeted soldiers on his subjects without their consent, both as a measure of economy and as punishment for their refusal to acquiesce in his financial measures. Nevertheless, he was able to procure only a third of the sum he needed, and his Danish uncle, deprived of the promised subsidy, was left to the mercy of his enemies. In fact, Charles was discovering enemies nearer home. He had promised in his marriage treaty to ameliorate the conditions of the Catholics in England, but he found that the bulk of his subjects were more inclined to sympathize with the French Protestants. In the process of trying to carry water on both shoulders, he became involved in a war with France while still engaged ineffectively with Spain. He thus had no way of escape from a third parliament, which he summoned in 1628.

All of the old grievances had been intensified, and others had accumulated in the twenty months since the dissolution of the previous parliament. Five knights who refused to contribute to the forced loan had been imprisoned and refused a trial, the King claiming a right to detain his subjects at pleasure without the necessity of specifying a charge against them. But, when parliament met in 1628, it was uncertain whether the Lords would take sides with the Commons or the King. Charles had added to the number of the peers in an effort to turn the decision in his favor. But the House of Commons, led by Coke and Selden, asked for a conference with the upper house on "some ancient and fundamental liberties of the kingdom." Many of the older peers took the side of the majority in the lower house, and the bishops divided, so Buckingham decided that it was prudent to adopt an attitude of compromise. Some of the lords were concerned to maintain for the King his "entire sovereign power," but the House of Commons professed not to know what "sovereign power" meant and eliminated the term. Sir Thomas Wentworth labored with other leaders of the lower house to promote agreement with the Lords. The final enactment, to which the King assented, is known as the Petition of Right.¹ That term indicates that parliament did not regard the

¹ Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, No. 189.

document as new legislation, but rather as a restatement of old law. When, in the following year, under the leadership of the more radical Eliot, the House of Commons proceeded to take independent steps looking toward a less moderate redress of grievances as to taxation and religion, the King dissolved the parliament.

The Petition of Right provided that thereafter nobody was to be compelled "to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament." Freemen were not to be detained without trial. Soldiers and mariners billeted on the people were to be removed. Commissions granted by the King for proceeding by martial law in time of peace were to be revoked and not reissued. In short, the enactment was an attempt to remedy the grievances that had been articulate in the disputes between the King and his parliaments, though, as later events were to prove, there was still room for dispute as to whether "tonnage and poundage" were taxes and so not to be levied without the consent of parliament. The question of the Church was left in abeyance, though Charles soon gave evidence of the policy he meant to pursue by making William Laud, an active Arminian, bishop of London; in 1633 he became archbishop of Canterbury.

The assassination of Buckingham in 1628 relieved the King of this embarrassing minister. His place was now taken by the abler Wentworth, who was elevated to the peerage; later, for his services to the King, he was made Earl Strafford. Strafford and Laud were soon the most important personalities in the counsels of the King. Why the more conciliatory attitude that the King now adopted failed to accomplish its purpose does not, perhaps, admit of an easy explanation. For one thing, he proceeded with a prosecution of Eliot and other leaders among his opponents that was almost vindictive in character. Then, Laud undertook to enforce a more strict religious conformity than many influential groups relished. Finally, in an effort to govern the kingdom for the next decade after 1629 without the embarrassment of consulting parliament, Charles and his advisers revived many obsolete laws for raising revenues. For example, every estate worth forty pounds a year was required to receive a knighthood under penalty of a fine. The forest laws were an even more menacing threat to the accustomed privileges of many peers, and they had to purchase security. Tonnage and poundage were levied as though the Petition of Right did not exist. In 1634, professing an alarm

that may very well have been real at the prospect of an attack by the Dutch, the King called on the ports to provide ships of war or else to furnish a money equivalent. This scheme worked so well that, in the following year, the request was extended to include the entire kingdom. The judges approved the extension as legal, though it was without precedent. When Charles called for this payment a third time, on the assumption that it was part of his prerogative to decide when the realm was in danger, it was evident that, if his subjects yielded the point, the King had at last discovered a fruitful source of income which did not depend on the consent of parliament.

Charles made peace with his foreign enemies, but, despite the strictest economy, he could scarcely make ends meet. Moreover, the measures he adopted had aroused opposition in influential circles among both peers and commoners. Some of this number became interested in projects for American colonization and even meditated emigration themselves. Meanwhile, the measures of the King and his ministers tended more and more to aggravate the discontent of the Puritans, both lay and clerical. Laud refused the tempting offer of a cardinal's hat and had little sympathy with Rome, but only those Anglican clergymen who sympathized with his program were able to obtain promotion. The Puritan clergy, contrary to their Sabbatarian views, were ordered to read from the pulpit a reissue of the Declaration of Sports of James I, which encouraged the treatment of Sunday as a holiday. John Prynne, whose extravagant pamphlet, *Histriomastix*, contained the extreme Puritan views of the stage, was brought before the Court of Star Chamber on a charge of insulting the Queen. The court imposed a fine of five thousand pounds, sent him to the pillory, and ordered his ears cropped. Other extremists among the Puritans won sympathy by the persecutions they suffered, when, had they been left alone, their lot would probably have been neglect and oblivion. Prynne was sent to the pillory a second time along with a clergyman named Burton and a doctor named Bastwick—in whose lives this was the most notable episode—with the result that the trio received an ovation from the passing mob. Thus grievances were stored up against the time when the King would reach the end of his financial tether. At the same time the useful prerogative courts of the Tudors were brought into a disrepute from which they never recovered, while the populace learned to tolerate, if not to sympathize with, the extreme views of the Puritans.

Strafford had a measure of success in enforcing obedience to

the King's will in the north of England as president of the Council of the North, a body that had existed since its creation by Henry VIII to put down rebellion in that region. A little later he repeated some of these successes in Ireland, where he made friends with the Catholics and created the nucleus of an army, of which he induced the Irish to pay the cost. But Laud was not similarly successful when he transferred his activities to Scotland and tried to impose the Anglican liturgy on that reluctant people. Half of the clergy ignored it, and the congregations of the other half would not tolerate its use. The struggle resulted in 1638 in the so-called "National Covenant," in which representatives of the clergy, the nobles, the gentry, and the townsmen united in expressing a determination to resist the Laudian innovations. The King supported his Archbishop and decided to coerce the Scots.

For that purpose, he ordered lords with estates on the border to repair to his standard bringing armed retainers, as had been the custom of old. The peers attended him after some grumbling, but they objected to serving out of England and to an oath which the King sought to have them take. Lords Brooke and Saye, leaders of discontent, were imprisoned, but they were released when the crown lawyers could suggest no offence of which they had been guilty. Charles then compromised his quarrel with the Scots in June, 1639, but by March, 1640, he was again at odds with the northern kingdom, which had, in the meantime, made overtures to the King of France for assistance. The members of the English parliament, which was summoned in April, 1640, to take steps against the Scots, fell at once to discussing their own grievances. Thereupon, the King dissolved it so quickly that it became famous as the "Short Parliament." When the Scots took the initiative and crossed the Tweed, Charles appealed to the peers alone and summoned Strafford from Ireland, but they had no better advice to offer than that he summon another parliament. This he did in desperation; it met November 3 and became the most famous of all parliaments.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

During the first two sessions of the parliament that met in 1640 and came later to be known as the Long Parliament, the House of Lords held the balance between the King and the House of Commons. Including the bishops, two thirds of the peers owed

their creation to James and Charles, but the King's party in that house lacked leadership, whereas some of the abler representatives of the older families were active against him. The King had planned to adopt a conciliatory attitude and to invite men who had previously opposed him to participate in his councils. Early in the session (February, 1641) parliament passed and Charles assented to a bill providing machinery for calling the legislature in session every three years, whether the king summoned it or not. Another statute, passed a few months later, forbade the dissolution of that parliament without its express consent.

But agreement between the King and the legislature was made difficult by the persistence of parliament in the trial of Strafford, who had been sent to the Tower in November, 1640. It was not easy to define an offence suitable to his case. He had been loyal and industrious in his efforts to strengthen the power of the crown, and it seemed incongruous to accuse him of offending against the King. The accusation actually brought was of a traitorous attempt "to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England and Ireland." But fundamental laws were novel in England in any sense that would render their subversion akin to treason. If Strafford was guilty of treason at all, it was manifestly against the nation rather than against the King. The attack on the minister was led by John Pym, who had been one of the managers of the impeachment of Buckingham and was now a leader in the new parliament. The only way parliament could bring the case to a successful conclusion was to improvise law suitable to the occasion, a task not easy to compass. The end desired was finally achieved (April, 1651) by a Bill of Attainder, an instrument which enabled the government to condemn by statute, without trial, one regarded as an offender against its peace and safety. By thus suiting the law to the individual case, the House of Commons obtained the support of the upper house and avoided establishing the embarrassing precedent that would have resulted from the conviction of the prisoner at the bar of the House of Lords.

By an act passed in June, 1641, tonnage and poundage were not in the future to be collected without a grant from parliament. This same act contained a grant of the customs for one year. In the following month the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished entirely, thus ending because of their unwise use experiments that, in better hands, might in the end have improved the machinery for doing justice. Unfortunately,

the Stuarts had demonstrated that an agency for expediting justice could also be used as an engine of oppression. The "meers, meets, limits, and bounds" of the forests were, by another statute, restricted to their extent before the accession of Charles. The exaction of knighthood fines was prohibited. An act was passed also "declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching ship-money, and for vacating all records and processes concerning the same." Thus the King was brought to acquiesce in statutes that countered almost every expedient he had tried in his efforts to govern without the authority of parliament. He even consented to the attainder of Strafford, after an ineffectual effort to forestall it, though he had pledged his honor as a king to give that minister protection. As one writer puts it, "the crown was called upon to assent to the execution of its own minister for seeking to enlarge its own powers by methods to which the king himself had assented." Charles was induced to make this hard decision because he was in dire need of revenues, which the House of Commons would not other wise grant. The House of Lords acquiesced in the attainder both because the King impolitically intervened to suggest a different decision and because their lordships went to their meetings through violent mobs that howled for the condemnation of the minister. Laud, too, was sent to the Tower, but his execution was postponed to a later date, when the assent of the King was no longer necessary. In view of the evident hostility of the legislature to his views, Charles now tried to change the situation by increasing the number of peers. In consequence, the upper house called on the Commons to help prevent a sale of titles.

On all of these points the action of parliament was certain and positive. In these matters, parliament spoke the voice of the nation. As regards these questions, the issue was clear as between the Stuart dynasty on the one hand and the ruling group in England on the other. As long as this ruling group was able to act in concert, the cause of the King was hopeless. Had this group remained united, there would have been no civil war; the King would have lacked a respectable party to support him. But parliament was already busy with another matter, which caused a division in the parliamentary ranks and gave the King the support he sorely needed.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTION AND THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

To counter the King's efforts to regain control of the House of Lords by increasing the number of peers, the House of Commons took steps to diminish the royal strength in that house both by a bill to eliminate the bishops and archbishops and by one to disqualify Catholic peers. These measures were in part in response to a petition received by the Long Parliament shortly after it assembled from "many of His Majesty's subjects in and about the City of London, and several Counties of the Kingdom." This document was afterwards famous as the Root and Branch Petition, because, following a recital of a list of evils alleged to be the fruits of the episcopal government of the Church, it prayed that the "said government with all of its dependencies, roots and branches, may be abolished, and all the laws in their behalf made void, and the government according to God's Word may be rightly placed amongst us."

The discussion of this question revealed a growing cleavage between a majority of the lower house and many of the peers. When the House of Lords would not concur in the measures for eliminating the ecclesiastical and Catholic lords, the House of Commons drew up and published (November, 1641) a manifesto called the Grand Remonstrance, which was largely a detailed indictment of the King's alleged misgovernment since the beginning of his reign. Leaders like Pym and Hampden had by this time come to feel that supreme power—something resembling the later concept of sovereignty—belonged to parliament and that the legislature ought to control the executive government of the nation and its important forces. The Grand Remonstrance required that the King's advisers have the confidence of parliament and that he also summon a "general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church and present the result of their consultations unto parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom."

The Grand Remonstrance passed the House of Commons on November 22, 1641, but by a majority of only eleven votes. Such a victory was almost equivalent to a defeat. The issues, as now drawn, tended to drive the more moderate peers into the camp of the King; in fact, Charles even had a growing

number of friends in the lower house. For the moment, he had succeeded in compromising his difficulties with the Scots, and the need for revenue to support the army was no longer so pressing.

Word of a rebellion in Ireland (October, 1641) called for more troops and additional funds and so placed the King again at the mercy of parliament. But the parliamentary party, about to pass the Grand Remonstrance, was unwilling to entrust to the control of the King any troops raised for use in Ireland. On December 3, says a contemporary, Pym moved in the House of Commons for "a committee to review what bills we had passed and the Lords rejected, and the reasons why, and if the Lords would not join us, then let us go to the King and make a declaration to the public, to let them see where the obstructions lie." Charles again contributed to defeat his own cause. He intervened as between the two houses of parliament; he dismissed the Lieutenant of the Tower and replaced him with a man reputed to have fewer scruples. The London populace became agitated, and cries of "No bishops," "No popish lords" were heard on every hand. The bishops were intimidated, and most of them did not attend the sessions of parliament. Perhaps the advantage was still with the King in the House of Lords, when, on January 3, 1642, his Attorney-General impeached five members of the House of Commons, accusing them of high treason. Charles sent the sergeant at arms to arrest the accused members and the next day went in person, thus raising the question of a flagrant breach of the privileges of parliament. The Lords joined the lower house in protesting against this action of the King, but would go no further until it became known that Charles was trying to get control of Hull and Portsmouth and was meditating the introduction of foreign troops to coerce his English subjects. Thereupon, the House of Lords was again ready to act in concert with the Commons.

Both houses petitioned for control of the militia on February 1. On the fifth the House of Lords passed the bill excluding the bishops from parliament. Again the King had to give way. Before the end of February he sent to the Continent his queen, who was threatened with impeachment, and his heir, who had been in danger of falling into the hands of parliamentary groups. "Now that I have gotten Charles," the King is reported to have said, "I care not what answer I send them [parliament]." Accordingly, he refused to consent to the militia bill. The next few months witnessed a sparring for position on both sides,

a "paper war" it was called by a contemporary. The parliament, acting without the customary royal assent, passed an ordinance designating lords lieutenant of the counties to summon and command the militia. This ordinance was followed by a declaration on the part of the two houses that, in the process of reforming the "government and liturgy of the church," they proposed "to take away nothing in one or the other but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least, unnecessary and burdensome." Charles retorted in "A Proclamation, forbidding all His Majesty's subjects, belonging to the trained bands or militia of this kingdom to rise, march, muster or exercise, by virtue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without consent or warrant from His Majesty, upon pain of punishment according to the laws." This proclamation issued on May 27, 1642, from York, where Charles now held his court.

Thither parliament, before it heard of the King's proclamation, dispatched nineteen propositions, suggested as the basis of a compromise, to the general effect that, in the future, the actual administration of the government should be in the hands of persons appointed by parliament instead of persons appointed by the King. To accept such a proposal meant that Charles must abandon the theory of kingship he had consistently held, a thing he could never bring himself to do. Parliament next issued a counter proclamation in defence of the militia ordinance, and both parties made ready to enlist what troops they could. War was imminent; an actual clash of arms awaited only an opportunity.

For the moment, the country was divided. The quarrel that had begun as a struggle between the King and the nation had now temporarily become a dispute between two factions within the nation. But the factitious character of this division makes it difficult to explain its causes by any general statement of principles. That the strength of the King lay largely in the north and west and that of his opponents in the east and south is true enough, yet in the heart of the King's territory towns like Manchester, Gloucester, and Taunton favored the parliamentary side. But not all towns sympathized with the parliamentary cause, and there were many burgesses in every urban community who were friendly to the King. The substantial members of the trading classes tended to be parliamentarians. The seaport towns and mariners were partial to the same side, which aligned the navy against the King. The control of the sea gave parlia-

ment the revenue from the customs. But there were also traders in considerable numbers who sympathized with the royal cause. There was as strong a tendency for the country gentry to be royalists as there was for townsmen of the same general economic class to be partial to the parliamentary cause, yet some of the most zealous partizans of parliament were from the rural gentry.

The question on which the nation split, on the surface, seems to have been not so much one of religious dogma as of ecclesiastical polity. The episcopacy fitted somewhat better into the traditions of the nobility and of the stratified rural society, just as the machinery of the presbytery and the congregation was more congenial for the substantial denizens of the towns. There were more serious difficulties in the way of adopting the Presbyterian system as a uniform national polity than of retaining the more elastic Anglican organization, while the independents, since they were in a minority and never likely to be united among themselves except in opposition to Rome and similar common foes, had to advocate a departure from the Erastian ideal. Each of these three parties had to choose at one time or another from the other two which it preferred as an ally and which as an enemy. The ecclesiastical issue itself was thus not so clear cut as it seemed on the surface.

The political issue, if it be possible to segregate the political from the ecclesiastical, was similarly confused. All parties were opposed to the extreme views of monarchy held by Charles I and his father. But many of the more conservative minded were even more opposed to the extreme theories of parliamentary supremacy held by Pym, Hampden, and their followers. Obligated to choose between the two, many of the more moderate group elected to take the side of the King. They did not, however, become zealots in his behalf and awaited only some other unifying principle as an excuse for abandoning a cause they had adopted without enthusiasm. Had Charles shown a capacity for tolerance and leadership, he might have established himself as the champion of the saner groups and in the end have regained his throne. But, in that case, he would not have been the Charles Stuart who had suffered the country to be set thus artificially by the ears. He finally deserted his other followers, as he had deserted Strafford, and by his unstable character forfeited the support that circumstances had provided for him.

There was as yet no trained army in England on either side. The tradition of military leadership was stronger among those on the side of the King, while the material resources of the

country were more largely in the hands of his opponents. The enlisted troops were almost equally raw on both sides, and parliament was not entirely wanting in men who had some of the qualities of leadership. A matter of even greater importance, as the event proved, was that parliament had among its supporters leaders who believed in the cause and who came to appreciate the strength that zeal for a cause would lend to fighting men. Notable among these was Oliver Cromwell, who was destined to enact no mean part in the drama on the stage now making ready. Pym and Hampden both died in 1643, the latter slain in the field, and, after their death, Cromwell, who was a kinsman of Hampden, rapidly came to the front. He later recorded that, after his first experience in the field, he told Hampden that the cause of parliament could never prevail supported by the existing type of troops: "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men tapsters, and such kind of fellows; do you think that the spirit of such base, mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or you will be beaten still." Hampden thought the suggestion good but impracticable. Cromwell replied by obtaining leave of absence to raise in the eastern counties a troop of "such men as had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did."

This troop became the nucleus of a regiment. He began in January, 1643; by March he had five troops; by September, ten. "He had a special care," says one contemporary, "to get religious men into his troop; these were men of greater understanding than common soldiers . . . and making not money but that which they took for public felicity to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant." Cromwell frankly gave preference to the gentry, when he could induce them to enlist, but the points he insisted on were sturdiness of character and zeal for the cause. Said he: "I had rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows than that which you call a 'gentleman' and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed. . . . It may be it provokes some spirits to see such plain men made captains of horse. It had been well that men of honour and birth had entered into these employments—but why do they not appear? But seeing it was necessary the work should go on, better plain men than none."

These men, whom Cromwell assembled, were thus neither mercenaries nor impressed frequenters of taverns. They were, says one observer, "freeholders or freeholders' sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel." With Cromwell leading men of this caliber, disciplined under his direction, there is little wonder that at Marston Moor in the campaign of 1644 he was able to play a large part in retrieving victory for the parliamentary cause from threatened defeat. But parliament still lacked strength to bring the struggle to a decisive issue, and it was becoming clear, both to those at Westminster and to those in the field, that strenuous measures must be adopted if their cause was to prevail. The remedy for the situation was found in a resolution to raise a "New Model Army" of the type that Cromwell had exemplified and to entrust its leadership to men who should not themselves be members of parliament.

These qualities that Cromwell desired for his troops merit some emphasis. His army was to play a larger part than any other agency in the years just ahead, and the part that it played was due in no small measure to the qualities it acquired under his stimulation. It is scarcely incorrect to call it the first national army the world ever saw; it became in the end essentially a national army. It was largely because the army had this character in so large a degree that the nation rallied for a time to its leader when it tired of strife and found the King still incapable of taking the reins of power on tolerable terms.

THE RISE OF THE ARMY AND THE FALL OF THE KING

The war soon became something more than a civil struggle between two factions of Englishmen. The Catholics in Ireland, seeing little promise of friendship from other groups in England, united in making terms with Charles and promised, in September, 1643, to send troops to help him in his quarrel with his English subjects. While the Scots had no particular concern in the quarrel between the two English factions, they perceived that a victory for the King in his southern kingdom would probably be fatal to the Presbyterian organization in Scotland. Therefore, in the same year that the Irish promised to aid the King, the Scots made a Solemn League and Covenant with the parliamentary party to secure the safety of their own organization and to reform that in England "according to the example

of the best reformed churches and according to the Word of God." The Scots were to provide an army to fight for the joint cause and to receive therefore thirty thousand pounds per month. This army participated with no little effect in the battle of Marston Moor, which, for the time, won the northern part of England for the parliamentary cause. But affairs were going otherwise in the south, and there was little prospect of improvement until the better army should be available.

The parliamentary army of the new model, when ready, was placed under the command of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, though, when the time came for active service in the field, Cromwell was made lieutenant general despite his membership in the House of Commons. In June, 1645, the new model army met the royalist forces at Naseby and thoroughly routed them. Charles himself escaped, but from this time he was little better than a fugitive seeking where he might make the most favorable terms. Meanwhile, the appearance of an efficient English army on the side of parliament tended to make the support of the Scots less enthusiastic and added strength to the royalist faction in the northern kingdom. But the success of parliament in the south also encouraged its friends in the north, and by the spring of 1646 the royalist forces had been dispersed.

The cause of parliament was victorious in the field, but victory was more fatal to the unity of the party than defeat. Nobody was yet ready to suggest a practicable arrangement for carrying on the government without the coöperation of the King, while it was beginning to be evident that Charles would coöperate loyally with nobody. He may be said to have acquiesced in the control of taxation by parliament and in the supremacy of the common law and the courts that administered it. He at no time admitted the claims of parliament to control of the Church and of the military forces. Moreover, parliament itself had not yet found a workable solution for either question. As regards the Church, a majority of the adherents to the established organization had withdrawn from parliament on the outbreak of war to join the party of the King. Of the two groups left, the larger favored the adoption and enforcement of a rule of national religious uniformity based on the Presbyterian model. But there was a strong minority that had as little sympathy with Presbyterian as with Anglican uniformity; namely, the Independents. As regards the army, parliament had found it expedient, in order to defend its cause, to yield control to a semi-professional military group. The unforeseen result was the

SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 5 10 20 30 60

EXPLANATION

Parts held by Charles I.
at the end of 1643_____

Parts held by Parliament

IRISH SEA

— St. George's Channel

**Cardig
Bay**

Pembroke

Bristol Channel

ENGLISH CHAIR

Dover Strait

FRANCE

6 West

8 Longitude

Greenwich 0 East

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creation of a force that served well the immediate purpose for which it was designed, but which now bade fair to rival in power the body that created it and whose cause it had served. Furthermore, it happened that the most influential leaders in the army, including Cromwell, were in sympathy with the Independents on the ecclesiastical question. A richer field for intrigue can scarcely be imagined, and there was little prospect of a workable settlement unless the King could be eliminated or unless he and some one of the factions opposed to him could agree on a common plan of action. But Charles found it impossible to face the loss of his control of the Church and the army, and so the negotiations with him that now dragged over several years offered little hope of a settlement.

The first serious proposals, known as the Propositions of Newcastle, were made jointly by parliament and the Scottish commissioners, while the King was under the protection of the Scots. The suggestion was that Charles should relinquish control of the army and navy for a period of twenty years, establish Presbyterianism as the Church of the island, and consent to the exclusion of a number of his own supporters from the proposed general amnesty. The King naturally declined these proposals; he then temporized by making counter suggestions, which were as little acceptable to the parliamentary leaders as were theirs to him. The Scots, fearing a royalist rally in support of Charles should he remain in his native country, now accepted a partial payment of the amount due for their participation in the war, resigned the King into the hands of the English, and withdrew into their own territory. Meanwhile, the Presbyterian group in parliament was trying in vain to disperse the army. Its pay, for one thing, was in arrears, and money to meet this obligation was not in sight. Then, too, the leaders of the army were not disposed to disband their forces until they had some assurance that they would be free to indulge their own ecclesiastical views. The rank and file in most of the regiments elected two representatives each, known as "agitators" or agents, to consult with the generals. Parliament promised to comply with the demands of the army, but the army refused to disband until fulfillment had verified the promise, knowing that should it disband the Presbyterian party would be left in control of parliament and the country.

The army was now represented by an organization of officers and "agitators." A company was sent to take charge of the King, and, instead of disbanding the army, this council

demanding an early dissolution of parliament. The army Council, in fact, had a scheme of its own for the reform of the constitution, which it formulated and submitted to Charles and to parliament in a document known as the Heads of Proposals (August, 1647). Under this arrangement the existing parliament was to be dissolved and the duration of future parliaments limited to two years. A council of state, appointed by agreement, would, for the space of seven years, acting in coöperation with parliament, control the army and navy. Religious toleration would prevail. It was much the practical type of settlement to be expected from successful army officers, but for that reason there was little likelihood that either Charles or parliament would accept it. Parliament countered the move by submitting to the King a modified edition of the Propositions of Newcastle, which Charles pronounced even less satisfactory than the proposals of the army.

Charles now felt that the quarrel between parliament and the army gave him a position of advantage. He, therefore, escaped from the army to the Isle of Wight, whence he sent a message to the Speaker of the House of Commons offering to acquiesce in three years of Presbyterianism to be followed by a compromise adjustment to be arranged. Parliament insisted on its own propositions, whereupon Charles negotiated secretly with the Scots, suggesting a compromise settlement for England, which, if his English subjects remained recalcitrant, was to be enforced by a Scottish army. This negotiation precipitated the second Civil War. The army stood fast at the prospect of an alliance between Presbyterians and royalists. Men like Cromwell and his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, who had hitherto lent their influence in favor of a limited monarchy with a large measure of religious toleration, were now reluctantly concluding that a workable arrangement was almost impossible either with Charles or with the dominant faction in parliament. The issue was forced when the officers of the army suggested to parliament that the King be tried and executed as a traitor.

When parliament declined to consider so formidable a suggestion, the army entered London on December 2, 1648. Three days later the House of Commons voted a resolution that the last proposals of the King offered a basis for a settlement. On the following day, when steps would have been taken to carry out the provisions of this resolution, Colonel Thomas Pride with a band of soldiers prevented members who were not sympathetic with the point of view of the army from taking their places in

the house, thus effecting what became famous as "Pride's purge," and leaving only a remnant of the Long Parliament, which was known as the "Rump." The membership of the House of Commons was thus reduced from about two hundred and fifty to fifty members. On the first day of the following year this remnant of parliament passed an ordinance providing for a High Court to try the King. Charles was brought up from the Isle of Wight, where he had been detained practically as a prisoner. The court was not set up without difficulties, but hasty action was necessary if the project was to be carried through. On January 20 the trial began before a commission of sixty-eight members, instead of the one-hundred and thirty-five provided for in the ordinance. Charles denied the jurisdiction of the court, and the Scots protested against the trial of their king by an English tribunal. Fifty-eight of the judges signed a death warrant, and on January 30 the head of the King fell at the stroke of an ax.

The execution of Charles, necessary as Cromwell and his associates felt it to be, was, it was soon easy to see, a political blunder. The King, or his friends, skilfully dramatized the last act in his career to make it impressive to the witnessing multitudes, and a legend straightway began to take form that was destined to give a substance to the memory of the dead King in the minds of many who had found little in him to admire in life. Notable in helping to create this legend was a book that appeared ten days after the execution and soon went to more than two-score editions. The title was *Εικὼν βασιλική*; *the Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitude and Sufferings*. The authorship of this famous piece, attributed to the King himself, and later claimed by John Gauden, a contemporary divine, is still a matter of dispute and uncertainty. No doubt it expresses the philosophy of and aspirations for the monarchy that Charles felt, though it is improbable that he had the gift for expression displayed in the book, a gift that Gauden had in a considerable degree. As there were many editions of the book, so it provoked many replies, some of them the work of the best pens in the parliamentary party. Even John Milton lent an ineffective hand, undertaking in his *Εἰκονοκλαστής* to shatter the idol of "the inconstant, irrational, and image-doting rabble." In vain he complained that people "with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some of the few who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of freedom, are ready to fall down flat and give adoration to the

image and memory of this man who hath offered at more cunning fetches to undermine our liberties and put tyranny into an act, than any British king before him." The royal cause was now sanctified by the blood of a martyr.

But even the sacrifice of Charles's life could not make the throne secure for a Stuart monarch. The idea for which he died, the concept of kingship which he strove to uphold, was incompatible with the supremacy of the ruling class that had shaped the character of the English nation and had now grown accustomed to the substance of power. Henceforward, kings might reign in England only so long as they did not make too great pretensions to the power to rule. Meantime, the fatal loyalty of the first Charles to his views afforded a decade for political experimentation before the nation was ready to yield the scepter to his son.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, chs. xii-xiii; *Cambridge Modern History*, IV. chs. viii-xii; Charles Firth, *Oliver Cromwell*, chs. i-xi; J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, I. Bk. II. ch. vii; S. R. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, Lectures I-II; *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, Introduction; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, II. chs. xi-xii; Wallace Note-stein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*.

FOR WIDER READING

H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. chs. i-ii; Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*; *The House of Lords During the Civil War*, chs. i-vi; S. R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642*, V-X; *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 Vols.; W. H. Hutton, *The English Church 1625-1714*, chs. i-viii; J. A. R. Marriott, *The Life and Times of Lucius Cary Viscount Falkland*, Books III-IV; E. C. Montague, *The History of England 1603-1660*, chs. vii-xv; Frances Helen Relf, *The Petition of Right*; W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth*, I; H. D. Traill, *Lord Strafford*; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, chs. vi-ix; J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism to the Founding of the Gazette*, chs. i-x.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Various aspects of the Civil War are illustrated by maps in *Muir*, f. 38; *Shepherd*, p. 127; *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, Nos. 34, 35, 36; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, p. 534. For a contemporary engraving of the plan of the Battle of Naseby, see C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 62. For other battle plans of the war, see *Muir*, Introduction, pp. 42-44.

CHAPTER XIV

RADICALISM AND THE ARMY

AN INTERLUDE OF UNCERTAINTY

The day was saved for the cause of parliament by the very forces that seemed most to endanger its success. There were apparently troubles enough in England to threaten the supremacy of the faction that had conquered the King, opposed, as it soon was, by the Levellers and other doctrinaire radicals on the one hand and by the royalists on the other. But for the moment a more serious danger threatened from abroad. The long series of wars on the Continent known as the Thirty Years War had been concluded at the Congress of Westphalia in 1648, leaving the power of France and the Protestant states exhausted. But the new English republic had no friends among these states. A monarch could not yet witness with equanimity the execution of a king and the enthronement of his subjects. Moreover, the ruling houses in both France and Holland were bound to the fallen English dynasty by ties of blood.

The most pressing and immediate danger to the new régime in England, however, was from Ireland, whither the heir-apparent of the dead King had turned for support. Ormonde, the royalist leader in that island, managed to reconcile the Protestant and Catholic factions, so that they united in support of the royalist cause, and the execution of Charles I served to swell the number of his followers. The Council of State in England appointed Cromwell to suppress this rebellion against the power of parliament in the early spring of 1649. Cromwell appealed to the national pride and to the fears of the English. He warned that if they did not maintain their interest in Ireland the Irish would "in a very short time be able to land forces in England and put us to trouble here." He went on: "I confess I have often had these thoughts with myself which may be carnal and foolish: I had rather be overrun by a Cavalierish interest than a Scotch interest, I had rather be overcome by a Scotch interest than an Irish interest, and I think that of all this is the most

dangerous. . . . If they shall be able to carry on their work they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism. . . . The quarrel is brought to this state: that we can hardly return to that tyranny which formerly we were under the yoke of, but we must at the same time be subject to the kingdom of Scotland or the kingdom of Ireland for the bringing in of the king. It should awaken all Englishmen."

The appeal of Cromwell was sufficient to procure resources for the maintenance of the army of twelve thousand men, which he refused to lead to Ireland until it was equipped and the means were at hand for its support. These preliminaries delayed his start until the latter part of the summer. Within a month after his arrival in the island, he met Ormonde at Drogheda (September 11) and made that name ever afterward memorable in Irish annals by his command that all of the twenty-eight hundred men under arms opposing him be put to the sword. At Wexford (October 12) some fifteen hundred of the garrison and inhabitants with all the priests who were taken similarly perished. Cromwell explained his actions on these occasions as a just retribution for innocent blood shed in a rebellion of the Irish in 1641, having persuaded himself that it was "a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches"; he defended it also as a means of preventing similar effusions of blood in the future. Had he foreseen the flood of eloquent appeal that his merciless action would occasion in centuries to come, no doubt he would have restrained his hand. Yet wars in the seventeenth century, even more than wars in recent times, were characterized by deeds that are scarcely susceptible of defence, unless some extraordinary end be held to justify somewhat terrible means. Cromwell had, however, to leave the subjugation of Ireland to Ireton, while he returned to England to lead an army against Scotland.

Having delayed his journey to Ireland so long, the young Charles, hearing of the victories of Cromwell, concluded that it was not worth while to go at all. He found the native kingdom of his grandfather ready to welcome him, though only on its own terms. But Charles had not much choice in the matter. Returning to Holland from his interrupted journey to Ireland, he found himself, it is said, with "not bread both for himself and his servants, and betwixt himself and his brother not one English shilling." The prevailing faction in Scotland demanded that he make the covenant to support Presbyterianism in Scot-

land and to impose it on England and Ireland, disavowing at the same time both Ormonde in Ireland and Montrose, the royalist leader in Scotland. In the course of the negotiations, Montrose was led into an imprudent attack on the Covenanters, in which he was defeated and later captured and put to death (May, 1650). Having apparently nothing else left to do, Charles came to terms with the Presbyterians.

Parliament, or what was left of it, now decided to take the war into Scotland, to avert a danger that seemed imminent, and designated Fairfax and Cromwell to command the expedition. Fairfax declined to make what he regarded as an aggressive war on a neighboring country, and Cromwell was placed in full command after he had tried in vain to persuade Fairfax to share the responsibility. Cromwell again appealed for support on the ground of a common fear in the presence of a national danger. All of the undaunted spirit of the leader was needed before the conclusion of the expedition, for in its earlier phases it seemed to threaten his army with disaster. But he retrieved his position at the battle of Dunbar in September, 1650. By a skilful campaign in the following spring he again defeated the Scots in the battle of Worcester, after which both Scotland and Ireland were joined to England, ceasing for the time to have a separate, organized existence, an arrangement destined to be comparatively short-lived.

In England itself there had been taking place for several years a conflict that marked a new era in political controversy. To understand this controversy we need to remind ourselves constantly that these civil wars, like those in the preceding centuries, touched directly a comparatively small proportion of the total population of the country. True this war differed from the earlier ones in that a somewhat larger proportion were engaged in it, but it differed more markedly in that those who did participate were impelled thereto by devices not hitherto used on the same scale. We have noted that one of the secrets of Cromwell's success in the field was his appreciation of the advantage that would accrue should his troops acknowledge a common loyalty and unite in conscious support of a common cause. Other leaders also came to understand that groups needed to be stimulated to think or feel in common before they would act effectively together, either in public assembly or on the field. In consequence, a war of propaganda ensued, as important and as effective as the struggles that took place between armed men, the most pretentious verbal contest the world had as yet seen.

A young poet like Andrew Marvell, gifted with an imagination that enabled him to sense, if unconsciously, the drift of feeling among the groups that controlled the destiny of the nation, was able to greet Cromwell on his return from Ireland in a laudatory ode, as a man to whom the nation owed a debt, being one,

Who, from his private gardens, where
He lived reserved and austere
(As if his highest plot
To plant the bergamot),

Could by industrious valour climb
To ruin the great work of time,
And cast the kingdoms old
Into another mould;

Though Justice against Fate complain,
And plead the ancient rights in vain—
But those do hold or break
As men are strong or weak—

Nature, that hateth emptiness,
Allows of penetration less,
And therefore must make room
When greater spirits come.

After England, the Irish had now felt the power of the hand of this “greater spirit” and

They can affirm his praises best,
And have, though overcome, confest
How good he is, how just
And fit for highest trust.

Returning home:

He to the Commons’ feet presents
A Kingdom for his first year’s rents,
And, what he may, forbears
His fame, to make it theirs:

And has his sword and spoils ungirt
To lay them at the public’s skirt.

With such a leader, the poet asks with patriotic ardor whether Cromwell may not go on and rival the conquests of ancient military heroes.

Nevertheless, the poet was sensitive to the emotion of the

crowd, and the best-remembered lines of his ode referred not to Cromwell but to the late monarch:

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try;

Nor call'd the gods with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bow'd his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.

Not so the young poet's friend, John Milton. He became Latin Secretary to the Council of State formed after the execution of the King. He had already sought to justify the deposition of Charles in a pamphlet on *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, and he was soon again in the thick of the polemics that ensued. After Milton became blind Marvell, among others, gave assistance in his secretarial duties. The poet remained to the end a loyal supporter of Cromwell. He had already demonstrated his ability as a controversialist by his tracts on divorce, inspired in part by his own unfortunate experience, and by his more notable defence of the freedom of the press in *Areopagitica*. We need not dwell here on his earlier poems or on his later epics, in which his appeal transcended the bounds of a nation that had refused longer to heed his political doctrines and became universal in scope.

But Milton the controversialist was one among very many. Newspapers and other periodical publications were not yet in existence in the form now familiar, nor was there a public forum, save the pulpit, where assembled crowds might hear and respond to the eloquence of political leaders. The current vehicles for the interchange of both news and views were broadsides, pamphlets, tracts, and similar fugitive pieces, which appeared in unbelievable numbers and testify of an emotional ferment among the groups vocal in the nation of which we would have no knowledge without them. These records were transmitted to posterity as a result of the forethought of a contemporary bookseller, George Thomason, who, in the period from 1642 to 1662, collected some twenty-two thousand or more items and arranged them in the order in which they came into his possession. On no previous occasion had men so frequently and so voluminously expressed their feelings and sought to win the support of others for their views. After the execution of the King, aside from

the army, it was only when a group could reach a common ground of thought and feeling that public action was possible. The army itself was at times in danger of breaking up into political factions. It was certainly an unconventional phenomenon that common soldiers should elect men to take counsel with their officers, and the prevalence of that procedure inevitably impaired the discipline of the troops.

As early as 1646 and 1647 a group of radical political doctrinaires began to publish their views. One of the most prominent, and for a time one of the most influential, was Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, brother of Robert Lilburne, a member of the trial court and a signer of the death warrant of Charles I. Lilburne was imprisoned in 1646 by the House of Lords for an attack made on a peer in one of his pamphlets. From prison he conducted a campaign against the House of Lords itself, and from that time the sentiment of the populace against the upper house began to increase, until it was finally abolished. Fewer than a dozen lords were left in parliament after the army began to be dominant. Lilburne thus became leader and apostle of a group known as the Levellers, who carried to a logical conclusion theories with which the more practical groups merely toyed in their enthusiastic moments. The approach of the second Civil War in 1647 forced the issue between the more conservative party in the army, led by Ireton, and the radical groups, of which Lilburne was the spokesman. The radicals proposed to the Council of the Army for adoption a written constitution in the form of a social compact called the Agreement of the People. Under the terms of this compact, a new parliament was to be called, apportioned according to population and elected by the people, with others subsequently chosen in a similar manner at biennial intervals. To the argument of the Levellers that it was contrary to nature for a man to be bound by laws which he had had no voice in making, Ireton replied that the English constitution was intended to secure property and that it limited participation in the government to those who had a material stake in the country. In the end, he contended, it would operate to the advantage of the common soldiers, who had no property, to leave the government in the hands of those who had some.

A debate on a question like this is indicative of a previous discussion that had already passed through earlier stages. It is well to recall to mind these previous stages. In the beginning of the dispute, we remember, the opponents of the King appealed

to the courts, and Coke developed his doctrine of the supremacy of the "law of the land" over even the monarch. It matters little whether this was sound constitutional doctrine. Since the judges were appointed by the King, it was unlikely that they would long oppose his will. The opponents of the King, therefore, turned to parliament as a body more likely to uphold the "fundamental laws" when they were in danger of subversion. Coke now appeared as a member of the House of Commons. But this change in ground on the part of the opponents of the Stuart monarchs revealed two further questions that needed answers if the doctrine of the supremacy of parliament was to become plausible. What was the nature of these "fundamental laws" that had a higher authority than ordinary laws, and by what means did parliament acquire its title to supremacy? Many disputants, as was natural at the time, sought in the Scriptures divine or supreme laws. Others found them in what they called the laws of nature. But it was not easy to reach a general agreement on the content of either the divine laws of the Scripture or the laws of nature.

After it became clear that it would be almost impossible to work in coöperation with the King, Lilburne and the Levellers suggested that the break down in the old government left the country in a state of nature and so free to formulate anew, by agreement or compact, supreme or fundamental laws creating machinery of government wherewith to replace that which had failed to function. This conclusion was not reached without much consideration of what came to be called the sovereignty of the people, and most of the ideas on which so much eloquence was to be expended in subsequent times were suggested in these discussions. One troublesome difficulty was the contrivance of a suitable tribunal for deciding whether an act of legislation under the compact was in contravention of the fundamental law itself, and the later expedient adopted in America, of leaving the decision to the courts, was that ultimately accepted as most likely to work.

But not all the radicals spent their energies on secular political doctrines. Other groups, who later found it easier to coöperate with Cromwell than did Lilburne and the Levellers, were concerned about religious or ecclesiastical questions. The Fifth Monarchy Men, for example, were convinced that the apocalyptic reign of the saints on earth was at hand, the fifth monarchy foretold in the Scriptures. One of the chief leaders of this group was Thomas Harrison, a man who participated in the

trial of Charles I and who, in the period immediately after the execution of the King, was one of Cromwell's most trusted lieutenants. The Fifth Monarchy group was for the most part recruited from the Baptists and other sects that had a congregational polity. This claim of congregational independence made possible, at this stage of the development of the Dissenting movement, almost an infinite variety of small groups voluntarily associated. Little wonder thousands of pamphlets were needed to publish the views, to say nothing of the news, of so variegated an assortment of associations.

But Cromwell and those who followed him were too practical to be led astray by extremes of political or religious doctrines. He ultimately found it impossible to work with either Lilburne or Harrison, and in the end prosecuted both. Nor was it strange that the doctrinaire Leveller, like the Fifth Monarchy fanatic, felt that Cromwell deserted the true cause for the husks of power. The General became Lord Protector, and in time received the offer of the crown because, despite a flavor in him of political radicalism and religious fanaticism, he was predominantly a man of affairs, who understood better than most men of his time the forces that were most influential in society. No matter how plausible the doctrines of the Levellers might seem to him, Cromwell knew that it was not feasible to organize an army of seventeenth century Englishmen on that basis, and none knew better than he that the army was responsible for the defeat of the King. The army also denuded parliament of its Presbyterian members. In the face of immediate danger, when the army seemed on the verge of breaking up in the fall of 1648, Cromwell and Ireton compromised with the Levellers and agreed to a more radical proposal for a constitution than had previously been sponsored by any but the Leveller group. Ireton, in his effort to preserve a united front against the royalists, even undertook to reconcile the doctrinaire political engineers who were bent on improvising an ideal constitution and the fanatics who felt that the great day of the Lord was at hand and that it was almost impious for mere humans to try to shape that which would come by the divine will. The compromise Agreement of the People which resulted was a more moderate document than that earlier proposed by the Levellers and was to be put into effect when approved by those "well-affected" toward the remnant of parliament that remained. The leaders of the army modified this compromise agreement still further, particularly in the direction of safeguarding religious

toleration, whereupon the Levellers, feeling that they had been betrayed, defied the army. But the army officers were now again in control of the situation, and before the end of 1649 Lilburne was under arrest awaiting trial.

Facing the prospect of mutiny in the army, Cromwell and his associates abandoned the Agreement of the People, preferring rather to use the Rump of parliament for a while longer as an agency of government, and proceeded to restore discipline among the troops. A dependable army was essential for meeting the dangers in Ireland and Scotland, as we have seen, and a breach with the Levellers was accepted as inevitable. Lilburne learned of the decision when he overheard through a keyhole Cromwell saying to the Council of State: "I tell you, you have no other way to deal with these men [the Levellers] but to break them, or they will break you; yea and bring all the guilt of the blood and treasure shed and spent in this kingdom upon your heads, and frustrate and make void all that work that, with so many years' industry, toil, and pains you have done; and therefore I tell you again, you are necessitated to break them." Since it had come to where one or the other must be broken, we are not surprised that Lilburne and his coterie used every means that they could command to discredit both the army and the Rump, and neither was defensible according to any consistent political doctrine. Cromwell understood the difficulties of his position and delayed as long as possible the trial of the arch-Leveller. When he was tried, so astute was his defence that he was acquitted, both in 1649 and again, when he was arraigned a second time, in 1653.

Cromwell's efforts to coöperate with the Rump is an indication of his preference for the practical as distinguished from the theoretical and doctrinaire. His own sympathies at bottom were probably with the less fanatical of the "saints" rather than with the Levellers. After his return from Scotland he gave up in despair the attempt to work with the Rump in organizing a stable government. This fragment of the Long Parliament was still tinkering with the question of framing a constitution for the national Church that would place certain limitations on the freedom of those outside of the established organization. Cromwell gave voice to positive views on this proposal: "I had rather that Mohametanism were permitted amongst us, than that one of God's children should be persecuted." Milton seconded this thought by addressing an hortatory sonnet to the General reminding him that:

... New foes arise

Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains;

Help us to save free conscience from the paw

Of hireling wolves whose gospel is their maw.

The question of the reform of the Church came to a deadlock. The final event that moved Cromwell to action was the calm proposal to institute a new parliament in which the members of the Rump should retain their seats without the necessity of reelection. When the Rump rejected the proposals of a compromise on this question offered by Cromwell and the officers, the General himself appeared on the floor and reproved the members by name, continuing: "Perhaps you think that this is not parliamentary language; I confess it is not; neither are you to expect any such from me. You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." Thereupon, he ordered Harrison, who was still loyal to him, to call in troops and disperse the assembly. When this had been done, Cromwell gave evidence that he knew in his heart that this action would be hard to defend against men of Lilburne's type. He cried out after the departing members: "It is you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." The Council of State, of course, went with the parliament, from which its members came, and no power was left to challenge the army.

All sorts of projects were in the air. The most common feeling was that Cromwell aspired to the crown. But the General felt that he held his office by an act of parliament and that he was under obligation to the nation to inaugurate some civil machinery capable of exercising power. Harrison wished to institute a council of seventy members, after the manner of the Jewish Sanhedrin, as a fit prelude to the Fifth Monarchy. But Cromwell was no Fifth Monarchy Man, and he compromised by calling together, in the summer of 1653, a more representative assembly of a hundred and fifty persons, five from Scotland, six from Ireland, and the rest from England, selected by the army officers from nominations made from each county by the churches having a congregational polity. These men were summoned personally by writs that Cromwell issued, which described them as "men fearing God and hating covetousness." The assembly thus brought together survives as the "Barebone Parliament," perpetuating somewhat unjustly the name of one

of its members, a London leather merchant, whose parents had prefixed to the inherited "Barebone" the even more noteworthy appellation when thus incongruously joined, "Praisegod." Immediate action was imperative if the nation was to abide in peace at home and win respect abroad. But it was unlikely that an assembly of religious dissentients, including no small proportion of Fifth Monarchy men, would show despatch in reaching a common ground of decision. Cromwell was soon disillusioned and began to wonder whether, instead of seeking another body to which to transfer the power that was in his hands, it might not be better to accept frankly the responsibility thrust upon him. He turned again to the officers of the army, among whom John Lambert was now a leading spirit. Ireton had fallen in 1651. The result was the proclamation, in December, 1653, of a written constitution called the Instrument of Government.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE ARMY AND THE EXPERIMENTS OF CROMWELL

The army had now, on the surface, completed the conquest of England. It had proclaimed a constitution for all of Great Britain and Ireland and had placed its favorite general at the head of the government. The next step was to win the support of the nation for the new arrangement, by no means an easy task. For one thing, a deep-seated respect for law and custom had developed in those accustomed to rule in England, and the government of Cromwell would always be in a sense extra-legal. Granted that the return to the throne of the son of Charles I was impossible, it was nevertheless true that Charles had been defied and deposed by parliament, a body chosen according to the laws and customs of the realm and claiming to speak for the nation. But Cromwell and the army had discarded, one after another, every faction in that, the most ambitious in its pretensions of all parliaments. Only after succeeding generations had accepted these actions of the newly created Lord Protector as essential for the welfare of the country and after institutions based on them had been approved by a long period of usage could the things he had done have the color of legality. If the voice of the Long Parliament in its earlier years was the voice of the nation, as it is plausible to assume, it was a voice that spoke on religious questions more

in tones of Presbyterianism and moderate Anglicanism than in harmony with the vociferous saints who surrounded Cromwell. His only hope of success in his efforts to unite the country under his leadership, therefore, was to identify his régime so thoroughly with the national aspirations in other respects that his dissent on the matter of religion and the extra-legal steps by which he had climbed to power might be overlooked. It was scarcely possible that he could succeed in the undertaking.

The Instrument of Government, which was the first and only written constitution under which an attempt has been made to govern England, expressly provided that a constant yearly revenue should be "raised, settled, and established for maintaining of ten thousand horse and dragoons and twenty thousand foot in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the defence and security thereof, and also for a convenient number of ships for guarding the seas." These provisions looked toward the preservation of the army and of means for its support, unless the Lord Protector should consent to a change. Cromwell became Lord Protector for life. The choice of his successor was to rest with a parliament chosen according to the provisions of the Instrument of Government. The provisions for the election of this assembly are evidence that the officers of the army had lost any partiality for popular government in its more extreme form that earlier circumstances may have moved them to express. Some of the smaller boroughs were disfranchised and the right of representation conferred on the larger centers, thus making the constituencies more nearly uniform in population, but the right of electing the members was for the most part left in the hands of the borough corporations, which insured that burghers of influence would dictate the choice. In the shires, instead of the accustomed forty-shilling freeholders, all men with property worth two hundred pounds were to vote. Here, too, therefore, it was the substantial citizen with a considerable stake in the community who would be heard. But by no means a majority of men of this type were in sympathy with the religious factions that constituted the backbone of the army. The Instrument of Government tried to avert this obvious danger to the power of the army by incapacitating for participation in the government for the time being those who had taken part in a war against parliament since 1641 and by a further provision that none should be "compelled by penalties or otherwise" to accept any ecclesiastical arrangement it might be found expedient to agree upon. Some sort of national Church was clearly contem-

plated; the existing arrangement was only to remain in force until another could be perfected.

It was apparent, when the first parliament chosen under the Instrument of Government met in September, 1654, that the more extreme faction was in a minority. A majority of the members were either Presbyterians or the more moderate type of Independents. The body as a whole was quite content to have Cromwell at the head of the government, but not so well pleased with the constitution as it had been framed by the officers of the army. Instead of acting within the limited field that the constitution prescribed, it soon took upon itself the character of a constituent assembly, thus following the precedent of the Long Parliament in laying claim to the supreme power in the state. This attitude was natural among a people unaccustomed to the trammels of a written organic law. Cromwell agreed to compromise if parliament would leave untouched four fundamental matters which he summarized as (1) government by a single person and parliament, (2) division of the control of the military forces between parliament and the Protector, (3) limitation of the length of time that parliament might sit, and (4) the preservation of a liberty of conscience in matters of religion. His own position as Lord Protector, he regarded as having the sanction of the nation and so not to be called in question. About a hundred of the members elected refused to take an oath of fealty to the Protector and parliament, which was combined with a pledge not to alter the joint government of the two. The rest began at once to tinker with the constitution. Among other things, they busied themselves enumerating a list of damnable heresies to be prohibited by suitable penalties, matter in itself sufficient to arouse fears in Cromwell and the army. A compromise agreement left this question to the joint decision of the Protector and parliament. On the next question no compromise was possible, since it touched the very control and existence of the army. The number of men under arms was to be reduced from fifty-seven to thirty thousand, and the sum appropriated for maintenance was diminished accordingly. The control of the military was to pass entirely into the hands of the legislature. On this point Cromwell would not yield.

He defended his refusal by citations of dangers from without and the likelihood of rebellion at home. Furthermore, he said, if he should surrender his voice in the control of the army, nothing would be left to hinder parliament from "imposing what

religion they please on the consciences of men and what government they please upon the nation.' He thereupon dissolved parliament, in January, 1655, and took steps to nip in the bud an incipient rebellion. Harrison, the Fifth Monarchy leader, was arrested, as was Major John Wildman, the current leader of the Levellers, and many royalist leaders in divers parts of the country. The danger of insurrection past, Cromwell took steps of his own accord to reduce the army by ten or twelve thousand men. But he accompanied this act with another measure that tended to defeat his efforts to win the sympathy of the substantial classes in the nation. He divided England into twelve military districts over each of which he placed an army officer of the rank of major general, with the duty of keeping the peace and of collecting a ten per cent. tax on the incomes of royalist sympathizers to pay the expenses of the organization. He defended this step by the allegation that time had proved the impossibility of reconciling the royalists to the new régime. The measure was effective for keeping the peace, but fatal to the growth of a spirit favorable to the rule of the Protector. The lawyers and judges now began to question his ordinances, and a merchant refused to pay the customs, even as the case had been under Charles I. Cromwell could compel obedience, but the instrument by which he retained his power stood revealed as naked military force.

Nevertheless, the Protector was genuinely ambitious to participate in a constitutional government, and the propagandists who undertook to popularize his measures never forsook that hope. In the autumn of 1656 James Harrington, a former groom of the chamber of Charles I, who now supplemented Milton's work as political philosopher for the Commonwealth, published his *The Commonwealth of Oceana*. Milton stressed liberty in political and religious matters as the rightful prerogatives of individual men. Harrington dealt rather with the proper scope of government and the seat of its authority, which, according to his view, should rest with those who held most of the property in the community. In the England of his day, this would have placed authority in the hands of the holders of considerable landed estates in the rural districts and of those who had accumulated other forms of wealth in urban communities. Harrington suggested, on the subject of governmental machinery, that it would be well to have a senate or smaller body to prepare business for the consideration of the representative assembly. In form, his book was modeled after More's *Utopia*, and the

aim was to depict a happy state under a dominion such as he esteemed Cromwell's to be. Like Milton, he felt that an absolute monarchy was inconceivable, and, like Milton again, he was destined to have influence on later generations of statesmen and political theorists, especially in America. At the time, some of his views were incorporated in the constitution of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell earnestly desired to make it work.

In the summer of 1656 the Protector called a second parliament, in the hope that by the intervention of the major generals members might be chosen more amenable to reason and willing to accept his leadership. This hope was not fully realized. Many of the voters persisted in expressing their disaffection despite the threats of the military, and a hundred of the elected members were excluded from sitting in the assembly on the ground that they were not loyal to the government they were chosen to help carry on. Those allowed to sit were largely from the Presbyterian and moderate Independent groups. They evidenced their acceptance of the Cromwellian régime by passing one act annulling the title of the Stuarts to the throne and another making it treason to plot the overthrow of the existing government. But they were themselves soon busy calling in question the policy of religious toleration and of imposing a tax on royalists for the support of the militia. Then, inspired by a threat against the life of the Lord Protector, a Presbyterian member moved that the Lord Cromwell accept the title of king and "take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution." This resolution gave expression to a growing desire, which many felt, for a return to the familiar legal forms of government. Only in that way, it appeared, could the country be rid of the domination of the army and of rule by major generals. The proposal, when perfected (May, 1657), was presented to the Lord Protector in a spirit, nominally at least, different from that which characterized the first parliament in formulating its constitutional suggestions. It bears the title, the Humble Petition and Advice of Parliament.

Cromwell balked at the title and hesitated about the whole scheme. The military leaders had opposed the entire measure. But the Protector now recognized that the policy of the officers had failed. He finally concluded: "It is time to come to a settlement, and to lay aside arbitrary proceedings so unacceptable to the nation." He repeated this thought in his reply to the parliamentary committee: "I am highly taken with the thing, settlement, with the word and with the notion of it. I

think he is not worthy to live in England who is not." In an attempt to achieve an end so desirable, despite the protests of many who had formerly given him loyal support, he accepted what was substantially the old constitution, omitting only the title of king. He had come to feel the need of a second chamber to mediate between himself and the elected house. He was to have power to nominate his successor as Lord Protector and was duly invested with the title in the same manner as kings had formerly been proclaimed. He agreed to nominate members of a second chamber of the legislature, called for the time the "Other House," and he received in return greater powers than he had possessed under the Instrument of Government. But the new arrangement brought its difficulties. In naming the members of the second chamber, the Protector so depleted the number of his supporters in the elected house that he no longer had a safe majority there. He had not won the support of the royalists, and he had alienated even more than before the genuine republicans. It was not hard to make a plausible accusation that Cromwell had betrayed the cause for which he had fought in order to promote the greatness of his own family, and many of his former associates did not hesitate to do so. So he found it necessary to put an end to this parliament also (February, 1658), lest the confusion in the country be increased by its deliberations. He did not live to meet another. In the latter months of 1658 he sickened and died, after nominating his eldest son Richard to be his successor as Lord Protector.

The government was thus continued, as it had been instituted, by the power of the army. In its earlier phases Cromwell had the double task of dealing with his opponents outside of the military organization and with associates among the officers, such as Lilburne and Harrison. Gradually, as he established himself more firmly in the saddle, he was able to substitute for these political agitators officers more loyal to him personally or else others of a more professionally military type, of whom George Monk is a notable example. He eliminated most of the Levellers and all of the Fifth Monarchy men. Nevertheless, he died before he was able to reconcile men of influence in England to his rule as an appropriate expression of the national spirit. As far as he succeeded in this last task at all, it was in his colonial and foreign policy, and it was probably his notable successes in those fields that guaranteed to him the chief place in the state as long as he lived. With him passed, as it proved for good and all, the attempt to organize the government of



COLONIAL EMPIRE



ABOUT 1650

England under the limitations of a written constitution. His constitutional experiments were failures and were discarded by his successors, whereas some of his colonial and foreign policies were adopted by those who succeeded to power. In that successful aspect of his career, he was the heir of the Tudors and brought back the country from the aimless direction in which it had been guided by the Stuarts. It is therefore essential to an understanding of what followed to see what his foreign and colonial policies were.

THE EMPIRE AND THE FOREIGN WARS

We have seen how the army under Cromwell was able to consolidate Scotland and Ireland with England in a single state, though the consolidation was rather forced and formal than organic. We have now to trace the relations of this state with the English colonies and with the countries on the Continent. One source of the strength of the Commonwealth was the exuberance of national spirit in its partizans, which led it to embark on a more aggressive colonial and foreign policy than that of the Stuart kings, who had been unable to rise above a dynastic point of view. The Commonwealth men frankly advocated expansion. "You cannot," said Harrington, "plant an oak in a flower pot; she must have earth for her roots, and heaven for her branches." Cromwell frankly told his council: "God has brought us hither to consider the work we may do in the world as well as at home." And Harrington felt that it was the duty of a free commonwealth to be "a minister of God upon the earth, to the intent that the whole world may be governed with righteousness." Edmund Waller, the poet commissioner of trade under the Commonwealth, expressed in 1655 something of the spirit of the enterprise in his panegyric to the Lord Protector upon "the present Greatness of his Highness and this Nation":

The sea's our own; and now all nations greet,
With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet;
Your power resounds as far as winds can blow
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go.

Hither the oppressed shall henceforth resort
Justice to crave, and succor at your court;
And then your highness, not for ours alone
But for the world's protector shall be known.

The beginning of the policy that inspired this exaggerated encomium was the rather prosaic appointment by parliament in 1650 of a commission to inquire into the state of the nation's trade and to investigate the affairs of the colonies, considering "how they may be best managed and made useful for the Commonwealth; how the commodities thereof may be so multiplied and improved, as these plantations alone may supply the Commonwealth with what it necessarily wants." That is, the parliamentary statesmen had clearly in mind the notion of an exclusive, self-sufficient empire, covetous to accumulate treasure and reluctant to see wealth leave its borders without the prospect that it would return in multiplied quantity. This identical philosophy had sent the Tudor merchants on perilous enterprises to the ends of the earth and had resulted in the planting of the colonies across the Atlantic. Men with the same type of mind were now influential in parliament, and they were soon busy taking steps to reclaim for England some of the ground which had been lost in the Civil War. Two acts were passed; one in 1650, forbidding foreigners to take part in the trade with the colonies, and another in 1651 designed chiefly to strengthen the Navy and to increase English maritime trade. By the terms of the act of 1651 goods imported into England, Ireland, and the colonies from Asia, Africa, and America had to be brought in vessels owned within England or the colonies and manned by crews more than half English. Aliens were specifically forbidden to engage in the coastwise trade or to bring salt fish into the country. Although the principles on which it was based had been implicit in English colonial and commercial policy from early times, and some legislation had already been passed to support them, this act was the first attempt to formulate in a body of law these general assumptions.

The immediate occasion for the passage of this Navigation Act was a dispute with the Dutch. The dispute had a twofold character. On the one hand, it was a continuation of the war against the succession of the Stuarts. Mary, daughter of Charles I, had married William II, Prince of Orange and son of William I, the liberator of the Netherlands. The house of Orange offered asylum to the exiled members of the English house. In the first English Civil War, the navy was largely on the side of parliament. In the second, the navy divided, though, by virtue of the organizing ability of Henry Vane the younger and the skill of Robert Blake as a commander, the parliamentary navy was able to prevail and to reassert the ancient English claims to

supremacy in the Channel waters. Prince Rupert, nephew of Charles I and the most notable commander among the royalists, transferred his activities from the land to the sea and found assistance in Holland in his struggle with his parliamentary opponents. When, in 1650, the death of William II of Orange left the republican party in Holland in control of this largest province in the Netherlands, the English Commonwealth sent a mission to desire an alliance between the two countries on condition that the Dutch banish from their territories all exiles from England. When this measure was refused by Holland, and the Navigation Act was passed by the English parliament in the same year, war between the two countries followed as a rather natural consequence. The Navigation Act was an attempt to deprive Dutch shipping of the large share in the English and colonial carrying trade it was enjoying, a trade which the English now coveted for themselves both as it was profitable and as it afforded a means for enhancing the naval power of the nation.

The commercial rivalry between the English and the Dutch was not a new phenomenon; it had existed now for more than a generation. The massacre, in 1623, of some ten English merchants at Amboyna, an English agency in the spice islands of the East Indies, had the effect of confining English trade with the Orient largely to the continent of Asia. Memories of this incident lingered in English maritime circles, and Cromwell exacted from the Dutch compensation for the surviving relatives of its victims. A more important consideration was the large share in the English colonial trade which the Dutch had acquired in the period of internal disorder in England. Outside of New England, the American colonies professed sympathy with the royalist rather than with the parliamentary faction. After the execution of the King, parliament undertook to bring the colonies into subjection to the new régime. The result was rather a period of autonomy for the colonies than an enforcement of actual control. Many experiments were made, but neither the parliamentary Council of State nor Cromwell's later governments ever found a satisfactory arrangement for managing the affairs of the colonies. Much interest, however, was manifested in the task, and many influential men engaged in the undertaking.

The colonies became more prosperous than they had ever been before. The Commonwealth exerted itself to enforce the law prohibiting the growth of tobacco in England in order that the

colonial planters might have a better market. The substitution of sugar for tobacco as the staple in the colonies in the West Indies made tobacco a still more profitable crop for the continental colonies. Left thus largely to manage their own affairs and to contrive a society suitable for conditions in the new lands, the settlers in the colonies were rapidly developing a character peculiar to themselves, with many things to differentiate them from the population left behind in England. While the migration of royalists to some of the southern colonies in the period of parliamentary supremacy was no doubt considerable, as was the migration of Puritans to New England in the period preceding the meeting of the Long Parliament, it is easy to give too great weight to the effect of these emigrants on the institutions of the colonies. It is unlikely that many tangible influences thus transferred across the Atlantic survived the seventeenth century. The natural obstacles that had to be surmounted in reducing the new continent to a state suitable for the abode of civilization were so overwhelming that, in a generation or two, they got rid of all but the slightest traces of these former characteristics. The differentiation between the northern and southern colonies in America, which was already beginning to be manifest, was probably more largely the results of conditions in the new country itself, including the introduction of Negro slavery and staple agriculture in the southern colonies and the growth of trade in the north. The tradition of a Cavalier survival in the aristocracy of southern planters has little to substantiate it.

Throughout the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate the Dutch retained their own continental colony in America planted at a point that was strategic then, in that it separated the northern from the southern English colonies, and that was destined to be even more strategic in later centuries as the metropolis of the western world. Moreover, the Dutch had learned seamanship in the same hard school as the English; namely, fighting the Spanish. In the case of the Dutch, it had been also a fight for separate existence as well as a struggle for a share in the commerce of the world. A war for supremacy between these two maritime powers, that had so many ambitions and experiences in common, while not inevitable, was thus now a natural step in the growth of English policy and power. If England was to retain her colonies and maintain her claims to supremacy in the "narrow seas"—a prelude to still other claims on seas as wide as the world—it was essential that the rivalry

with the Dutch be settled. The countries had already been aligned for the quarrel by a verbal combat. The Dutch view, that the seas ought to be free, was supported by Hugo Grotius in his *Mare Liberum* (1609), a preliminary to his later more comprehensive work on *The Law of War and Peace* (1625), famous as the first great treatise on international law. The English jurist, John Selden, replied to *Mare Liberum* in his *Mare Clausum*, which was written as a state paper to defend the English claims in the reign of James, though not published until 1635.

The gist of the Dutch contention was that a neutral flag on a vessel ought to protect from seizure goods not of military value though they belonged to a belligerent. The English contended that all goods of belligerents were liable to seizure and were lawful prize. In addition, the English insisted that their flag be saluted in the "narrow seas," in recognition of English sovereignty in that region, and claimed a right to tribute for the privilege of fishing in the North Sea. Claims dating from the time of Henry VII were revived. When the Dutch stood their ground, the English retorted with the Navigation Act. Hostilities actually began in May, 1652, between Blake and Tromp, the Dutch Admiral, over the question of the salute, which the English commander demanded, and the Dutch refused. Vane and his colaborers had increased the English navy by two score vessels in the years 1649-1651, and Blake had the further advantage in his favor that the Dutch had a far larger carrying trade to protect than had the English. The two navies had approximately the same number of fighting ships, but those of the English were the larger and better built. The Dutch had the larger number of seamen and the friendship of Denmark, which made possible the interruption of the English supply of naval stores from the Baltic regions. The fighting that took place was more close and deadly than that in the wars of Elizabeth, but the English commander gave his attention to the commerce of the Dutch rather than to their fighting fleet. In the end, the English were able to defeat the Dutch fleet and to blockade the Dutch coast. But Cromwell, who had now come into power as Lord Protector, had other problems to solve, and he found it expedient to offer terms, which the Dutch accepted in 1654. The Dutch had suffered more than the English, but they showed a marvelous capacity for recovery. Though the question of supremacy was yet to be settled, the English had succeeded in reasserting the place on the seas they had in some measure lost

in the period of the first two Stuarts. The maritime rivalry with the Dutch persisted until overshadowed by that with France.

Cromwell terminated the Dutch war in order better to further other designs on the Continent. Being heir of the Tudor tradition, Spain rather than Holland still seemed to him to be England's most potential enemy, both as a rival in trade and as hostile to all Protestant countries. His treaty with the Dutch in the spring of 1654, with whom he was able to procure only a defensive alliance, was followed by others with Sweden (April, 1654) and Denmark (September, 1654). English vessels were now to be permitted to pass into the Baltic in search of naval stores on the same terms as the Dutch. A treaty with Portugal in July of the same year gave English merchants freedom to trade with Portuguese colonies in the East and in America. All of these treaties afforded safety to the Protectorate against attack by royalists. The Lord Protector now had to choose whether he would make friends with France or Spain. These two countries were at war. Cromwell demanded of Spain as a condition of agreement freedom for English merchants to exercise their religion without molestation in Spanish ports and the right to trade in the West Indies, which the Spanish ambassador said was to ask for his king's "two eyes." Neither would the French make terms for the moment, and when Sir William Penn was sent, in the summer of 1654, to attack the Spanish West Indies, he had orders to make prize also of French ships met in the way. But Blake was sent to the Mediterranean at the same time and voyaged to such purpose that the French were impressed, and an agreement resulted. In March, 1657, France made an offensive alliance with Cromwell against Spain. The fleet under Penn had already taken Jamaica after failing in Santo Domingo (Hispaniola). Blake fought his last battle at Teneriffe (August, 1657), annihilating a Spanish fleet on its way from America. English and French troops now joined in attacking the Spanish in Flanders, and Dunkirk, which was to be the English spoil in the undertaking, was captured in June, 1658. England again had a foothold on the Continent and was a power to be reckoned with in the affairs of the world. But before the end of the summer Cromwell was dead.

Perhaps he had not intended the foreign policy of his later years. He had dreamed rather of a Protestant league against the Catholic powers. But the Swedish King found cause for dispute with Denmark, and the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg thought it safer to seek friendship with the Catholic Haps-

burg of Austria than to face alone the young Swedish Prince in Poland. And so Cromwell, perhaps unconsciously, was impelled to express in his policy the fears and ambitions of the English nation, which brought him into alliance with one Catholic power in a war against another. Not Cromwell's championship of Protestantism, but his use of the force of England in furthering national aspirations gave him whatever of security he had as governor of the nation. His death left no hand capable of wielding his power, and a new arrangement was necessary almost immediately.

THE FAILURE OF THE ARMY AND THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS

The problem which Cromwell had tried in vain to solve was finally given up by the general who, as much as any of his lieutenants, had his confidence, and who in time succeeded to no small part of the power and prestige of his former chief. The name of this general was George Monk, commander of the army in Scotland and governor of that country at Cromwell's death. Monk was a professional military man, a soldier of fortune rather than a partizan, and had rendered service in turn to Charles I, to parliament, to the Commonwealth, and to the Protectorate. Cromwell had learned to trust him implicitly and commended his own successor, Richard, to him for counsel. Until the fall of the Protectorate, Monk was as loyal to Richard as he had been to that young man's father. The problem which Monk, like Cromwell, was unable to solve was to devise a civil government with power and prestige enough to control the army and yet with a willingness to preserve the substance of the things for which the army had fought. To create a revolutionary army and to imbue it with a national spirit sufficient to enable it to discipline itself and to overthrow a non-national monarchy was easier than it was to create by the instrumentality of this army a government with power superior to that of its creator. Cromwell, we have seen, whatever his title or whatever the form of constitution under which he worked for the moment, was able to maintain his position because he was a capable commander who had the confidence of the army. His policies, both at home and abroad, involved the maintenance and use of the army almost of necessity. Apparently he was genuinely desirous of promoting peace and of making the military subordinate to the civil

power, but he was never able to inaugurate a civil government that was not dependent for its existence on the army.

When Richard Cromwell took up the unfinished task of his father, the dependence of the Protector on the army became at once manifest. Scarcely was the body of Oliver in its temporary resting place in Westminster Abbey, when the officers of the army reminded Richard of the civil character of his office and demanded a commander-in-chief of their own choosing, suggesting the name of Richard's brother-in-law, General Charles Fleetwood, for the place. Richard refused the demand, and in January, 1659, summoned a parliament. The republican minority in the body made common cause with the leaders of the army. Major General John Desborough, who had married Richard's aunt, and Fleetwood, supported by Major General John Lambert, another of Cromwell's lieutenants, but one who had broken with the leader over the establishment of the Protectorate, proposed to Richard that if he would dissolve parliament they would take care of him; otherwise, they would adopt their own measures and leave him to shift for himself. Although Monk in Scotland and Henry Cromwell, his brother, who commanded the army in Ireland, remained loyal, Richard decided to cast in his lot with the English officers and did as they suggested. Fleetwood and Desborough aimed to govern through Richard as a tool, but Lambert was a republican and demanded the elimination of the Protectorate. As a substitute, he agitated the restoration of the Rump of the Long Parliament, which, before the end of 1659, was accordingly restored to power by the very men who had expelled it in April, 1653. Within a few months thereafter, this truncated parliament, having apparently learned little in the six years since its fall, was attempting to cashier Lambert and some of his associates. In October Lambert again turned out the parliament he had been instrumental in assembling in May.

But the days of the supremacy of the army were now numbered. It no longer had leaders in which the soldiers or officers had confidence. Monk in Scotland, in November, 1659, announced himself in favor of the restoration of the parliament which Lambert, his ancient rival, had dispersed. In order to achieve this result, he reorganized his army and started for London. Lambert marched toward the border of Scotland to meet him, but Monk, who had the better disciplined army, proved to be also the shrewder diplomat and protracted negotiations until much of Lambert's strength was dissipated. By the end of the year 1659 the Rump was a second time restored. Forth-

with, it repeated its determination to weaken the hand that brought it to power. But Monk played a more skilful game than Lambert, lacking the latter's doctrinaire partiality for a republic. He utilized the support of the citizens of London to force the readmission to parliament of the Presbyterian members expelled by Colonel Pride in 1648 and then induced the enlarged body to vote its own dissolution after issuing writs calling for the election of another assembly to take its place. This new parliament was elected under the supervision of the army that Monk commanded and probably reflected the current state of mind of a majority of the substantial people of the country. In April, 1660, this "free parliament" assembled.

In the meantime, Monk had been in communication with Charles, eldest son of Charles I. The authorities in both France and Spain, foreseeing that this homeless adventurer was likely soon to become a more important personage, were vying with each other in furtive efforts to have him in control at the critical time. Acting on a secret suggestion from Monk, Charles defeated the hopes of both powers by journeying to the Dutch town of Breda. From that place, in the early days of April, 1660, he published a declaration anticipating some of the demands that must of necessity be made on him if he was to expect restoration to the throne at the hands of a Cromwellian general. Mercy was promised where it was "wanted and desired." Specifically, he stipulated: "We do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only to be excepted." In the second place, Charles offered a "liberty to tender consciences" in matters of religion to the end that no man should be "disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion" on that score. Finally, he agreed to leave for adjudication by parliament questions concerning the grants and purchases of lands made in the period subsequent to the revolt against his father, and to consent to acts of parliament to satisfy the arrears due to the officers and men in the army under Monk. These officers and men were to remain in military service under the king with as good rank and pay as they had previously enjoyed.

When the body that is usually called the "Convention Parliament" assembled in April, 1650, it received messengers from Charles, who were ready at hand, and accepted the terms offered. In May Charles was conveyed across the Channel by a fleet under command of Edward Montague, one of Blake's old lieutenants, who had become favorably disposed toward the Stuarts after the fall of Richard Cromwell. Monk met the royal party at Dover and escorted it to London; the city was entered in triumph on May 29, 1660. Amid the acclaim of multitudes, Charles thus returned to the throne of his fathers. It remained to be seen whether in his period of wandering he had learned how to avoid mistakes like those which had cost his predecessor his head.

The army's most trusted general after the death of Cromwell used it to restore the king, because it seemed unlikely that any more satisfactory government could be devised. As a manipulator of military power, Monk, like Cromwell, was able to dominate the situations in which he found himself. As an artificer of political machinery that could be trusted to be careful of the interests of both the army and the nation, he was as helpless as Cromwell had been. And so Charles II received his crown from the army that had taken it from his father, just as the Long Parliament received a final breath of life from those who had before been its enemies, in a desperate effort to avert the return of the old régime. The restoration of the monarchy was the last act of the sovereign, national army. Thenceforward it was to be a mere arm of the state.

The failure of the army involved also the failure of the written constitution with which the country had experimented in the period when the army was supreme. None of the acts of the Commonwealth or the Protectorate were accepted as legal in themselves by the restored monarchy. The Declaration of Breda testified that it was made in the twelfth year of the reign of a King who had as yet exercised no real power in England. Except as parliament might later stipulate differently, the restoration was an attempt to start again where Charles I had left off. At that, all of the legislation passed by the Long Parliament before the Grand Remonstrance remained on the statute book. Nor was it possible to retrieve the state of mind, or anything like it, that existed when Charles I began his quarrel with parliament. Neither the King nor the nation could forget that a monarch, despite his claims to divine authority, had been deprived of his crown and his head. The struggle between the nation and the

monarchy was not yet at an end, but never again would a king claim quite so much or the nation be quite so patient with the exaggerated claims of a king.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. chs. xxiii-xxiv; G. L. Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, chs. xi-xii; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. vi, vii; Julian Corbett, *Monk*, chs. vii-xiii; W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, chs. v, vii; C. H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell*, chs. xii-xxi; S. R. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, chs. iii-vi; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, II. ch. xiii; A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History*, ch. ix; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, ch. x; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part III. ch. viii.

FOR WIDER READING

Louise Fargo Brown, *Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England*; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VII. chs. v, xv; *Cambridge Modern History*, IV. chs. xv, xix; C. H. Firth, *The House of Lords During the Civil War*, chs. vii-ix; S. R. Gardiner, *Oliver Cromwell*, chs. v-vi; *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 4 Vols.; F. C. Montague, *The History of England 1603-1660*, chs. xvi-xx; H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, ch. v; T. C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement*; J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, II. Part III; W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church During the Civil War and Under the Commonwealth*, II; Barrett Wendell, *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*, chs. viii-xi; T. J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, ch. iv.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For European activities in the region of the Indian Ocean about 1650 see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 43 and J. C. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 224; the latter work (p. 268) contains a map indicating the Atlantic possessions of the sea powers about 1660. For the European world about the middle of the seventeenth century (1648-1660), see W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. 3. For Europe in 1648, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 41; the same work contains maps illustrating the Dutch wars (No. 42) and the troubles in Ireland (Nos. 37, 38).

CHAPTER XV

THE STUARTS' SECOND CHANCE

THE RESTORED STATE AND CHURCH

"Restoration" is the term usage has made familiar, but it is scarcely descriptive of what took place in England in 1660. Charles II had come on the invitation of the nation to claim and to hold to the end of his days the crown his father had lost. He held it because he was troubled by few scruples of conscience and because, unlike his brother who was to follow him, he knew how to profit by the experience of those who had failed where he hoped to succeed. There was little that was English in him, either by birth or breeding, but more than a decade of wandering had generated in him a determination that he would not go on his "travels" again. He was not entirely lacking in aims and ambitions, but he preferred the comfort of his throne to the success of any cause whatever. While he bided his time, he sought diversion in personal indulgence. It is reported that when Charles landed the Mayor of Dover put an English Bible into his hand, which the King said was "the thing he loved above all things in the world." A brilliant English writer has commented on this incident, curiously incongruous in the light of all that was to follow: "The worthy mayor was enchanted at so honest an answer, for he did not perceive that the comic spirit had landed on our coast. The wittiest company of comedians that history records had come to tread the stage for a while, as little appreciated on the whole by the English people as were the great tragedians who had played their piece and were departing, undismayed by the howling and the fury, wrapped in the dignity of self-dependent virtue, Republicans without fear, without repentance, without hope."

This comment suggests a part of the explanation of the passage, with apparently little ado, from the grave to the gay, from the régime of the Puritan to the reign of the Cavalier. A majority of the substantial people in England wanted chiefly freedom, peace, and quiet, with protection to play their natural

rôles, to accumulate wealth or land, to share the customary sports of their kind, to indulge their religious inclinations with comparatively little molestation, and so to tell the time-honored tales of lives like theirs. They had submitted to the rule of Cromwell because, in most of these matters, he left them free, much freer than had the first Charles. But there was no guarantee of security and peace without a stable settlement of the government, and such a settlement seemed impossible as long as power remained in the hands of the changing leaders of the army. The second Charles would find his throne tenable only as long as he avoided the mistakes of his father and provided for his subjects much the same sort of protection and opportunities as they had enjoyed under Cromwell.

But Charles II could never understand and lead the English national aspirations as had Henry VIII or Elizabeth or Cromwell; he lacked most of the emotions that stirred the substantial classes in England. On the other hand, he was not so obtusely conscientious as were his father and brother. He knew how to trim his sails to suit the wind. He probably wanted to restore to the English monarchy its ancient power, which, as he conceived it, meant the use of a strong military force and the restoration in England of a church similar to that which existed in France. He failed in the shrewd attempts he made to achieve these ambitions. His failure ought to have been a warning to his successors, for it was evidence, well-nigh conclusive, that in restoring the King to the throne the English had no mind to restore the monarchy to its former state. The parliament that had restored could depose again, no matter how formally illegal it might agree to make this last procedure, as Charles' brother was to discover before the end of the century.

Parliament rather than the King determined the measure of the restoration that took place. Monk insisted that he wanted only to do the will of a "free parliament," and the body he summoned, the so-called "Convention Parliament," was dominated by minds of much the same type as his own. Their characteristic ecclesiastical complexion was Presbyterian or very tolerant Anglican. They had as little sympathy with the Independent sects as with the Roman Church. With the monarchy restored, and with the matter of religion left to parliament by specific stipulation, they felt that there would be no difficulty in reaching a satisfactory settlement. The disappointment in store for them was scarcely conceivable in 1660, natural as it seems after the event. The explanation is that the parliament that

restored the King was a different body from that which later restored the Church.

Charles had for his ablest adviser Edward Hyde, the Lord Chancellor, now created Earl of Clarendon, who had been a faithful counselor to the elder Charles and who, to save the reputation of his daughter, Anne, had already become the King's uncle-in-law. Clarendon was a churchman of the school of Laud. On the constitution he held views resembling those of Falkland and the others who had joined the King's party only after the Presbyterians began to get the upper hand in the Long Parliament. The earlier achievements of that famous body were as safe in Hyde's hands as in the hands of Monk and the Presbyterians. Monk himself was created Duke of Albemarle after the restoration and was permitted to name on the Privy Council Anthony Ashley Cooper, who became Lord Ashley and later Earl of Shaftesbury and was one of the notable politicians of his time. While Albemarle played no spectacular part in the new reign, the King found in him a sane counselor, and he did much quietly to steer the royal venture in its earlier years into safe channels. Edward Montague, the third member of the trio who had taken the lead in restoring the house of Stuart to the throne, became Earl of Sandwich and remained in charge of the navy, whose support he had won for the royal cause. His subsequent services were less noteworthy than those of Albemarle and Clarendon, and Clarendon was the real leader of the government in the period when the restoration of the monarchical government was in process.

To devise a compromise arrangement that would work under the circumstances was not an easy matter. The decade succeeding the execution of Charles I left many scars and some wounds that were still raw. Common prudence, as well as the implicit understanding between Charles II and those who had placed him on the throne, dictated that a minimum of punishment should be inflicted for old offences against the monarch. The more enthusiastic supporters of the King condemned the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion that was passed as an act of "indemnity for the king's enemies and oblivion for his friends," but no other policy was possible. The chief exceptions made were the members of the court that had condemned Charles I and a few prominent leaders like Lambert and Sir Harry Vane. Not all of these were captured, and not all that were captured were executed. Some of the vengeance which it was imprudent to inflict on the living was vented on the dead. The bodies of Cromwell and Ireton and

of Bradshaw, the President of the High Court that condemned Charles, were exhumed, hanged, and mutilated. But Charles II was too good-natured and had too keen an appreciation of the circumstances to need much pressure to induce him to show mercy, when any other course would have been fatal to his position. He acquiesced also in the proposed settlement of the land question. Estates actually confiscated by the revolutionary governments were restored, on the plea that there had been no legal authority for the confiscation. But much the larger part of the land that had changed hands in the interim had been sold under the distress of financial pressure as, for example, when royalists had been subjected to extraordinary assessments. All of these lands were left undisturbed in the hands of their new holders.

The army was disbanded in the main, but an uprising of Fifth Monarchy Men gave an excuse for retaining the nucleus of a standing army in the regiment that came with Monk from Scotland, the Coldstream Guards. The work of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden was left largely undisturbed and thus became a cherished part of the English constitution. The old feudal incidents were commuted in the grant of a lump sum annually. The King was thus divested of these marks of his medieval character as lord of his subjects and became instead merely their governor. Since money was steadily depreciating in value, while government was becoming an increasingly expensive undertaking, the King was more dependent than ever on the bounty of parliament for means wherewith to perform his functions. Being called on habitually to vote the revenues, though it would not accept the duty of collecting them, parliament came in the course of this reign to insist that money voted should be expended for the purposes for which it had been provided. When the fact of that arrangement was fully recognized, theories of monarchy were of little account. It was futile for a king to boast of his power in the presence of a parliament that provided both the bulk of the revenue and instructions for its expenditure.

The executive government under the restored monarchy was still vested in the King and the Privy Council. But the compromises incidental to the restoration of the monarchy and the necessity that all groups be represented in the Privy Council made that body too large to serve as an effective agency of government. Before the end of the reign, the series of experiments that were to eventuate in the modern cabinet had begun. These experiments, as was the case with so many of the organic

changes in the English government, were begun and carried forward with little more premeditation than is involved in a disposition to provide a workable method for doing the task at hand.

Most of these settlements were made by the Convention Parliament before its dissolution in December, 1660. The ecclesiastical question, the most troublesome of all, remained unsettled. The King was crowned with more than usual pomp in April, 1661, and, amid the enthusiasm attending these ceremonies, a new parliament was elected. The treatment accorded to the former revolutionaries had hitherto been extremely mild and the behavior of the supporters of the King politic. The result was the election of a parliament which was royalist in sympathy and more disposed to go forward with the work of restoration than was Charles himself. Clarendon found it easy to induce this body to impose a settlement on the Church that the Convention Parliament would never have accepted. The English Church under this settlement was narrower than before and excluded from its membership many Englishmen who had hitherto been satisfied to remain in the organization. Presbyterian royalists had looked forward to a settlement of the national Church sufficiently liberal to include them and all but the more pronounced sects of the Independents. Clarendon recurred to the Arminianism of Laud, and, in consequence, the Presbyterians themselves, as far as they survived the settlement, became merely one among the number of Dissenting sects. Henceforward, there were to be in England two distinct religious groups: communicants in the established Church and nonconformists. Nonconformists, in turn, were either Roman Catholics or Protestant Dissenters. But the recognition in law of this fact was for the future. Clarendon's policy was to make everybody conform, and nonconformism was forbidden by statute. The effect of this last aspect of his attempted settlement was to give new life to religious controversy and to postpone for a generation the restoration of ecclesiastical peace in England.

The parliament that was elected in 1661, in an atmosphere that could never be restored once it had passed, was not dissolved by the King for eighteen years and is known as the Cavalier Parliament. The enactments in which the settlement of the Church was embodied are called the Clarendon Code. The act passed in 1642, prohibiting ecclesiastical officials from exercising temporal authority, was repealed, and the bishops were restored to membership in the House of Lords. By the Corporation Act of 1661,

officers of municipal corporations were limited to those who within a year would receive communion in the Church of England. They had also to take an oath of allegiance and supremacy, in which they declared it unlawful to resist the king upon any pretence whatever and specifically repudiated the Solemn League and Covenant. Presbyterians were thus excluded along with other sectaries from these bodies, which usually had the sending of the members from the boroughs to parliament. The Act of Uniformity, which was passed in the following spring, made the use of the Book of Common Prayer compulsory in every place of worship in the kingdom. All clergymen were to declare their adherence to the doctrines in the Prayer Book and to receive ordination according to the rites of the national Church or forfeit their livings. Some two hundred clergymen had conscientious scruples which prevented them from complying with these requirements and were excluded from the national Church in consequence. All university teachers, schoolmasters, and private tutors had likewise to declare their acceptance of the doctrines of the liturgy and of nonresistance, and tutors and schoolmasters were forbidden to teach without license from the bishop of the diocese. Another act, dating in the same period, provided that the number of master-printers should be allowed to diminish gradually, that every new appointment to the craft thereafter should have the approval of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that no book should be issued without license from an appropriate censor. The Conventicle Act, passed in 1664, prohibited attendance on religious meetings other than those of the national Church under penalty of imprisonment for the first and second offences and transportation for the third, with a threat of death should the offender return. The Five Mile Act completed the statutes constituting this harsh code. It was passed in 1665, when the nonconforming ministers seemed to be increasing their hold on the people by braving the plague of that year to remain in town and give comfort in that distressful time, while many of the clergy of the establishment sought safety at a distance. Parliament, which had itself prudently assembled at Oxford, now called on these religious leaders, whose loyalty to their convictions had already deprived them of their places in the national Church, to take an oath declaring resistance to the king on any pretence whatever to be unlawful and pledging themselves not to endeavor any alteration in the government of Church or state. Refusing, they were forbidden, under a stiff penalty, to approach within five miles of any corporate town or

borough or any parish in which they had previously taught or preached.

One effect of this severe legislation was to bring most of the substantial people in the rural districts and many in the urban centers back into the national Church with a cynical disregard of its tenets; they preferred to conform technically rather than to suffer inconvenience. Another effect was to drive out of the national Church permanently those who had less pliable consciences, thereby depriving it of an aggressive element it might otherwise have retained. Places of responsibility and distinction in the Church came in time to be largely the perquisites of the ruling class, who regarded its endowments as little better than supplementary resources to others which they held in their own right. Routine ecclesiastical duties were performed, but the negation of intellectual convictions enforced on so large a proportion of the communicants made positive religious teaching difficult and so tended to reduce the ecclesiastical ceremonies even more entirely to conventionalities than is usually the case.

Charles II had little sympathy with the more severe of these measures, and influential members of his council, of whom Shaftesbury was the most notable, were active in opposition to them. It is not improbable that the opposition of the King helped to pass them through parliament. While not overburdened with religious feeling, Charles was at heart sympathetic with the Church of his mother's people. He preferred, on that account, a greater degree of religious toleration than was advocated by his most influential minister. In December, 1663, he announced that he intended to ask parliament to pass a measure to "enable him to exercise with a more universal satisfaction that power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in him." A bill introduced into the House of Lords with this intent received the enthusiastic support of Shaftesbury. But the House of Commons, royalist body though it was, was intolerant of anything that tended toward Roman Catholicism, and so the proposal found little favor among its members. On the contrary, its members denounced the royal declaration and demanded that priests and Jesuits be banished from the kingdom. Clarendon was blamed for the defeat of the King's wishes, and one of the King's supporters proposed that the chief minister be impeached on a charge of treason. But Charles knew better than to support this measure.

It was soon evident, however, that the constructive part of

Clarendon's work in reëstablishing the monarchy was done, and Charles began to transfer his favor to other men now rising into prominence. He was already toying with the plausible thought that the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics might somehow be induced to coöperate in wresting a measure of toleration for themselves from the Church that Clarendon had shaped. Shaftesbury represented the Protestant side of this movement, while Henry Bennet, afterward Earl of Arlington, and Thomas Clifford represented the side more sympathetic with the feelings of the King himself. But experience had shown that it would be prudent to proceed warily on this question. However, the plague which decimated the London population in 1665, the great fire which devastated the same city in 1666, and an expensive war with Holland, which was unfruitful in spectacular results that were favorable to England, combined to create an atmosphere in which the King felt able to get rid of the minister to whom he was indebted for many services. After the deed was done in April, 1667, Samuel Pepys, author of the most famous diary of his own and other times, records that Baptist May, keeper of the King's privy purse, "fell upon his knees and caught the king about the legs and joyd him, and said that this was the first time that ever he could call him king of England; being freed from this great man." It remained to be seen whether the mantle left behind by Clarendon when he went abroad to die without a chance to defend himself would fit either the King himself or any of the ambitious advisers who surrounded him.

THE FAILURE AND SUCCESS OF CHARLES II

The pattern of kingship which Charles II probably kept in mind was that exemplified by his cousin, Louis XIV, in France, and every prospect, not too hazardous, which seemed to lead in the direction of a monarchy of that type for England tempted him. By chance, the Continental situation was such that it suited the interest of Louis to encourage Charles in his ambition, and this relation between these two royal kinsmen explains much in the next period in the reign of Charles. In this period the group called the "Cabal" were the King's chief counselors, a group composed of Clifford, Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, fascinating and dissolute son of the favorite of the first two Stuarts, Ashley, not yet promoted to his earldom as Shaftes-

bury, and John Maitland, formerly an enthusiastic Presbyterian, now secretary for Scottish affairs and Earl, soon to be Duke, of Lauderdale. The initial letters in the five names spell the word that was ever afterward to have a somewhat different significance because of its association with these men. Yet the chief undertaking enterprised by the King in the seven years of their supposed supremacy in his counsels was not revealed in its true colors to either Buckingham or Ashley, neither of whom would have participated in it had they known the King's real intent.

Charles projected nothing less than an alliance with Louis XIV to restore by the aid of French arms the former power of the monarch in England by achieving his own independence of parliament. He hoped also to restore the Roman Catholic Church in England under an autonomous arrangement similar to that Louis was demanding for France. He applied to the Pope as early as 1663, suggesting a scheme for the conversion of the English Church to the Romanist doctrine and ritual. France, we remember, was still under the régime of the Edict of Nantes, which provided for a large measure of toleration for Protestants, and so the scheme of Charles was not so visionary as it may appear at first thought. But the Pope, from long experience, doubted whether it would be profitable to disturb reasonably good relations with England in the hope of achieving the restoration of a Church of an uncertain character, and he was not enamored of the existing arrangement between France and the papacy. Thus this proposal from Charles fell on deaf ears in that quarter. As the project finally took shape, it depended for success on a supply of both men and money from France and on the Jesuits, now an influential force in France despite their waning power at Rome.

The actual treaty was signed at Dover in May, 1670. The negotiations to end the first Dutch war under Charles had terminated, in 1668, in a triple alliance for staying the progress of French arms, to which England, Holland, and Sweden were the parties. This alliance, with which the substantial classes in England sympathized, was in reality but a gesture in the direction of concerted Protestant action against the power that now seemed to threaten the safety of the contracting countries. But Charles really entered into the arrangement in order to facilitate negotiations which he had already begun with France when he authorized the signing of the other treaty. James, Duke of York, the King's brother and heir-apparent, had thrown in his lot with the Catholic intriguers, and Charles told Clifford and

Arlington in strictest confidence that he was himself an adherent of the same faith and hoped to find means for escaping the ties that bound him to the Protestants. Buckingham and Ashley were induced to sign the Treaty of Dover by substituting for the agreement privately signed by the Catholic ministers, Clifford and Arlington, another, in which France promised England financial aid in a war with Holland. This sham treaty, which contained no mention of the project for restoring Roman Catholicism in England, was signed in 1671, and in the following year took place the third and final war in the seventeenth century between England and Holland. But the union of France and England in an attack on Holland brought to the side of the latter country the Catholic powers, Spain and Austria; even the Pope preferred the side of the Dutch as against the Jesuit power in France.

In Holland, the war had the effect of restoring to power the kinsman of Charles, William III, Prince of Orange, as stadtholder; in England, parliament declined to support the war. Charles was beginning to discover an element of truth in a prophecy said to have been made by the philosopher Harrington before the restoration in 1660: "Let the king come in and call a parliament of the greatest Cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit but seven years, and they will all turn Commonwealths' men." The sudden alliance with France for the destruction of Holland and the efforts of the King to introduce a measure of toleration for nonconformists by a Declaration of Indulgence (March, 1672) generated in all the English Protestant parties suspicions of his intentions, even though the Dissenting sects stood to benefit immediately by his action. Fear of the return of the old Church was stronger among these sects than consciousness of mistreatment at the hands of the national Church, and, in March, 1673, Anglicans and Dissenters united in passing a Test Act, forbidding any who would not take the sacrament according to the rites of the national Church from holding civil or military offices under the crown and requiring these officials to take the oath of supremacy and oath of allegiance and, in addition, to subscribe to a declaration repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Both the Duke of York and Clifford, having tender consciences, now left the King's council. Shaftesbury, who, being something of a skeptic and an advocate of toleration, had hitherto supported the King's program, now seems to have gained an inkling of the real intentions of the King and, in consequence,

began to gird himself to play the rôle of leader of the opposition to Charles which occupied him for the remainder of his life. The Cabal was dissolved. Charles accepted the situation and named as his chief minister the Anglican leader, Thomas Osborne, whom he created Earl of Danby. Peace was made with the Dutch in 1674. Prince Rupert, an uncompromising Protestant, succeeded the Duke of York as commander of the fleet. The open Catholicism of James made him suspect, and this suspicion was not diminished when (1673) he took for his second wife Mary of Modena. Charles himself now recognized that the project of restoring Catholicism in England was hopeless and so concentrated his energies on the other aim he cherished; namely, the strengthening of the monarchy as against parliament. To assist in that undertaking, he meant to retain the friendship of France. To do that, he had to conciliate the Anglicans, not an easy task in view of their sympathy with a Protestant policy on the Continent and their consequent fear of France.

Charles embarked on a double game, acquiescing on the one hand in the policies of Danby, which were hostile to France, and privately seeking to convince Louis XIV that they were not policies of his own choosing on the other. Louis was thus to perceive that it was highly important for Charles to be freed from his dependence on parliament. The best Louis could hope, under the circumstances, was the neutrality of England, but that was worth while, if active support was unattainable. The members of parliament, when they met in April, 1674, were besieged by those who sought to corrupt them, some acting for the ministers of the King and some for foreign powers. But Danby had the assembly well in hand, and it took all the influence of Shaftesbury and Buckingham to prevent the passage of a Test Act excluding from any participation in the government all who were not prepared to take an oath against any attempt to alter the government in Church or state. Danby did succeed in defeating the efforts of Shaftesbury and Buckingham to have the King dissolve parliament and induced Charles to permit him to negotiate a marriage between William of Orange and Mary, daughter of the Duke of York and Anne Hyde. A tangle of intrigues ensued, which there is no need to pursue here. Louis supported both Charles and the opposition to him in England, while he tried at the same time to undermine the position of William in Holland. Charles realized that the war between his cousin and his recently

acquired nephew-in-law must be settled somehow and offered himself as arbiter.

An uproar in England (1672), due to the announcement by Titus Oates of his celebrated "Popish Plot," served as a convenient weapon for the King's opponents in their attacks on his Catholic supporters. Oates was a renegade Anglican clergyman, who had later joined the Church of Rome and had attended several English Jesuit colleges, where he probably heard a lot of loose talk. The relations between Louis and Charles no doubt occasioned many rumors among those who had heard fragments of information concerning the projects in contemplation. On this basis, Oates, largely from his own imagination, constructed a plot, of which the substance is that the Jesuits were scheming to murder Charles, who was now regarded as a barrier in their way, to murder or terrorize the Protestants and subjugate the kingdom by the use of French and Irish troops, and to substitute James for his brother on the throne. As a matter of fact, James had been in conference with the Catholics and so could not entirely clear his skirts. Charles and Danby were at first inclined to discredit the matter, but when Oates sought to implicate the Duke of York's confessor, he was permitted to tell his story to the Privy Council. Meanwhile, he and his associates had placed a draft of their depositions with a respectable citizen of London, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Five days later, (October 12, 1678), Godfrey was killed. The mystery of his death is as yet unsolved, but those who already regarded the Catholic party with suspicion felt at once that it was the work of the Jesuits. A panic of fear ensued, which Shaftesbury and the opponents of the King's project capitalized. The reality of the "Plot" became one of the cherished precepts in the platform of the first party of organized political opposition England had known.

Another item in the platform of this party soon came to be the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from the English throne. One suggestion for achieving this end was to have the King divorce his wife and take another in the hope of providing a legitimate heir. Although Charles had shown little previous consideration for the feelings of Catharine of Braganza, whose hand he had accepted in 1662 at the suggestion of the French King and for the sake of the dowry she brought, he did not choose to add this further insult, though it was supported by an allegation that she had sought to poison him. The next step in this same direction was to try to induce Charles to designate as

heir-apparent his own illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, now a handsome young gallant. Meantime, Shaftesbury had the assistance of Louis XIV in procuring, in 1679, the dismissal of Danby. Danby had been the reluctant agent of Charles in transmitting to the French King an offer that he, for a stiff consideration, would use his influence in the negotiation between France and Holland and Spain. Charles subsequently accepted an allowance from Louis to enable him to dispense with a meeting of parliament. Louis revealed the matter to Shaftesbury, and, when parliament did meet, it held the ministers rather than the King responsible for the transaction. Charles forthwith prorogued and then dissolved parliament (January, 1679), which thus ended a career that had lasted eighteen years.

The new parliament was elected amid the excitement incidental to the "Popish Plot." Acting on the advice of Danby, Charles sent his brother out of the country. In lieu of Danby, whom the King sent to the Tower as a means of safety, he summoned to his council Sir William Temple and the Earl of Sunderland. The latter is described in so colorless a work as *The Dictionary of National Biography* as having been generally "considered, and probably with justice, as the craftiest, most rapacious, and most unscrupulous of all the politicians of his age." Temple was rather of the type that hopes to settle difficult political situations by constitutional tinkering. He now suggested the formation of a new Privy Council of thirty members, half to be officers of state and half out of office, both supporters and opponents of the court participating. This council was to serve as a sort of buffer between the King and parliament. Thus both friends and enemies of the King found themselves associated in the same body. They immediately busied themselves at devising restrictions on the monarchy that would render harmless a Catholic king. The House of Commons came more directly to the point and began to discuss a bill excluding James from the throne, an offence for which the parliament was first prorogued and then dissolved. But by a happy accident, before it was dissolved, this parliament passed the Habeas Corpus Act (May, 1679), securing to every arrested person the right to be brought to an early trial or released. According to a story generally credited, the bill would have been defeated had not the tellers in the House of Lords, in a spirit of jest, counted one corpulent peer as ten.

Two parties were aligned against each other: one, under the real leadership of Charles himself, wanted merely to limit the power of

a Catholic king; the other, with Shaftesbury as leader, preferred to exclude James personally from the throne altogether. The Exclusionists at one time thought of Monmouth as a successor to Charles, and at another of William of Orange. After Charles had tried in vain to procure help from Louis XIV, he summoned another parliament, which had no sooner met (October, 1680) than it passed through the House of Commons a bill excluding James from succession to the throne and nominating in his stead his Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne. Sunderland deserted the cause of the King, believing the Exclusionists would win, but Charles had another more loyal minister in the Earl of Halifax, who succeeded in defeating the measure in the House of Lords. Thereupon, the House of Commons refused to grant supplies now sorely needed unless assurance was given that James would be excluded. Although a refusal to yield made another civil war a real danger, Charles stood his ground and dissolved parliament in January, 1681, summoning his fourth to meet in March of that year. In the meantime, acting on the advice of Sunderland, Charles allied himself with Spain and Holland as against France, and he used the interval before the meeting of parliament in preparing to deal with that body. The Exclusionists counted on an easy victory. To thwart them, Charles again came to terms with Louis (March, 1681), that monarch agreeing to pay him a sufficient sum of ready money to enable him to break his alliance with Spain and Holland and to do without further parliaments for the space of three years. Therefore, when the members of parliament met a week later in expectation of an easy victory over the King, they soon found themselves, to their amazement, sent about their more private affairs. No other parliament was assembled before the death of Charles in 1685. Shortly before that event, at his request, a priest of the Church he had aspired to serve was brought secretly to his chamber and administered to him its last rites. He thus placed his hope in the next world in a Church he had not found it expedient to support openly in this.

Nevertheless, in the last four years of his life he manifested superlative powers of dissimulation and political strategy, which enabled him to retrieve a situation that seemed to be irrevocably lost. He was much too shrewd to encourage the Roman Catholics, though he permitted James to return to England (1680) and to take his place again in the royal councils. He sent Shaftesbury to the Tower (July, 1681), only to find that no London grand jury would bring in a bill against him. The King could take

care of the judges, but juries were designated by the sheriffs, and London sheriffs, being elected by the city, were of the opposition party. In order to remedy this difficulty, Charles made a successful attack on the right of the claims of London to choose its own sheriffs. A split in the Whig vote enabled the Tories¹ to elect a lord mayor, and the lord mayor, at the instigation of the king, appointed a Tory sheriff. Shaftesbury was frightened at the prospect and fled from the kingdom (November, 1682) after trying in vain to stir up a rebellion. The discovery of a desperate plot against James among some of the Whigs enabled the Tory propagandists to make use of the methods that their opponents had been using so successfully. This method of attack, so successful in London, was used in other municipalities also, and the election machinery was thus altered to the advantage of the Tories. So Charles reached the end of his life almost as firmly established on his throne as he had been when he came to claim it and was greeted by an enthusiastic multitude.

Important as it is, however, it would be a mistake to assume that the story of the personal and political intrigues of the courts of Charles II and his brother is the whole tale of the history of their reigns. Perhaps the more important happenings in their time were things that Charles but little knew and James never in the least understood. The portraits that preserve for us the likenesses of Charles and his ministers and favorites of both sexes, as those in his father's time, are in the main the work of hands from across the Channel. The day of English painting had not yet dawned, but in other arts there are names that ought not to be neglected and achievements that call for record. Henry Purcell, who came into the world as Cromwell was making ready to leave it, demonstrated in an all too brief life, ending less than a decade after James quit the throne, that the atmosphere following in the wake of the restored monarchy was not hostile to the flowering of musical genius. Taken all in all, his work has not been surpassed in England since, perhaps not equaled. English music could boast a creditable past, but since Purcell's day, until recently at any rate, it has been content for the most part to take its cue from the Continent.

The fire which destroyed a large part of London in 1666 enabled Sir Christopher Wren to leave as his chief handiwork the new Saint Paul's Cathedral, which holds his remains. At the request of Charles II, he had submitted plans for the repair

¹ The party of the King was called Tory; the opposition party, Whig.

of the old Gothic edifice before the fire. He outlived the King and saw the completion of the new building in the Roman style and of many more of his own design in London and elsewhere. It was after a lecture by Wren in November, 1660, that the group of interested men who constituted the audience finally took the step that resulted in the organization of the Royal Society, the oldest scientific society in Great Britain, perhaps the oldest in Europe that has had a continuous history. The name Royal Society seems to have been bestowed on the organization by John Evelyn, the famous diarist and an influential member. Charles manifested an interest in the undertaking and granted the society a charter in 1662 under the Great Seal. Samuel Pepys, the other immortal diarist of the age, an executive of the navy by virtue of the patronage of Montague, through whose influence he also accumulated wealth for himself while he served his country, was one of the presidents of the society. Before the end of the reign of Charles it had in Isaac Newton (1671) one of the most notable of all its members. His contributions to mathematics and physics are too familiar to need recounting and easily place him among the immortals.

The achievements of the generation of the second Charles and James in the field of literature are perhaps less noteworthy, yet the voluminous writings are expressive of the spirit of the time. Milton, as we know, survived until 1674 and completed in the reign of Charles the epics which made his fame memorable. Perhaps it was not unnatural, writing in sad retrospect amid the disappointment of so many of his earlier hopes, that Satan should tend to become the most heroic figure in the world which he imagined in the darkness of his later years. John Bunyan, who was born in the year of the Petition of Right and died in the year that the last Stuart was driven from the throne, wrote, while imprisoned in Bedford gaol for preaching unlawfully in the reign of Charles II, his famous *Pilgrim's Progress*, wherein he traced the way to the city of life from the very gates of destruction, a way little resembling that frequented by the coterie of wits and poets who were the familiar companions of the King. But the man who stands out as most expressive of the temper of the time, though he lacked some of the qualities possessed in an exaggerated degree by other more talented contemporaries, was John Dryden. In a couplet written in the latter years of the reign of Charles he suggests a pertinent reason why men then endured in silence many things that had formerly stirred them to action:

For points obscure are of small use to learn,
But common quiet is the world's concern.

This couplet is from a work written by the author as poet laureate in support of the Anglican Church in the later mood of Charles II, the mood perhaps of the bulk of substantial Englishmen. Two years after the death of Charles, retaining his office as laureate, the poet was able in *The Hind and the Panther* to support, perhaps sincerely enough, the Church of the new King's choice. He had now run almost the whole ecclesiastical gamut, and so he was obliged in the next reign to yield his office to his less able contemporary, Thomas Shadwell. A poet's muse could scarcely be expected to keep step with the tide of national feeling. Dryden's had shown a remarkable adaptability. He celebrated Cromwell's death in an early effort in 1659. A year later, as his part in the adulation that greeted the returning King, he found a parallel to the Star of Bethlehem in the heavenly approval that greeted the birth of Charles. But this time-serving character of his work is not a true index to his ability. He was a member of the Royal Society. He wrote more creditably than most dramatists of his time for the stage, a stage that had little other function than to please the King, who was its patron, and the royal circle. Perhaps his superlative work was the political satire, *Absalom and Achitophel*, directed against Shaftesbury, in 1681, when that ablest of the King's opponents was supporting Monmouth as a candidate for the throne. Other men in the royal circle were more brilliant than Dryden, but no other was more responsive to the spirit of the age. Perhaps the names of none of them is as important as the fact that in verse, in pamphlets, and in verbal passages in many forms, arguments on the issues of the day, whether public or personal, were stated and controverted. The scientists and pseudo-scientists of the Royal Society helped at the same task in their efforts to find language to make known their transactions. As a result, English prose began to assume the form with which we are familiar. It still lacked much of the simplicity and directness it was later to acquire, but men were already learning how to make their points definite and clear without too great a wastage of words.

Little of this, to be sure, was an achievement of Charles II. He was summoned to the throne by the officers of the army, in the hope that he might lead the country to peace and quiet. In as far as he was able to suit his behavior to the English

mood of the time, he did not wear out the welcome with which he was greeted on his accession. When he tried to reintroduce troublesome projects, with which the substantial type of Englishmen meant to have done forever, he found his way barred. When he returned again to his earlier habit of acquiescence in the mood of the country, though he now played a more active personal rôle in the government than at any time previously, he was again a national king, because he then left the forces most potent in the nation free to pursue their projects, world wide in scope, which must next claim our attention. When his brother recurred to the undertaking that Charles had abandoned after failure in it, he, too, found the will of the nation adamant.

THE NATIONAL EMPIRE AND THE DUTCH WARS

A primary reason why the substantial men in England welcomed a return of the Stuarts was a growing interest in the practical problems of extending the trade of the nation. Monk and the rest, who engineered the Restoration, soon afterward found themselves shareholders in trading companies and participants in other forms of enterprise over the seas. Even the members of the royal family, including the King himself, were not above engaging in these undertakings. The enterprises most immediately important were the cod and herring fisheries, the trade with the East, the slave trade between Africa and America, and the trade with America. Since no European country invited foreign traders into its ports, and freedom of trade was still an idea alien to the thought of all strong powers, the growth of commerce was inextricably bound up with the question of colonization. In this aspect of their activities more than any other, both Charles and James were able to share the feelings of the English nation and to adopt policies that frequently were in accord with the prevailing wishes of their influential subjects. In this field, Charles donned with little alteration the mantle of Cromwell. He had taken refuge in the Spanish Netherlands in the later years of his exile, and Spain had rather anticipated that Jamaica and Dunkirk, of which that power had been bereft by the Protector, would be restored by the new monarch. Charles not only retained these acquisitions of his mighty predecessor, he also took for wife Catharine of Braganza, who brought as part of her dower Tangier and Bombay, the one a naval base in the Strait of Gibraltar, the other a new point from

which to exploit trade with the Orient. That Charles understood the intent of his action is evident from his comment: "The principal advantages we propose to ourself by this entire conjunction with Portugal are the advancement of the trade of this nation and the enlargement of our own territories and dominions." Charles abandoned Tangier toward the end of his reign for want of the means to defend it, and he sold Dunkirk to France because he found its defence too expensive an undertaking. Bombay was retained, and the friendly relations with Portugal were destined to last in one form or another to this day. But this heritage from Portugal intensified the dispute with the Dutch, which had caused one war in the time of Cromwell and was to be in part the cause of two more before the death of Charles. The Dutch had long ago succeeded in taking the place of the Portuguese as the controlling factors in the spice trade with the East.

This rivalry between the English and the Dutch, the most aggressive and powerful maritime people of the time, caused the parliament under Charles to reenact in 1660 the Navigation Act of the Commonwealth with some additions and extensions. The new measure provided that certain European commodities, including all those from Russia and Turkey, could be imported only in English ships or in the ships of the country in which the goods originated. From non-English parts of America, Asia, and Africa, it was required that goods imported into England be brought directly from the place of origin and in English vessels. An important exception was made in the case of the colonies of Spain and Portugal, whose products might be brought in English ships from the respective mother countries. The trade of English colonies, import and export alike, could be carried only in English ships, and England was made the staple for certain enumerated colonial products: sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, and dye woods. These commodities were to be sent only to England or to other English colonies. An act passed in 1663 went further, forbidding the introduction into the colonies of goods not of English origin, unless they had first been brought to England and then reshipped thence.

These acts were intended to promote the growth of shipping and trade and, incidentally, the colonies. A scheme for settling a colony in "Carolina" (territory south of Virginia), projected and abandoned in the reign of Charles I, was revived in 1663 under a patent granted to Clarendon, Monk, Ashley (Shaftesbury), and others, men of wealth and of influence about the court.

There were hopes, destined to be disappointed, that the new settlements would produce fruits, wines, silks, and oils. Virginia (1607) and Maryland (1634), among the older colonies, were supplying all the tobacco that was needed. The Dutch, as we shall see, were driven from their colony at the mouth of the Hudson river, that strategic site of the future metropolis of the New World, permitting the union of the New England colonies with the more southerly settlements along the Atlantic coast. A settlement was soon made in New Jersey (1664), and in 1681 William Penn began the establishment of a refuge for his fellow Quakers in a grant which he procured from the King in settlement of a debt which the King had owed to his deceased father. The most highly esteemed of the American possessions, however, were still Barbadoes and the neighboring islands, valued for their sugar, and Newfoundland, coveted for the fisheries that were carried on near its coast.

Enterprises of equally large moment in other portions of the world involved not so much the planting of colonies as the establishment of depots of trade to which products of England might be sent for sale and from which needed or marketable commodities might be procured by English traders. These ventures were undertaken by large companies of men who were beginning to organize as joint-stock companies instead of in the older form of a regulated company. The East India Company, whose monopoly had been violated with impunity in the earlier years of the régime of Cromwell, finally, in 1657, by threatening to sell to the highest bidder all its rights and properties, procured from the Protector a new charter confirming all the "privileges and immunities" it had formerly had, with the addition of new ones. It had an exclusive monopoly of trade with the East and was allowed to "fortify and plant" in any of its settlements. New stock was subscribed amounting to more than seven hundred thousand pounds, twice as much as could be used immediately, and the company embarked on its trade with a new vigor. Charles II was more interested than Cromwell in the prosperity of the undertaking and became one of the shareholders. The company found it expedient to make occasional loans and presents to the King, amounting in all, in the period from 1660 to 1684, to more than three hundred thousand pounds, a not very subtle method of procuring the royal approval of its projects. In fact, the East India Company shared with the King of France the task of keeping Charles in pocket in the intervals when he was unable to procure supplies

from parliament. But Charles seems to have had as genuine an interest in its affairs as he manifested in any form of public business, and, by his marriage, as we have observed, he added Bombay to the list of its trading posts. Despite the opposition of the Dutch, the company prospered. The trade was now conducted by the directors of the company for the benefit of the joint stock of the shareholders, and, by the end of the reign of James II, the value of the stock was more than double what it had been when Charles II ascended the throne.

While the East India Company was the largest and most immediately profitable of these enterprises, it was not the only venture in which the English magnates engaged in the reign of Charles and James. The Royal African Company, chartered in 1672, succeeded where the Royal Adventurers had earlier failed to challenge the Dutch monopoly of the slave trade. In 1670 Prince Rupert, Monk, Ashley, Arlington, and others about the court joined with notable merchant princes of the time in the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company, destined to be the longest-lived of all the corporations chartered by the Stuarts. Furthermore, some of the older regulated companies experienced a revival of prosperity in these two reigns.

This renewed colonial and commercial activity called for machinery for its supervision and administration. General policies and larger questions, as far as there were any, were decided by the King on the advice of the group that immediately surrounded him. But much administrative routine that could not now be avoided demanded more systematic attention. Before the end of the Protectorate influential merchants like Martin Noell and Thomas Povey had begun to agitate the need of better machinery for handling affairs of trade and the colonies and to make suggestions as to the character of organization needed. Soon after the accession of Charles II interested persons began to beseech him to take steps for settling the questions that his accession made inescapable in the colonies. The result was the appointment of a committee of the Privy Council for "Trade and Plantations" containing some of the most influential members of the group that surrounded the King. This committee was essentially similar to and continuous with a committee of the Council of State which had dealt with these affairs before the coming of Charles. Influenced by Povey and Noell, Charles and Clarendon set up in 1660 separate bodies of considerable size (sixty-two and forty-eight members respectively) called "The Council of Trade" and "The Council of Foreign Plantations" with a

membership in each case much the same as the subscribers to stock in the larger companies. These two bodies were merely advisory in character and lasted only until 1664-5, when the work was assumed by the Privy Council. Several times, later in the reign, similar bodies were constituted, but it was a committee of the Privy Council, which later took the title "Lords of Trade" and employed a permanent secretary, that formed the nucleus of the later imperial administrative machinery.

That the administration of the colonies was beginning to be a vital matter in the government of the kingdom is too obvious a matter to be further elaborated. It is equally manifest that a large fleet was essential to defend them and a growing trade from rivals and enemies. One of the current axioms, therefore, was that as little use as might be should be made of foreign vessels and that no measure ought to be neglected that would serve to increase the maritime strength of the nation. The fisheries were encouraged, both because they were profitable and because they required sea-worthy vessels and trained seamen. By the same reasoning, the Dutch were denied the right to participate in English fisheries or in trade with the English colonies.

The economic notions and theories which began to emerge in the controversies that attended the extension of the empire and the growth of foreign trade were products of the circumstances of the time rather than speculative reflections of contemporary writers. Like most economic doctrines that have a passing vogue, they were more sound for the conditions that gave rise to them than they may be for different circumstances in other times. When the Dutch gradually made good their monopoly of the spice trade, English traders in the East were driven to the mainland of Asia and to trade in other commodities. They undertook, among other things, to teach the natives of India how to manufacture cotton goods, and they tried to introduce the fabrics thus woven into European trade. But this venture both took away from England people that she was beginning to feel that she could ill spare and brought this cheapened Oriental fabric into competition with textiles of English weave. What was worse, in the judgment of some contemporaries, it necessitated the exportation of actual bullion, precious metals, with which to pay for the Eastern merchandise. Would not the continual sending out of these metals and these inhabitants impoverish the nation? Many persons of influence felt that there was a real danger, and a warm controversy ensued. A tract written in 1630 by Thomas Mun, a merchant of the previous

generation, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, was turned up and published (1664). Sir Josiah Child, for a long period one of the most influential of the East India merchants, elaborated Mun's arguments in his *New Discourse of Trade* (1668), and the "balance of trade" became a familiar concept. The argument was almost childish in its simplicity, though it was not less valid for the time and circumstances on that account. A nation, like an individual merchant, has a normal ambition to increase its wealth. It is not a loss to send out bullion if by the process larger sums are ultimately brought within the national bounds. The important point is not whether bullion is sent out but whether what is brought in exceeds that which was sent out. For this reason, a nation ought to carry its goods in its own vessels, not only because the vessels are needed for defence, but also because not to do so makes it necessary to pay the carrying charges to a foreign power. For the same reason, a nation ought as far as possible to procure needed goods within its own confines or dominions and ought to covet dominions likely to provide needed commodities that are not produced within the nation itself. Goods obtainable within the nation or its dominions ought to be thus procured, notwithstanding there may be cheaper goods of the same sort available elsewhere. The outlying parts of the empire, founded or conquered at the expense and by the efforts of the older nation, are and ought to be tributary to it and ought to send their goods to its markets and to take its products for their use. These doctrines, formulated by merchants in the light of their vocational experience, were well adapted to appeal to the minds of the governors of a nation in which merchandising was the most noteworthy form of business conducted on a large scale. At any rate, they did so appeal to the English rulers in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the merchants were the only vocal group in the country besides the landlords.

This same group had supported the first Dutch war under Cromwell; they were also back of the second Dutch war, that broke out in 1664 and was brought to an end by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. This last has been called the first "purely colonial war" in English history. It was not a war for which either Charles II or John de Witt, then, under the title "Grand Pensionary," the chief minister of Holland, had any enthusiasm. Monk stated the motives that actuated both sides: "What matters this or that reason? What we want is more of the trade which the Dutch now have." Both houses of parliament united in

voting the Dutch "the greatest obstruction to our foreign trade" and in requesting the King to take speedy steps for redress. In response to this address, George Downing, in whose honor the most famous street in the capital was later named, was sent to negotiate, but in vain. Nothing would suffice but a trial of strength. France joined, in 1666, on the side of the Dutch. There were severe naval engagements in the waters around England, which made it evident that the navy had not been maintained at the standard it had reached under the Protectorate. Under the terms of the Treaty of Breda (1667), the Dutch yielded to the English their settlements on the North American continent, New Amsterdam and the neighboring region, which were rechristened New York in honor of the King's brother. In the East, the advantage lay rather with the Dutch, one reason why the settlement was unlikely to be permanent. The trade with the Orient was too lucrative and the English East India Company was too influential at court for defeat to be endured. Moreover, the company proprietors and the economists who defended their cause now identified their own interests with the interest of the nation and insisted that foreign relations ought to be ordered to support these interests. The company, in fact, still wanted a share in the trade with the spice islands, which the Dutch monopolized.

The rivalry between the trading companies of the two peoples was thus increased rather than diminished by the Treaty of Breda. In England, memories of old grievances were kept fresh by numerous pamphlets inspired by the company. To be sure, we know that the third Dutch war was precipitated in the interest of Louis XIV and his designs on Holland, and Charles II was actuated in it by the promises Louis had made to lend troops and money to support his own aspirations in England. But it could scarcely have taken place at all had it not been in part also a national war, a continuation of the old rivalry with the Dutch. On this point, Shaftesbury stated the English view: "Nations," he asserted, "do not fall in love with one another as private men do. It is the material interest of the nation that is the determining factor in every alliance or friendship. England was in alliance with France, because the interest of the two powers did not clash. With regard to Holland, however, the case was different. She had hunted the English out of the East Indies; she had massacred them at Amboyna; she had deprived them of all trade in the East Indies; she had perpetrated horrible cruelties. Was it just that Holland should

be allowed to exercise her sway in the East?" The answer was clear.

This time the French and the English were, of course, on the same side. The French arms overran the greater part of Holland, and Amsterdam was saved by the time-honored method of letting in the sea through the dykes. John de Witt gave place to William, Prince of Orange, nephew of Charles II, as head of the Dutch Republic. The war on the sea was less unfavorable to the Dutch, and the steps which Charles began to take looking toward greater toleration for the Catholics opened the eyes of influential people in England to the real intent of his schemes. Since the King could no longer command support for it, the war was ended as far as England was concerned in 1674 by the Treaty of Westminster. Indeed, the growing power of France and the commercial development of the country under Colbert, added to the French support of Jesuit schemes in England, made the French more to be feared than the Dutch. English merchants acquiesced with reluctance in the Dutch monopoly of the spice trade and directed their own attention to Continental India. Thus began the growth of sympathy with the Dutch and fear of France that resulted in the Dutch Stadtholder, with a Dutch army, sailing to England to drive to exile in France the last Stuart king, previously supported on his throne in part by French money. The long struggle with France had begun, not a recurrence of the old wars of the Normans and Angevins and Plantagenets, but a war for supremacy in a larger world than these earlier kings had ever imagined for empire on a scale not hitherto dreamed.

THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND JAMES

James II was in large part personally to blame for his failure to build on the success his brother had achieved in the latter years of his life. But the younger brother lacked the easy conscience of the older and essayed again the task which the abler Charles had found it expedient to abandon in order to save his crown. Due to the steps Charles had taken against the borough strongholds of the Whigs, the first parliament that greeted James was overwhelmingly Tory and granted to the King for life the revenues his brother had had, adding thereto supplies for the navy, in which James had ever manifested an interest. The House of Commons even substituted for a reso-

lution asking for the enforcement of penal laws against all recusants another expressing entire confidence that James would defend the Church. When Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles, landed and claimed the crown, in June, 1685, as the champion of the Protestants and the constitution, he failed to rally substantial support and was easily captured and executed.

These initial successes of James were the beginning of his undoing. He fancied his strength to be greater than it was. He was represented in suppressing Monmouth's rebellion by two agents who achieved memorable names in English annals. Colonel Percy Kirke, in command of a regiment formerly stationed at Tangier, treated the rural population in the vicinity where the revolt occurred with a notorious brutality that was exceeded only by the cold-blooded trials of the accused at the "Bloody Assizes" conducted by Judge George Jeffreys, by which three hundred persons were put to death and eight hundred more transported to the plantations. Jeffreys was rewarded with the office of lord chancellor and became a trusted counselor of the King.

The Habeas Corpus Act and the Test Act were both obstacles in the way of the policy which James hoped to pursue. When Halifax refused to be a party to the repeal of these two acts, he was dismissed. Nevertheless, when parliament met in November, 1686, James requested funds to support a standing army and urged the repeal of the acts in question. He prorogued parliament when it did not conform to his wishes. Thereafter, blunder followed close upon blunder, until he had tried the national patience beyond what it was willing to endure. Prominent churchmen in parliament opposed the repeal of the Test Act. The King now dismissed officeholders who had voted against his proposals and created a new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, somewhat like the old Court of High Commission of his father, with Jeffreys at its head, to wreak his will on the Church. This commission suspended the Bishop of London for refusing to silence a preacher who had denounced "popery." James claimed the right to dispense at will with the enforcement of laws. Judges not prepared to support this claim were replaced with others better disposed toward the King. A court thus made ready in advance declared in favor of a certain Roman Catholic Colonel Hales (April, 1686), who held his commission in violation of the Test Act by virtue of a royal dispensation. With this decision as a precedent, James began to admit his fellow religionists to the Privy Council and to meditate appointing

them to offices in the national Church. These acts alienated those Anglicans who had hitherto been disposed to be rather tolerant with the King and made it necessary that he look for support elsewhere.

His first thought was to repeat the mistake of his brother and to issue a declaration of indulgence to Protestant Dissenters along with Roman Catholics, which he proceeded to do in April, 1687. He hoped by this measure to win sufficient support to balance the discontented Anglicans he had lost. It was as easy to restore the nonconformists to places of power in the boroughs as it had been earlier to remove them in order to pave the way for a Tory majority in the House of Commons. But the Protestant Dissenters were little disposed to serve as a ladder on which the Catholics might climb to power, and the King, by appointing his fellow churchmen to office in increasing numbers, was giving ample notice in advance of what was contemplated. To allay the growing fears of the Dissenters, James issued, in April, 1688, a second declaration of indulgence, confirming that issued in the previous year and promising that a new parliament would be summoned by November. A week later he ordered that this declaration be read on two consecutive Sundays in every parish church. The clergy of the national Church were at last stirred to action. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops petitioned the King that this order be withdrawn, implying doubt of its legality. On the following Sunday the order was obeyed in only seven of the London churches, whereupon James resolved to indict the seven offending bishops. Their journey to the Tower was a continuous ovation, indicating the sentiment of the population of the capital. Two days after the bishops were sent to prison (June 10, 1688), the second wife of James, Mary of Modena, a Catholic, bore him a son and heir. This was an unexpected event. For the space of fifteen years the marriage had been unfruitful, and it was currently taken for granted that the King would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary of Holland or Anne of Denmark.

The birth of a male heir nerved the faction opposed to the King to act. On the last day of that same month a naval officer who had been dismissed by James for opposing the repeal of the Test Act crossed over to Holland carrying to William, nephew and son-in-law of the King, an invitation to come to England with an armed force. This invitation was signed by Tories like Danby as well as by the prominent Whig peers. In the meantime, James was busy trying to procure the election of

a parliament amenable to his will. In order to have a large military force at hand, he repeated a mistake of his father and decided to bring over reënforcements from Ireland. Not until his cause had been damaged beyond repair did he, in panic, offer a series of concessions which might earlier have saved his crown. The sailing of William was delayed by contrary winds, but he landed safely in the early part of November. James fell back as William advanced. When he appealed to former counselors that he had dismissed, they advised that a parliament be summoned and that the officers he had appointed in violation of the law be dismissed. James agreed, but took flight even while agreeing. While the writs were issuing for a new parliament, he sent his wife and child to France. When, on December 11, commissioners from William arrived in London to treat with James, he was no longer there, and his Great Seal was at the bottom of the Thames. In the period of disorder that ensued Lord Jeffreys was saved from the vengeance of a mob and sent to the Tower, where he died. The capital invited William to advance. The flight of James won over to William influential peers who had previously hesitated. Others, including John Churchill, afterward Duke of Marlborough, had already guessed which way the wind would blow. On Christmas Day James followed his wife to France, and his son-in-law undertook to settle himself on the throne.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge Modern History, V. chs. v-ix; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. viii, ix; Julian Corbett, *Monk*, ch. xiv; H. E. Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, Book III. chs. i-iii; W. H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles II to the Death of Anne*, chs. x-xii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, II. chs. xiv-xvi; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, chs. ii-iii; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, chs. xi-xiii; Barrett Wendell, *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*, ch. xii; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part III, chs. ix-xii.

FOR WIDER READING

C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*; Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet Earl of Arlington*; G. L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System*, 2 Vols.; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII. chs. i, iii, viii, x, xv, xvi; Julian Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, II. chs. xx-xxv; Sir Henry Craik, *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 2 Vols.; William Cunningham, *The Growth of English*

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Industry and Commerce, II. 331-403; Kent Feilig, *A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714*, chs. i-viii; F. R. Harris, *Life of Edward Montague, First Earl of Sandwich*, 2 Vols.; Shafaat Ahmed Kahn, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, chs. i-ii; John Lingard, *History of England*, XII. ch. iv-XIV. ch. ix; Richard Lodge, *The History of England, 1660-1702*, chs. i-xii; J. G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist*; J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, II. Pt. IV; A. W. Tedder, *The Navy in the Restoration*; J. B. Williams, *The History of English Journalism to the Founding of the Gazette*, ch. x.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the growth of colonization, see *Shepherd*, p. 128. For the Anglo-Dutch Wars, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 42. For the English colonies in America about 1685, see J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 293.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

William of Orange was never able to adapt himself to the national mood in England. An alien born, he remained alien in spirit to the end, winning the confidence of few Englishmen and the love of none. He was accepted as king because, as husband of the heiress-apparent and enemy of Louis XIV, he was a logical successor of James II who, though English born, was even less English in spirit than William. The terms of the agreement on domestic questions, which William accepted with the crown, were framed by the groups then in control of the English government in the light of their experience with James. William merely accepted them; he had little or no part in their formulation. There was not much difference of opinion on these points among the rival factions in England. These questions involved few if any clear cut principles pertaining to matters with a moral flavor, likely to become causes to which men would dedicate their lives. In fact, most of them had been settled, as the ruling group had supposed, earlier in the century, on the restoration of the monarchy after the Civil Wars. These practical men of affairs were now interested in other projects and were impatient at the necessity of returning to the old disputes. Having decided that the monarchy with James as king could not be made a workable arrangement, they determined to dispose of the matter once and for all. A settlement did not, and could not, mean to them action according to any consistent theory or doctrine. There was none on which they were agreed among themselves. It did mean, however, the providing in statutes and other forms of guaranties, as practical as might be, against the recurrence of those grievances that had aroused the nation against both James and his father.

As we have seen, when James II fled the kingdom, he took refuge with the King of France. By this act, he gave notice to his former subjects that he depended on a French army to

restore to him any power he might thereafter have in England. It would have been difficult for him to do anything more effective in reconciling the English to William as their king and in committing them to the support of William's war against Louis XIV as a policy. This last item had probably been the foremost consideration in deciding William to embark on the venture. But, before he could go forward with that enterprise, he must now settle affairs in the British Isles.

The variety of schemes of settlement that were suggested revealed the diversity of opinion that existed among the groups into which the English ruling class was divided. A party of High Church Tories, under the leadership of the second Earl of Clarendon, son of the father of James' first wife, advocated a regency. James was to remain the nominal, because the hereditary, King. Less extreme Tories, under the leadership of Danby, accepted the flight of James as an abdication and argued that, since it was impossible to prove the legitimacy of the son of Mary of Modena, the crown should go by default to Mary, William's wife. The more extreme Whigs proposed the obvious plan, much too simple and logical to be accepted immediately, of declaring the throne vacant and then proceeding to fill the vacancy by election. The moderate Whigs suggested a middle ground, which was substantially the basis of the plan adopted, of awarding the crown to William and Mary as a matter of practical necessity and expediency. But some machinery had to be improvised for action. Accordingly, at the suggestion of members of the House of Lords, of the commoners who had sat in the parliaments of Charles II, and of the members of the Common Council of London, William assumed the administration of the government and instructed the parliamentary constituencies to elect members of a convention, which assembled January 22, 1689. Within a week after it met the convention resolved that James, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between the king and people . . . had violated the fundamental laws and had withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, and that the throne had thereby become vacant." This resolution was sent to the Lords accompanied by another to the effect that a "Popish King" had been found by experience to be incompatible with a Protestant government. The upper house adopted the second resolution forthwith, and the first after strong objection by the Tories, who were reluctant to accept the doctrine that the monarchy was established by contract. All agreed that no "Papist" could in the future be king,

a decision which made imperative a departure from the strict line of hereditary succession. Much against the wishes of Clarendon, Halifax finally convinced a sufficient number of his colleagues to carry the question by the argument that, though conditions then made necessary a departure from the hereditary line, the succession would recur to that basis once the issue of the moment was settled. Having placed the scepter in the hands of William and his wife jointly, with the understanding that power was actually vested in William, the convention proceeded to translate into definite language the terms of the settlement.

A committee was appointed, with John Somers chairman, to draft the needed measures. Somers had previously been counsel for the seven bishops and was later to become lord chancellor. The committee drew up, in February, 1689, a declaration which, in October of the same year, was enacted by parliament as a statute, ever since famous as the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights and the other legislation incidental to the Revolution, with the Act of Settlement passed after the death of the last of Queen Anne's children in 1701, stated the relations between the various branches of the government as established by the stirring events in the previous century. In the first place, it implied that parliament would henceforth be the chief seat of power in the nation. It could not be otherwise, since parliament had assumed to settle the disposition of the crown itself. A matter of larger importance in normal times was that a king must in the future come to parliament for substantially all of his revenues, including those for the maintenance of his civil establishment, and parliament could also direct the expenditure of the money it appropriated. The king was prohibited from keeping a standing army in time of peace without the consent of parliament. This prohibition was made effective by the expedient, accidentally adopted at first but later perpetuated as a custom, of limiting to a period of a single year the law authorizing the king to summon courts martial to maintain discipline. The king must thus call parliament together once every twelve months or find himself without authority to quell mutinies. The king was specifically forbidden to suspend or dispense with laws or to establish other courts such as the High Commission. Although the question did not find a place in the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement took away from the king the right to dismiss judges and provided that they could be removed only after conviction in the courts of law or in response to addresses from both houses of parliament. The king still had

the power of appointment, but this act went a long way toward making the judiciary independent in its action of the other branches of the government, a consummation in accord with a doctrine then gaining credence, that the executive, legislative, and judicial functions ought to be separately exercised.

The ecclesiastical question, which had played a large part in precipitating the Revolution, was settled in favor of the national Church. Roman Catholics were debarred from the throne; even members of the royal family taking wives of that faith were debarred. Protestant Dissenters, who had coöperated in effecting the Revolution, fared somewhat better. The Toleration Act (May, 1689) removed the proscription on assemblies for worship by religious groups outside the established Church, with the exception of Roman Catholics and such Protestants as denied the doctrine of the Trinity. But this act, as its title implies, provided only for toleration. The Test Act was retained on the statute books. Dissenters were still excluded from offices in the army, the civil government, and the municipal corporations, unless at intervals they received the communion formally in the established Church. Many churchmen of the stricter sort objected to this practice and, as we shall see, later tried to have it prohibited in the "Occasional Conformity Bill." The more liberal members of parliament had favored a scheme of ecclesiastical reorganization which would have enabled many of the Dissenters to be "comprehended" within the national Church, but the time had passed when this was feasible. William himself favored toleration for Roman Catholics, a proposal to which parliament gave scant consideration. The best that could be done in the end was to free, under certain conditions, from the statutes enforcing attendance on the established Church those who would take oaths of supremacy and allegiance and make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. These oaths of supremacy and allegiance were also required as a matter of course of the clergy in the national Church. Despite the fact that they were framed so as to impose no more strain than was expedient on a Tory conscience, five of the seven bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and some four hundred of the lesser clergy, declined to violate their oaths to James. This group of nonjurors and their successors maintained a separate organization, though not a large one, that lasted for more than a century.

By insisting on its position of exclusiveness and privilege, and at the same time acquiescing in the existence of Protestant

groups outside of their organization, the protagonists of the national Church deprived that establishment of some of its most virile, potential leaders and predestined it to a future of formal rather than aggressive activity. Its more important offices, like others in the government, tended to become appurtenances of those who held political power. It later proved itself to be more elastic in doctrine than its earlier defenders would have liked, but it labored under the handicap of having to work alongside of less favored ecclesiastical organizations whose very existence depended on the loyalty of their constituent members, and it naturally suffered by the contrast.

The Revolution marked the decisive victory of the substantial groups who, by participation in parliament, had engendered a corporate existence in the English nation that had challenged successfully the dynastic claims of the Stuart monarchs. The king still retained much power, which he was privileged to use as long as he did not counter too sharply the wishes and interests of these powerful groups. A sovereign might, by skilful political maneuvering, still sway parliament itself this way or that, but there was never to be any more doubt as to where the real power in England lay. There had been a very real revolution, in that the victory of these groups who had accumulated wealth and power by their ability and their industry was complete. But the thoroughness of the victory was disguised by the ability the new ruling groups displayed in retaining the old forms and the old machinery. They even purchased or acquired otherwise country estates, when they had obtained their wealth purely in trade, and thus fitted into the accustomed social picture. Many of the younger generation, to be sure, by habitual association or intermarriage with the older landed families, soon came to think of themselves as born to their positions. One experience with a sudden and radical effort to change the governmental and social machinery put these conservative classes on their guard against a repetition of this mistake. Nevertheless, the England of the future was largely to be made by them and their kind. One important task that confronted them was to devise a suitable organization for the government of the kingdom according to their wishes, now that they held the reins of power. In the performance of that task, the ablest English statesmen of the eighteenth century lent a hand. Meanwhile, the occasion had brought forth a student of political doctrines who could generalize and defend that which had already been done.

John Locke took his master's degree at Oxford in the year that Cromwell died and was a lecturer in that institution when Charles II returned to England as king. Later he became physician and friend to Shaftesbury, a secretary, in 1673, to that ministers's Council of Trade and Plantations, and a Fellow in the Royal Society. He went with Shaftesbury to Holland, when that nobleman left England, and there he met the Prince of Orange. His name is writ large in one field of philosophy by his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which was completed in 1689 before he returned to England from Holland. He became a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations under the new reign. The *Two Treatises of Government*, in which we are especially interested here, was first published in February, 1690, and was followed in March of the same year by the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. In the work on government Locke undertook to refute the doctrines alleged in support of the Stuart theory of kingship, particularly as set forth by Sir Robert Filmer in his *Patriarcha*. Though written about the middle of the century, Filmer's work was not published until 1680. Before Locke was through, he dealt also with that much abler defender of monarchy, Thomas Hobbes, whose principal work in the field, *Leviathan*, appeared in 1651. Both Filmer and Hobbes defended a strong monarchy. Filmer, as the title of his work suggests, placed emphasis on hereditary right, which he traced to Adam. The weightiest part of his book is probably his criticism of the republicans, who adopted abstract theories of what they called natural right and tended to ignore the force of experience and the power of tradition. Nevertheless, Hobbes was much the more formidable antagonist of the two. Whereas Filmer seems to have had in mind the Stuarts, who must needs base their claims to power on heredity if they had any at all, Hobbes thought rather of the monarchy as a *de facto* institution, that had emerged because men, being unable to do without it, had established it perforce. The actual picture in his mind seems to have been the Tudors or Cromwell, no matter whose the cause he was seeking to defend. As a matter of fact, the work was written in the first place in support of the cause of Charles II, but, since it was rejected by that prince, then in exile, because it did violence to some of the religious notions of members of his *entourage*, the author returned to England and accepted the protection of Cromwell. Locke had the more difficult cause to defend. Hobbes held the natural state of man to be one of struggle and competition for power.

The state was instituted because of the natural desire of men to protect themselves from the results of this struggle. The method of its institution was a species of real or implied compact, by which a "mortal god," Leviathan, was created and vested with supreme power. This sovereign was empowered to compel the obedience of the individuals, whose coöperation gave it being, and so it was over them and superior to them. In that it was the creation of a contracting group, Leviathan suited ill the needs of the partizans of the Stuarts. They rather took their cue from James I himself, who realized that his claim to the English crown was most readily defended by an appeal to divine, hereditary right, since, according to both the common and the statute law of England, he was excluded from the throne.¹ Moreover, the sovereign, as conceived by Hobbes, was supreme over the Church as well as in political matters, and that assumption the later Stuarts, who were sympathetic with the Roman Church, could scarcely accept.

Locke agreed with Hobbes that by a species of contract society had instituted a sovereign state, but the sovereign that Locke had to defend was much less simple and far more difficult to locate than that with which Hobbes was familiar in the examples of the Tudors and Louis XIV. Locke was an official in a state that had shown little reverence for the mortal god of the earlier philosopher. The persons with whom he was associated had deposed one king because he was unsuitable for their purposes and had circumscribed his successor with restrictions that made it difficult to regard him as the repository of sovereignty. Locke's state, taken altogether, is no doubt as much sovereign as that of Hobbes, but the sovereignty is exercised by a more complicated machinery. Furthermore, recent experience had taught Locke that much of the power exercised by the state was delegated power and that those who had given power could, on occasion, take it away. In an attempt to explain what he had seen, Locke went back to the Puritans for a state of nature not so bad as that with which Hobbes began and made his contract largely a voluntary coöperation to secure certain good ends, the more important of which were protection for life, liberty, and property. Since, consciously or unconsciously, he was providing a philosophical justification for what

¹ The common law made it illegal for an alien to hold land in England; the will of Henry VIII, which had the force and form of a statute, provided that the succession to the crown should be in the family of Henry's younger sister, Mary, instead of in that of his elder sister, Margaret, the grandmother of James.

had actually taken place, it is easy to understand why the late Professor Dunning was moved to say in summary of his political philosophy:¹ "Locke's political theory corresponded to this Whiggish practical work. It was a theory treating of a state of nature that was not altogether bad and its transformation into a civil state that was not altogether good by a contract which was not very precise in its terms or very clear in its sanctions. It embodied, moreover, a conception of sovereignty of the people without too much of either sovereignty or people; of the law of nature, that involved no clear definition of either law or nature; of natural rights, but not too many of them; and of a separation of powers that was not too much of a separation. It concluded finally with a doctrine as to the right of revolution that left no guarantee whatever for the permanence of the rather loose-jointed structure which the rest of the theory had built up. Yet this illogical, incoherent system of political philosophy was excellently adapted to the constitutional system which England needed at the time and which the Whigs actually put and kept in operation."

This system of Locke was taken to the Continent by later writers and made the basis of the doctrines familiar in the French Revolution. Likewise, many of the agitators who made the American Revolution and the statesmen who framed the constitution of the new republic that resulted therefrom were not unfamiliar with the practical, if not wholly consistent, theories of the English philosopher. His system was admirably adapted to the spirit of a time when men were active in the accumulation of property and jealous of their liberty to pursue that end with a reasonable assurance of protection for their lives and for the fruits of their labors. Granted these safeguards, they cared little for consistent doctrines or for what seemed to them to be less practical matters. It was because the policies of James II seemed to threaten these solid rights, as they regarded them, that they would not tolerate him on the throne. Their chief interest in the government of William was to make sure that these threatened rights would be secure. William, for his own part, had other causes at heart. His new subjects did not appreciate the importance of these interests in his lifetime, though they involved the nation in a struggle that was destined to last for longer than a century.

¹ William A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, p. 367.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE

In the field of foreign policy, the Revolution meant the substitution of France for Holland as the national enemy. Apparently, nothing contributes so immediately to make national feeling dynamic as a rival to be feared and circumvented. The threat from Spain and from the Continental Church, as we have noted, first made the English nation aware of itself. The rise of the Dutch maritime power, especially in the East, caused that republic to be the object of much of the fear that had formerly been inspired by Spain. The coming of a Dutch prince to the English throne almost necessarily involved a compromise of the differences between the two countries for the time, and they never seriously quarreled again. The fears of the English now turned toward France, and Britain soon left Holland a hopelessly second-rate power. In later times it is easy to forget that Holland was the enemy first challenged by Louis XIV and that William came to England primarily to divert the island kingdom from the policy of friendship with France, which it had pursued through most of the reigns of the second Charles and his brother, to one of coöperation with the Dutch.

Since the defeat of the Plantagenet claims in France, foreign wars had been rare for England and, when fought at all, had been comparatively short. As regards France, the traditional policy after the fifteenth century was one of friendship and coöperation. As long as the Hapsburgs threatened to dominate both the Continent and the world of empire, this policy made a national appeal. In the maritime rivalry with the Dutch also, England and France, as we have observed, had a common cause. A new situation had now arisen, which changed France from a friend and ally into an enemy and which soon substituted frequent wars for almost habitual peace. In England, the Revolution meant compromise and the settlement of domestic issues; abroad, it meant hostile rivalry and strife. To begin with, James had been an ally of the King of France while on the throne; he had now taken refuge in France, and a threat of his restoration came from that quarter. Thence he came to Ireland in 1690, supported by a French army. He was driven back thither after his defeat by William at the Battle of Boyne in July of that year. This event is celebrated even now as a holiday in the northern counties of Ireland, commemorating the failure of the attempt by James and Louis to make the island wholly Catholic. It was scarcely an English battle, since Wil-

William's army was largely foreign as regards both its principal officers and its personnel. This defeat did not end the threat of the Stuarts. As long as James or his son lived Englishmen did not forget that a victory for France would mean the restoration to the throne of England of the deposed house.

But the more serious threat, as the English came to conceive it in time, was the danger that France would dominate the Continent of Europe and the world of trade and empire abroad. They perceived that, under the leadership of Henry IV, of Richelieu, of Mazarin, and more recently of Louis XIV and Colbert, France had assumed the old rôle of Spain as the dominant power in the world; the Bourbons threatened to become more formidable than the Hapsburgs had been. The Dutch had already felt the force of the new imperial dynasty. By bringing England into the quarrel, William made his new realm aware of the danger she had not yet fully recognized. Perhaps one reason why the English welcomed William was their growing realization of this danger from France. The war that ensued can scarcely be called a war in defence of Protestantism, since William had as allies both Spain and the Emperor before he came to England. But the weight of England on the side of France was too formidable for William and these allies, and so he was willing to risk the chance of a misadventure in the hope of winning England to his side. As long as James was on the throne, France could count on his benevolent neutrality, if no more. It seemed necessary, therefore, to drive him from his throne if the plans of Louis were to be thwarted.

The force of these facts and the vital part they played in the Revolution are clear, if we remember that before William could embark for England with the fleet and army of the Dutch it was necessary to convince the burghers of the Republic that their own shores would be safe from the attack threatened by France in the interim and that the expedition promised to yield in the end the assistance sorely needed against the French. The experience of Monmouth had demonstrated that there was little prospect of success in England unless the candidate for the throne and the leader of a rebellion came with an adequate force. Only the dire need of assistance from England, on the one hand, and the decision of Louis XIV, on the other, to launch his first attack against Germany rather than against Holland finally enable William to procure the force without which his expedition to England would not have been possible. Louis sent at the same time offering aid to James, but that wrong-

headed monarch, too late to serve his cause, now determined to prove that he had no secret understanding with the French and so rejected the offer. The result was expeditious action by both the Dutch and his own subjects, which James had neither the power nor the capacity to oppose. Thus one foreign prince was leader of the army that dethroned James and another led the later attempts to restore him to the throne. No facts could bear more eloquent testimony of the close connection between the rivalry of the Continental powers and what took place in England.

Despite his alliance with the Hapsburgs in Spain and the Empire, William was in a sense fighting in defence of Protestantism, as it was menaced by the particular form of Catholicism then ascendant in France. The French King was more intolerant and ambitious in his ecclesiastical policy than the Pope himself. The Edict of Nantes, in which Henry IV, nearly a hundred years before, had compromised the ecclesiastical dispute in France by granting a measure of toleration to Protestants, was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685, with the result that some of the most aggressive elements among his subjects became exiles in America or in other European countries and gave to these other countries the services they were denied the right to render to their own. At about the same juncture the Hapsburgs finally succeeded in beating off the Turks, who had threatened the very city of Vienna. Under these circumstances it was that Louis decided to go forward with his encroachments on the German states of Alsace, Lorraine, Luxembourg, and the adjacent districts. Since Holland was in the neighborhood immediately menaced, William had organized an alliance in opposition, including Prussia and Sweden as well as the Hapsburg powers, which was called the League of Augsburg. That League was at war with Louis XIV when the invitation came for William to participate in the English Revolution. The decision of Louis to utilize a large part of his available military strength in attacking the German districts farther south set free temporarily the Dutch forces for the invasion of England. But the participation of William in the English Revolution did not necessarily mean that England would in turn take part in the war of the League of Augsburg. That was not certain until Louis sent James with a French army to stir up the Irish on one hand and attacked the Low Countries in a part of what is now Belgium on the other. These actions threatened the safety of England and so enabled William to have active support from

his new kingdom, when he might otherwise have had only benevolent neutrality.

William, we know, defeated the French attack on Ireland. He was not able to prevent the French army from landing on the island, which meant that the French were for the time in control of the sea. The British fleet had deteriorated under Charles II and had not been restored in any very great degree under James. Now, combined with the Dutch, it was not able to withstand the attack of the French at Beachy Head (1690) and suffered there what has proved to be the most disastrous defeat in its history. This defeat caused a reorganization of the naval arm, and, two years later, an attempt by James in the absence of William to invade England was foiled at the battle of La Hogue. How serious the war was for the Dutch is seen in their acquiescence in a campaign against French commerce. The Dutch had normally supported, even in time of war, the doctrine that free ships make free goods. They now went a long way toward accepting the British view of an extended list of contraband and of an extensive enforcement of a right of search upon neutrals trading with France. At the peace, however, the Dutch again found themselves more nearly agreeing with the French than with the British as regards maritime rights, leaving the British to extend the area of war on the sea.

The war did not go forward successfully on land. For several years the best William could do was to circumvent the plans of the French. Later he regained a portion of Belgium that had been taken in the outset of the struggle. By 1697 both Louis and William were ready to compromise in the Treaty of Ryswick. France restored the districts she had taken since the former war and recognized William as king of England, undertaking to give no assistance in an attack on his throne. This treaty was in reality a truce in which to make ready for the next war, a war the foundation of which William helped to lay, but in which he was not fated personally to engage.

Perhaps it was just as well. He had obtained support for his policies in England by virtue of his willingness to overlook many things and to acquiesce in conditions that could not long be tolerated. His tenure of the throne was at best uncertain, and most of the ambitious leaders in the country, even those in his service, were in secret correspondence with the court that James maintained in France. William was aware of this double dealing and repaid it by bestowing his confidence on few

of his English advisers. Rather, he put his trust in men who had come from Holland, such as William Bentinck, whom he made Earl of Portland but who was little liked in England. William found it difficult to deal with the more extreme Whigs, since they wanted to weaken the monarchy to a point that accorded ill with his wishes. The Tories, on the other hand, still had the conviction that the crown belonged of right to James and were inclined to look upon the son-in-law and successor as a usurper. William, at first, tried to retain among his advisers leaders of both factions, but practical experience ultimately obliged him, little as he relished the necessity, to depend largely on the Whigs. An unsuccessful plot against the King's life gave strength to the Whig cause and threw him almost wholly into the hands of that party. The same factors tended to make Anne, William's sister-in-law and the heiress-apparent after the death of Mary without children (1694), more friendly toward the Tories, particularly as she had inherited much of her maternal grandfather's passionate attachment to the English national Church. There was constant friction between her and her brother-in-law in his later years.

When William died as a result of a fall from his horse in the winter of 1702, he had already set the stage for the decade of war that was to follow. Anne had little choice but to carry forward his engagements. The ostensible stake was the throne of Spain, which Louis coveted for his family, carrying, as it did, dominion in Italy, in the Low Countries, and in the Western World, with potentialities of trade in America which were almost sufficient in themselves to arouse the hostilities of both the English and the Dutch. In the beginning, there were two claimants to the throne, which must soon fall vacant on the death of Charles II. One was an Austrian Hapsburg, the other a grandson of Louis. Efforts were made to settle the question by a partition of the possessions of the decaying power. But, before Charles died, in November, 1700, he made a will leaving the crown to the grandson of Louis, provided he should not wear the crowns of both France and Spain. Louis found the temptation too great to resist and decided to accept the terms of the will. He went further and announced that this acceptance would not necessarily exclude his grandson from the throne of France. Even then he had not done all he could to facilitate William's difficult task in England. In spite of the Act of Settlement, passed in 1701 after the death of Anne's last child (providing that the crown of England should at her death descend to

Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I, as the nearest Protestant heir), Louis, at the death of James II in the same year, recognized his son as rightful king of England. English patriotism was instantly stirred anew at this threat, and William was thus enabled to bequeath to Anne a national war as good as begun. Fortunately, in John Churchill, husband of Anne's best friend, he bequeathed to her also the greatest military genius of the age, though a somewhat unscrupulous statesman.

THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND

Before the end of this war Anne was able to eliminate one hazard which had long threatened the safety of England, a danger which William appreciated and just prior to his death urged her to remedy. A union of a sort between England and Scotland had existed since the accession of James I to the English throne. The marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, to James IV of Scotland marked the beginning of the end of the long period of hostility between the two countries that had originated in the distant past. Exactly a century after this marriage (1603), the great grandson of the couple began to wear the crowns of both kingdoms. The governments were still separate. As we know, the Presbyterian party in Scotland was strong enough in the time of the first Charles to resist the attempt of Laud to impose the episcopacy on the country. Nevertheless, men of substance and influence in the northern kingdom were loyal to the family of Stuart, and Charles II was able to rule the country much as he willed through the agency of his Privy Council in that quarter. The policies of James II re-awakened the fears of the Presbyterians, and this group was instrumental in turning the support of the parliament of Scotland to William. On that very account, the Anglican organization there, which had been restored by Charles II, was unfriendly to the new King, whereas the national Church in the southern kingdom, for the most part, welcomed him. The situation in the north required delicate handling. The center of power was transferred from the Privy Council there to parliament and from the Anglicans to the Presbyterians.

As yet there were scarcely more than three quarters of a million people in Scotland all told, while the population of England and Wales was estimated to be some seven times that number. This Scottish population was largely engaged in rural

pursuits. None of the towns in the seventeenth century had attained to considerable size or importance. In the rural districts, little fresh land had been brought under cultivation since the beginning of that century. At the beginning of the next century it was estimated that two thirds of the country was still "moors, mountains, and barren land," while three fourths of England was estimated by the same authority to be in use for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The Scottish nobles, who held most of the land, were primarily interested in receiving high rents and in maintaining extensive hunting preserves. The rents were collected by bailiffs, who managed the estates without much direct supervision by the lords, an arrangement that discouraged any ambitions the tenants might have to improve their lot. There was little rotation of crops, and, in consequence, both the arable land and the tenants were impoverished. Only in the vicinity of towns were the tenants free from burdensome feudal obligations and able, by reason of the accessibility of markets, to profit from their own labor. The lands were farmed to the highest bidder, a method that did not stimulate tenants to improve them. The grain raised was inferior in quality and yield to that raised in England. Flax and hemp were the most remunerative crops. Even in the towns the medieval spirit survived in a large degree, though by the end of the sixteenth century the craftsmen had succeeded in asserting their right to be represented on the town council. They could still not engage in commerce without abandoning their craft.

The Privy Council of Charles II was unable to assert its jurisdiction in the Highlands, though these "peccant parts," in the reign of James VI of Scotland and the first of England, had been reduced by drastic methods to comparative peace and order. The chieftains of the clans carried matters with a high hand in the reign of James II, though it was in the Highlands that the Jacobite claims found their most effective support after the Revolution. An effective method of dealing with the clans, used by both William and Anne, was to pension the chiefs. One of the most picturesque of the leaders of the Jacobite Highlanders was John Graham of Claverhouse. Graham had served under William of Orange on the Continent. Charles II later made him a Privy Councillor for Scotland. Finally, he commanded the faction in Scotland that remained loyal to James, who had made him Viscount Dundee. Dundee met and defeated William's partizans in the summer of 1689 at the battle of Killiecrankie, but fell himself in the fight, a disaster from which his troops

were unable to recover. The supporters of William defeated them a little later at Dunkeld. William adopted as his friend and guide in Scottish matters a Presbyterian minister, William Carstares, who, having been subjected to the thumbscrew in the reign of Charles II, took refuge in Holland and there gained William's confidence.

Through the influence of Carstares, a moderate Presbyterianism became the established Church in Scotland. The doctrine of the supremacy of the king in ecclesiastical matters, never accepted in the Scottish Church, was put aside as inconsistent "with the establishment of the church government now desired." The Presbyterian ministers, ejected from their parishes since January, 1661, were restored, though only some sixty survived to undertake the task of rebuilding the depleted ecclesiastical organization. The Westminster Confession was accepted as the official statement of polity and doctrine. There were several factions that were little pleased by this settlement. The stricter sect of Presbyterians refused to accept it as fulfilling the conditions of a Church whose head was Christ, and not an earthly king. Naturally, it did not suit either the Anglicans, who now found themselves ejected from their privileged position, or the remnant of the Romanists. Moreover, the measures adopted in England against all Dissenters, including Presbyterians, made uneasy the position of the established Church in Scotland, especially after the accession of Anne, who proved to be a zealous partizan of the English national Church. The very thoroughness of its success at the Revolution increased the hazard under which the Church of Scotland existed. The custom of lay patronage had been abolished and the right of choosing ministers vested in the congregations. The men of substance and influence, thereby deprived of their privileges, felt this change as a grievance against the new establishment.

Several matters in the reign of William contributed to make a stabilizing of the relations between England and Scotland imperative if peace was to be preserved. The first was the so-called massacre of Glencoe. Some Highland clans delayed taking the oath of allegiance to the new King, and there were symptoms of a rising in the summer of 1691. Representatives of the government, by diplomacy and bribery, at length effected a settlement. Nevertheless, several chieftains delayed subscribing to the oath, among them Alexander Macdonald, chief of Glencoe, one of the most restless groups in the Highlands. Macdonald seems to have taken the oath at the last moment. Unaware of

this action, the government took the steps customary in dealing with rebellious clans; that is, issued "letters of fire and sword" authorizing deputed agents to proceed to violent measures. The agents of the government in this case were hostile chiftains, who did a thorough job in the barbarous manner all too familiar in bygone days in that region. Now, however, this severity was a convenient cause for complaint against William's government in Scotland and was magnified to make it better serve that purpose. It was no easy matter to deal with the more orderly clergy of the newly established Church. William discouraged the holding of ecclesiastical General Assemblies, just as he was reluctant to summon a parliament. In a letter to the General Assembly in 1692, he urged that any minister be admitted to the Church if he would subscribe to the Confession of Faith, a suggestion which the Presbyterians interpreted as a move to overwhelm them with Anglicans. The parliament, which met in 1693 at William's instigation, added an "Assurance" to the form of oath of allegiance, designed to make it impossible for Jacobites longer to take it with the mental reservation that the new King was so *de facto* and not of right. The same parliament enacted that all ministers who would subscribe to the Confession of Faith should be accepted in the established Church. These acts stirred opposition among the clergy of the established Church, who interpreted them as asserting again the supremacy of the king over the Church, which had been one of the chief sins of the earlier Stuarts in Presbyterian eyes.

A source of even greater friction between the two countries was the attempt to organize a commercial and trading company in Scotland on a large scale, which resulted in a disastrous failure in the last years of William's reign. The project probably originated in the fertile brain of William Paterson, a native Scot, who had made a fortune in the West Indies and returned to England to play an important rôle in the business and financial life of the capital of that kingdom. Since the very beginning of the union of the two kingdoms under the same crown, the wars of England, especially those with Holland, had worked to the disadvantage of the little Scottish trade that existed. Furthermore, the Navigation Acts excluded the Scots from trade with the English colonies. True, many Scotsmen had gone to the plantations, and others had been sent thither into involuntary exile. It is true also that the Scots were so skilful in smuggling that English merchants complained that the Scots could pay duties and compete with their own northern traders, who paid

none. Nevertheless, it was esteemed a grievance that Scotland had no colonies and that Scotsmen had no opening to trade abroad, as other peoples did. William approved an act of the Scottish parliament, passed in 1693, authorizing the formation of trading companies. Two years later Paterson promoted a company designed to be controlled jointly in England and Scotland for trade in Africa and the Indies. The English half of the stock was easily subscribed, but the subscriptions were withdrawn when other merchants in England objected to the whole project and persuaded the King to use his influence against it. It then went forward primarily as a Scottish enterprise. Four hundred thousand pounds of actual capital was finally raised and more than half of it expended in a futile effort to plant a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, where Paterson dreamed that a seat of future empire commanding the two oceans might arise. When it became clear that the thousand and more men of substance in Scotland who had invested heavily in the undertaking had lost all they had ventured, feeling against William and England ran high. Knowledge of this situation led to William's parting injunction to Anne that she promote a settlement of the relations between the two countries.

The accession of Anne in itself was little calculated to help matters, in view of her warm partiality for the Church of England. In response to a letter from the Queen expressly urging toleration for those of her own polity, the parliament of Scotland began to take steps to protect the "true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government." The same parliament went further on a different question. Since the union of the two crowns, Scotland had been involved in England's wars, as a matter of course, and had been called on to participate in them. Anne, as we know, soon found herself in the midst of one of the greatest wars the country had known. Apropos of this situation, the Scottish parliament enacted that in the future Scotland would not be involved in a war unless her representatives were first consulted. As an immediate measure of relief, it was made lawful to import French wines and liquors in spite of the war then in progress between England and France. The new parliament in 1703 passed a still more pointed measure called the Act of Security. Under its provisions, twenty days after the death of Anne, the parliament of Scotland was to name her successor on the throne of that country, who must be a Protestant and a descendant of the House of Stuart but not the same person designated by the English parliament

to wear the crown in that kingdom, unless under conditions that would secure to Scotland complete freedom of government, of religion, and of trade. The Queen at first refused to sanction the act, but was obliged to yield, when parliament refused to grant needed supplies on any other terms.

The English parliament naturally resented the attitude of the Scots in a time of national danger and expressed its feelings in an act declaring that, should no treaty between the two countries be effected by December 25, 1705, all Scotsmen in England would be treated as aliens and Scottish commodities excluded from England and Ireland. By this means, the movement toward union of the two kingdoms was put genuinely under way. Both countries appointed commissioners to consider the questions at issue. When the Scots refused to treat until the Alien act should be repealed, England acquiesced and thus opened the way for successful negotiations. Many thoughtful Scots feared that unless they made terms with England they were in danger of conquest by force, and they preferred the less of two evils.

After the agreement was concluded, there was still the task of procuring its acceptance by the parliament of the two kingdoms. The opposition in Scotland was strong and the outcome doubtful. There was threat of an uprising in behalf of the Stuart claims to the throne. The Presbyterian clergy also required skilful management. The contest was much colored with intrigue and personal jealousies. In the end, the measure passed by a comparatively small margin, perhaps because the responsible persons feared a worse situation if they did not accept what was proposed. In England, the proposition had easier passage. And so the two countries, so long estranged, were at last united. Scotland sent a given number of peers to the new British House of Lords and a quota of knights and burgesses to the House of Commons. Perhaps it is as well to leave to political scientists further comment on and analysis of the process by which two supposedly sovereign states merged their several identities into a new sovereignty.

For several generations to come, the Scots were almost of a mind to rue their bargain. Several events tended to enhance that feeling. "One misunderstanding followed another," says the historian of Scotland, "and the conviction became general that England was systematically sacrificing Scotland's interest to her own." Now, it was a dispute about the customs revenue and the manner of its collection; again, it was other regulations of trade imposed by the new legislature, in which England was

the dominant partner; another time, it was an act granting more toleration to Episcopalians in Scotland than the Church of Scotland relished; once more, it was a tax on malt, a manifest injustice, since the barley of Scotland was inferior to that of England; or perhaps it was any of a dozen other irritating matters. Not for several generations would Scotsmen so permeate the fabric of British imperial government abroad and send their ambitious politicians to participate in the joint government in such numbers that their coming would finally stir resentment in the southern kingdom and reconcile the northern to the union. In the meantime, the new kingdom of Great Britain was engaged in the long struggle to clear the way for the empire that was already beginning to take form.

MAKING WAY FOR EMPIRE

The Revolution that brought William III to the throne of England entailed little change in the enterprises of the kingdom abroad, though the events of his reign opened the way for operations in the fields of both empire and trade on a vaster scale than had been previously known. A plan which James II had devised for the union of the New England colonies naturally fell through of its own weight, now that its projector was not at hand to support it. A more important fact was the growing tendency of the advocates of trade to place less emphasis on the training of mariners and more on achieving a favorable balance of trade by providing favorable markets for English goods and sources of raw materials for English artisans. That is to say, the philosophy on which the defence of imperial undertakings was based was becoming more economic and less political. At the instigation of merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, parliament passed in 1696 what proved to be the last of the general Navigation Acts. This act provided for admiralty courts in the colonies to enforce its provisions and for other machinery and penalties for the same purpose. The British insisted that both the colonies and foreign countries be prohibited from entering into competition with manufacturers at home. This reflection in the colonial policy of the private interests able to influence parliament, and the tendency of that body to claim a share in the management of colonial enterprises, was not wholly pleasing to William. On his accession, he continued the committee of the Privy Council known as the Lords of Trade, replacing members

he distrusted with others more favorable to his views. Later, in an effort to forestall the encroachment of parliament on the royal prerogative in this field, he created a new Board of Trade and Plantations, with members selected because of their knowledge of the business. Among the members was William Blathwayt, who served for a decade, and John Locke, the philosopher, who was later succeeded by Matthew Prior, the poet and diplomat. This body resembled those which preceded it in that it was closely allied with the Privy Council and in that it was responsible to the King rather than to parliament. Its functions were to collect and make available to the King and his advisers information concerning trade and the plantations and to give advice on these subjects when it was requested. Though never empowered to take action on its own account, the board became an important agency in the management of the colonies, since the King and his ministers came to depend on its information and advice.

In the field of Eastern trade, the Revolution entailed a readjustment and ultimately a reorganization. The coming of a Dutch king to the throne made necessary the abandonment of the English claim to a share in the spice trade. The merchants of the East India Company were thus limited in their activities to the continent of Asia. But this trade brought them into conflict with several influential classes at home. The company had little to fear on that score as long as its charter was held from the king, and the monarch himself was one of the substantial shareholders, as was the case in the reigns of the second Charles and James. But now that parliament was in the saddle, the situation was different, and the company was attacked. Those interested in the manufacture of cloth in England complained that the competition of the Indian fabrics was injurious to their interests. The members of the Levant Company, still a regulated company, complained that the joint stock company used unfair methods of competition and so interfered with the freedom of the members of the Levant Company to carry on trade as was their right under their charter. Other persons ambitious to engage in a trade that seemed to offer prospects of a large return resented the monopoly held by the East India Company and opposed it as an unfair usurpation of power by the royal government of former times, demanding that other merchants be permitted to engage in this trade on the same terms as the company proprietors. In the Revolution the company, then under the presidency of Sir Josiah Child, naturally tended to be sympathetic with those

who had favored it, on which account it was for a time suspect under the new government. Consequently, those who had hitherto been denied the privilege of engaging in the Eastern trade now had their chance. Under the leadership of Thomas Papillon, formerly a member of the East India Company, though an opponent of Child, they formed an organization and applied to parliament to throw open the India trade. Despite a stubborn opposition from Child, this new group obtained in 1698 an act of parliament recognizing them as a new East India Company, on condition that they lend to the government two million pounds at eight per cent. interest per annum. The old company did not give up without a struggle, and a large block of stock in the new organization was subscribed by members of the old. Money was spent to establish interests in parliamentary constituencies, so that the company would be represented in the House of Commons. In this contest, the older company had the advantage of an experienced commercial organization already in the field, of establishing relations with Asiatic peoples, and of posts already existing with which to trade, so that the new company was seriously handicapped from the start. The end of the struggle was the amalgamation of the two organizations into the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, which was consummated in 1709. This long controversy, however, was not without some fruitage. It led to a further exploration of the relation of trade to national wealth, and some of the participants found themselves tempted to dally with notions at variance with the more conventional mercantilist doctrines.

Meanwhile, the exigencies of war made it imperative that the King and his associates discover methods of raising sums of money with greater expedition and in larger size than was feasible by the slow process of taxes imposed by parliament. The pressing needs of trade led men of affluence to coöperate with the King in solving his difficulty. William Paterson, whose share in the Darien venture we know, seems to have been one of the most active agents in the undertaking. No doubt the experience of the Dutch taught something. But William's pressing need for funds was the immediate spur to action. Hitherto, a king in time of need had been wont to seek loans from goldsmiths or others, to be repaid when parliament voted a supply, or loans for a shorter period, to be repaid when uncollected revenues should come in hand. Charles II had caused consternation among the goldsmiths in 1672 by repaying merely the interest

(and that after a year of delay), when a loan of this type fell due, retaining the principal for the use of the government in the war then in progress with the Dutch. In 1693 the government raised a loan to be repaid in the form of life annuities, supported by a special appropriation made for the purpose. The next year the need of a further large sum stimulated the improvising of machinery to procure it. The result was the organization of the Bank of England. The subscribers to its stock were to have a stated income on their investment, while the government obtained needed money in large sums. The arrangement had the support of parliamentary action.

But the bank, being a company chartered for borrowing and lending money, could have private individuals as well as the government for customers. It had, moreover, the right to issue notes. Thus it was furnished with the needed apparatus for dealing in credit. In this way, there came into being at one stroke the national debt and the bank, two engines of power without which, or something much like them, the development of British empire and trade on the scale they were about to assume would have been scarcely feasible. Thereafter, parliament had simply to guarantee interest at the prevailing rates, payable when it fell due, to obtain credit that was comparatively unlimited. With its privilege of note issue, the bank afforded the machinery for marketing the securities.

But in more than one way the organization of this machinery of credit meant the passing of the king as a major power in the English government. The king could have access to this fountain of wealth only on the guaranty, and so with the acquiescence and support, of parliament. As the amount of outstanding securities increased, men of substance, whose wealth was in large part in this fluid form, had a correspondingly greater stake in keeping the control of the financial arrangements, and so in keeping the government itself substantially as it was. There was little likelihood that they would willingly risk much power on these vital matters in the hands of a king such as the Stuarts had aspired to be. One type of men of substance, however, faced the new situation with little enthusiasm. Men whose income was in form of rents saw themselves under the necessity of paying progressively higher taxes in order to provide the interest on the growing national debt. A debt with no prospect of its ultimate payment was not a thing a landlord could contemplate with satisfaction in the business of his personal estate, and he feared it for the nation. Many of them, therefore, opposed both the bank

and the debt which it facilitated, and both were set down as Whig schemes against the real welfare of the country.

But without the bank the other reforms of William's reign, which contributed to the stabilization of trade, would have been difficult if not impossible. Much of the metal money in circulation was hammered and was easily mutilated or clipped. The result was coins of uncertain value, and trade was correspondingly hampered. In 1696, under the supervision of Sir Isaac Newton and Locke, among others, a measure was put in effect for replacing this inadequate currency with milled coins of an even value. This change was accomplished with difficulty, since it was necessary after a time to demonetize all the old coins, and in the interval the notes of the bank had to be substituted. The goldsmiths and other enemies of the bank took advantage of the shortage of currency to collect notes and make demands on the bank for their redemption that could not possibly be met immediately. But the crisis was finally passed, and the result in the long run was probably to increase the use of paper and credit in lieu of currency by making the process familiar.

In any case, the brilliant victories which Marlborough won on the Continent in the reign of Queen Anne in the war against Louis XIV—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet—would scarcely have been possible without the national credit which the bank made available. Marlborough never commanded an army of the type of that on which the power of Cromwell rested, an army inspirited to fight for a cause. There were never more than seventy thousand men all told in the British army in his day, and these were recruited by the old familiar methods that had proved so ineffective in Cromwell's time. Some were enlisted while drunk and were without money or influence to procure release. Others came from gaols or from places where their presence was esteemed a liability. Some ne'er-do-wells, of course, went as the easiest path to adventure. The companies they joined were the vested interests of the officers, who claimed proprietary rights in the organization and in a proportion of the sums voted for supplies. Even the commander-in-chief received a two and one half per cent. share of the monies sent for the support of his troops, supposedly for secret service. It is a tribute to the personal magnetism of Marlborough that he had qualities of leadership enabling him to develop from such materials a fighting force that was unsurpassed in its day.

Of the Duke himself it is difficult to say anything apt and accurate in the few words that can be allotted to him here. His

opportunity for greatness has usually been attributed to the Queen's friendship for his wife, his genuine devotion to whom probably brought him in the end more of ill fortune than favor. He had the adaptable qualities essential for a man of ambition in his time, enabling him to serve in turn James, William, and Anne, none of whom had any love to spare for the others. Since the return of James was always a possibility, especially in the reign of William, Marlborough maintained a prudent readiness to land on the dominant side in the case of a change, a readiness of which William was aware. But he was so much the ablest man in sight that William selected him as the heir of his own enterprises on the Continent, and Anne might very well have utilized his abilities had he had other wife than Sarah Jennings. Indeed, she did retain the husband after the headstrong wife had been replaced in her favor by Robert Harley's relative, Abigail Masham. Tried by conventions of later generations, the patriotism and integrity of the great Duke fall short of his reputation as a military captain. But we have to consider that he lived in his own day and dealt with facts familiar in the time. Aspiring to distinguish himself in the fields of action that attracted him and to procure honors and riches for himself in the process, he adopted the means that seemed likely to bring success, and both his successes and the later misfortune that befell him testify of his understanding of the forces with which he dealt.

In the earlier part of the reign of Anne, Marlborough, Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, and Robert Harley were the three ministers whom the Queen delighted to honor. Godolphin was at the head of the treasury; Harley was speaker of the House of Commons and the effective leader of that body; Marlborough was supreme in military matters. The Queen herself, however, had too many of the qualities of her father's family to be a mere figurehead. She inherited the narrow devotion of her mother's father to the national Church, a fact of which her more tolerant ministers had constantly to take account. Godolphin's son married the eldest of Marlborough's daughters. Two other daughters married members of the Whig group. In consequence, Marlborough's wife was constantly intriguing to bring Whigs into power in lieu of some of the ministers associated with the Tory group that Anne's strict Anglicanism led her to favor. Both Marlborough and Godolphin cared more for an effective prosecution of the causes they had in hand than for party intrigues. This fact was evident in the second year of Anne's

reign, when the Tory House of Commons passed the "Occasional Conformity Bill," prohibiting the custom of the less conscientious Dissenters, who were in the habit of evading the terms of the Test and Corporation Act by taking the sacrament of the national Church once a year. Should this measure finally pass, many of the Dissenting Whigs would be driven from offices, which would then be available for conforming Tories. Although Marlborough and Godolphin voted for the measure in the House of Lords, they used their influence against it, and it failed of passage. It was revived and passed in December, 1711. When the Tories attempted to "tack" the measure on a revenue bill and so caused a dispute between the two houses of parliament to the serious disadvantage to the effectiveness of the government, Anne became somewhat reconciled to the Whigs. Of the three men influential in the government, Harley was inclined to feel that ultimately the safest road to power lay with the Queen and the Tories. Godolphin and Marlborough finally yielded to the importunities of the Duchess of Marlborough and the Whigs and began gradually to admit members of the latter group to power. Harley began to establish personal relations with the Queen by introducing his relative into her household. Of course Anne had already known him as a confidential minister. The inevitable result was a break between Harley and the group led by Godolphin and Marlborough. Since Marlborough's services were for the time essential in the field, Anne reconciled herself a little longer to the Whigs, an arrangement which was facilitated when Harley was discredited on a charge of treason.

The defeated minister, however, had the real confidence of the Queen, and he had no scruples about adapting his views to suit her prejudices. Marlborough's wars were expensive, and the expense seemed likely to rest heavily on the group that was by tradition Tory in its sympathies. Furthermore, Harley's relative, Mrs. Masham, succeeded in supplanting the Duchess of Marlborough in the favor of the Queen. Marlborough himself returned from his last great victory, Malplaquet, in the summer of 1709 to find his wife out of favor and himself accused of slaughtering his men needlessly to enhance his own reputation. In vain he suggested that he be made captain general for life; instead, he found himself under the necessity of trying without success to negotiate peace.

In the autumn of 1709 a clergyman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, made a sarcastic reference to the Whig ministers in a sermon,

in which he upheld the doctrine of passive obedience and implied that the son of James II was rightful heir to the crown. The ministers dignified the hair-brained young divine with a prosecution and thus gave Harley and Anne their chance. In the next year they got rid of Godolphin and afterward, gradually, of all of the Whig group. Marlborough was to go in the end, and so it was necessary to make peace. Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and his associate, Henry St. John, soon to be Viscount Bolingbroke, negotiated a treaty in 1713, and the great Duke was accused of peculation and sent to the Tower.

The next problem of the new ministers was to get the treaty approved by parliament, no easy task, since the Whigs were still strong in the House of Lords. In order to procure the passage of the measure, it was necessary to create a dozen new Tory peers, a precedent for two threats, made but not put into execution in later centuries, one in the nineteenth and the other in the twentieth. Although Marlborough was dismissed in disgrace, the Treaty of Utrecht, which he had played a large part in winning, conferred not a few favors on the country. On account of the changed prospects of the Hapsburg candidate for the throne of Spain, he being now the heir-apparent of the crown of Austria, the grandson of Louis was left in possession in Spain, on the promise that he would not also assume the crown of France. But the Spain he was left to rule was bereft of much of her former greatness. Belgium went to Austria. The Scheldt River had been closed to navigation by treaty a few years before. Austria also got control of much of the Spanish territory in Italy. England kept Gibraltar, which had been taken in the course of the war. France was permitted to retain Alsace. As an additional naval base in the Mediterranean, England obtained Minorca. The settlement in Europe was, in fact, substantially that which William had sought to effect at the beginning of the war. In America, the British obtained even more, the island of St. Kitts in the West Indies, the peninsula of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and control of the coveted fisheries in that region, with the exception of certain rights reserved to France, and the fur-bearing territory around Hudson Bay. This was not all. The monopoly of the profitable slave trade with the Spanish colonies, which Louis XIV had obtained for France, was transferred to England along with limited rights to trade with Spanish territories in the South Seas. Finally, France recognized the right of the Elector of Hanover to succeed to the English throne on the death of Anne and agreed to banish the

son of James II from French territory and to dismantle the fortress of Dunkirk. Britain obtained these substantial concessions by deserting some of her allies in the fight and leaving them to the tender mercies of their enemies. However, European diplomats were scarcely yet beginning to be mindful of the finer shades of morality in their relations with each other. At any rate, the treaty marked an epoch in diplomacy, in that it evidenced the defeat of the aims of Louis XIV and left Holland a second-rate power, largely dependent on Great Britain. In the northern part of Europe, too, changes had been under way. Peter the Great had been busy organizing the great Russian Empire, and Sweden was soon reduced to a subordinate position. There were items in the treaty that found little favor among British traders. An agreement had been made with Portugal a few years earlier, known by the name of its negotiator as the Methuen Treaty, whereby Portuguese wine was admitted into England at a lower duty than French wines in return for the opening of the Portuguese market to English cloth. Persons in England opposed to the Whig policy of war with France affected to prefer the Gallic beverages, and the treaty undertook to place France on a par with the most favored nation in commercial matters. This part of the treaty, however, was defeated in parliament and never became operative.

The matter was left thus, since it now became essential that Oxford and Bolingbroke give attention to the succession to the crown in view of the ill health of the Queen. Bolingbroke became leader of a party which adopted for its program an attempt to get possession of such instruments of power as the army and the civil offices, for the purpose of either bringing back the son of James II as heir or else of dictating terms to the Elector of Hanover. The Schism Act, designed to prevent Dissenters from imparting their faith to their children, was passed in June, 1714. When Oxford opposed this measure of his colleague, he was dismissed from office, and Bolingbroke was given a free hand. Thereupon, the Whigs and all moderate persons of whatever faction were aroused to action. As one ballad monger put it:

Whoe'er is in place I care not a fig,
Nor will I dispute between High Church or Low,
'Tis now no dispute between Tory and Whig,
But whether a Popish successor or no.

On this issue, the bulk of the men who counted in the kingdom were united. When the young Jacobite Prince stubbornly re-

fused to relinquish the faith of his father in order to obtain the crown, Anne, along with other genuine supporters of the Anglican settlement, lost patience with him. Then the Queen died within a week after Bolingbroke obtained a free hand to make ready for her successor. As a result, the new King, when he came from Hanover, was dependent on the Whigs for support and correspondingly distrustful of those who had plotted, as was alleged, to keep him from the throne.

The extreme Tory group, in its heyday of power, had antagonized the substantial, prosperous classes of the nation on too many points soon again to be returned to office. In fact, the Tory party, if it be correct to think of it as such, had to be reëstablished as a constitutional organization before it could hope to contend for power with much chance of success under the new royal house. For the time, it labored under the charge of having opposed the settlement that was accepted by the nation. It would be a mistake as yet, however, to give too definite a connotation to the terms Whig and Tory as designations for party groups. The conventions of party government were not yet established, and party organizations seldom held together for long or found it easy to unite on definite issues.

Yet a change in the processes of government was under way. The foundations of power had been broadened. As wealth in substantial amounts became more widely distributed, men who had accumulated it in trade began to vie with the older country families in the enjoyment of luxuries and in the amenities of life and also began to demand the implements of political power. Since they could not be neglected, it was essential to devise means for keeping them in line. Pamphlets were still used for public discussion, as periodicals were for the dissemination of such ideas and information as were deemed important. Periodicals now began to be used also as vehicles of opinion and propaganda. Both sides in the contemporary discussions enlisted the prominent writers of the time. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that these media of publication enabled the writers to bequeath whatever fame they have left to posterity. Daniel Defoe's *Review*, Jonathan Swift's *Examiner*, Richard Steele's *Tatler* and *Guardian*, and *The Spectator* of Steele and Joseph Addison are a few of the notable publications that sprang up and flourished for a time in these years.

These men were typical of their generation and reflected its spirit in other ways than by their political hack work and propaganda. Swift, disillusioned and disappointed in an Irish

deanery, when he had perhaps hoped for and deserved more lucrative preferment in England, if he deserved to be in the Church at all, laughed in his biting way at the futilities of many persons and things he saw about him in one of the books of his day that is still read, *Gulliver's Travels*. Defoe wrote a prodigious amount on many subjects and almost achieved the mechanism of the later novel in works like *Roxanna*, though he is best known to later generations by *Robinson Crusoe*. Addison and Steele, in their leisurely essays, depicted the conventional thoughts and manners of the new prosperous classes of the towns, as they congregated in clubs and coffee houses and affected to discourse on matters that seemed to be of immediate moment. In these works, we perceive evidence of a decided surfeit of the overabundant earnestness of the generation before, as well as a wholesome reaction against the studied unmoral atmosphere of the reign of Charles II. As far as these men were in earnest at all, it was in the marts of trade and on matters of empire. Otherwise, they tended to be tolerant and good humored. In such an atmosphere Robert Walpole came into power in the name of a new king of a new house and found its breath congenial to his nostrils.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. chs. xxvii, xxix; G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. xv; Clive Bigham, *The Chief Ministers of England*, ch. xii; *Cambridge Modern History*, V. chs. x, xi, xiii, xiv, xv; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. x, xi; W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, ch. x; R. H. Gretton, *The English Middle Class*, chs. vi-vii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. chs. i-ii; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chs. iv-v; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, Book V. chs. v-ix; A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History*, ch. vii; Sir Frederick Pollock, *Essays in the Law*, ch. iii; Vida D. Scudder, *Social Ideals in English Letters*, Part I, ch. iii; G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, chs. xiv-xv; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part IV. ch. i.

FOR WIDER READING

A. Andréadès, *History of the Bank of England*, Parts I-II; John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*; C. T. Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. ch. iii; P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, III. chs. i-iii; *The Union of England and Scotland*; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII. ch. xiv; IX. chs. i, ii, iv; G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War*

Against French Trade; Julian Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, II. chs. xvi-xxxiii; William Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. chs. xi-xiv; A. V. Dicey and R. E. Rait, *Thoughts on the Scottish Union*; C. H. Firth, *The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels*; J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, I. Book V. chs. i-xi; G. H. Guttridge, *The Colonial Policy of William III*; W. H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles II to the Death of Anne*, chs. xiii, xiv, xvi, xviii; Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, chs. iii-iv; I. S. Leadam, *The History of England, 1702-1760*, chs. i-xii; W. E. H. Lecky, *The History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, I. chs. i-ii; Richard Lodge, *The History of England, 1660-1702*, chs. xiii-xx; James Mackinnon, *The Constitutional History of Scotland from the Early Times to the Reformation*; W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne*; H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, I. chs. i, v, xv; S. N. Patten, *The Development of English Thought*, ch. iii; Robert S. Rait, *The Parliaments of Scotland*; J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, II. Part V; H. D. Traill, *William the Third*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the world at the Treaty of Utrecht, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 51; Muir, f. 49; for the seats of war in Europe, 1700-1721, see *Shepherd*, p. 129. For Ireland in the time of William of Orange, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 47. For a map of the European world at the close of the seventeenth century, see W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. 121. J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, I. 366, 376, 378, 426, 442, 450, 454, 462, 472, 500, 524, 548, contains plans and diagrams of the more important battles in which the British Army was engaged in the early phases of the struggle with France, including Marlborough's battles. Appended to C. T. Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*, are two maps illustrating the campaigns of Marlborough. For a map of Europe in 1702, see G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, appendix.

CHAPTER XVII

A NEW DYNASTY AND A NEW EXECUTIVE

THE KING AND HIS MINISTERS

Although George I had visited England once before (in 1680), as a suitor for the hand of the princess whom he was now succeeding on the throne, nevertheless, he found himself in a strange situation when he came to assume the crown in 1714. A soldier of some distinction, and already more than fifty years old, he had been elector of Hanover since 1698, though he did not become heir-apparent of the English crown until the decease of his mother, shortly before the death of Anne. As elector, he had participated in the Continental projects of both William III and Marlborough. He still had the responsibility of the government of Hanover, a task at which he had displayed respectable abilities. He was now undertaking, in addition, the uncertain project of establishing his family on the throne of Britain, an enterprise recognized in his time to be fraught with difficulties, the very existence of which his success has done much to obscure. He had British advisers for some years before the death of Anne and was in a measure prepared for the crisis. But it was still the function of the king to select his ministers, and it was a matter of vital importance that George should replace Bolingbroke with somebody likely to have the confidence of the powerful groups in England and at the same time to serve his own cause. Having made that selection successfully, it did not follow that one trained for a decade as elector of Hanover and as a military officer would be able to display the self-restraint necessary to enable him to acquiesce in actions with which he might not wholly agree. His more personal qualities were not calculated to commend him to the favor of those on whom he depended for support. He had divorced and imprisoned for life the wife he married in 1682, after living with her for a dozen years, and he now sought other consolations as openly as had Charles II, a situation that did not tend to promote good relations between him and his son and heir, already thirty years old and more.

That he did leave to his son as a heritage both England and Hanover when he died in 1727 is evidence that he had ability that is sometimes overlooked. So successful was his achievement in life that his death is scarcely worthy of note as marking a change in British policy. The son simply took up the scepter where the father laid it down, and the procession went on much as before.

A primary fact which the ministers of the first two Hanoverian kings had to bear constantly in mind was the existence of rival claimants to the throne of whose strength they could not be certain and who were apt to be the catpaws of a hostile Continental power. Many who gave a nominal allegiance to the government of the day felt a sentimental loyalty to the "King over the Water," which it was not easy for a foreign-born king speaking a foreign tongue to overcome. It needed only a sufficient grievance against the new house and a plausible alternative to it to kindle flames of rebellion long latent. Divers attempts were made to effect this rebellion, the first in 1715 in the reign of the first George and the last exactly thirty years later, in the reign of his son. Other lesser attempts were made in the interim. Each of these attempts resulted in failure which, if not evidence that the nation was increasing in loyalty to the new house, at least indicates that it liked still less the prospect of the changes proposed. Neither George I nor George II was the most influential personality in the British government of his time, but it is evidence of their ability to adapt themselves to the circumstances in which they were placed that they were in the end preferred to their rivals. There is a danger that we may lose sight of the rôle they actually played, in the greater interest we naturally have in the changes in institutions and policy that accompanied their occupancy of the throne.

There is a sense in which much that went on in England in the eighteenth century after the death of Anne may be regarded as a duel between Bolingbroke and Robert Walpole. Yet one of Walpole's chief merits as a minister was that he probably never had a national policy consistent with itself for long at a time. Bolingbroke was attainted while an exile in France, after the accession of George I, and was an avowed Jacobite in 1715. But the narrow insistence of the "Pretender" on his Roman Catholic connection convinced the exiled statesman that the restoration of the Stuarts was not immediately practicable. Accordingly, by making substantial bids to the King's ministers, he obtained the restoration of his estates, though not of his seat in

the House of Lords, and returned home to build up the tradition of a "Patriot King." This notion of a king as actual leader of the nation gradually took shape in Bolingbroke's mind as a result of his efforts to change the conditions under which Walpole governed the kingdom, conditions which Walpole did not consciously create, but which gradually came about as he faced the practical tasks of government.

More than anything else, Walpole was a practical man of affairs. Oxford and Bolingbroke had procured his dismissal from office and had sent him to the Tower in the reign of Anne, so he was quite naturally a partizan of the new house. He held the lucrative office of paymaster general of the forces in 1714 in the ministry in which his brother-in-law, Charles, Viscount Townshend, was secretary of state for the northern department and James Stanhope, later Viscount and first Earl Stanhope, was secretary for the southern department. Within little more than a year he had made himself so useful that he was promoted to the head of the treasury. His first tenure of that office was of short duration. Scarcely had the Stuart Pretender been driven from Scotland, after the rebellion of 1715, when the King obtained the consent of parliament to return to Hanover, taking Stanhope with him, and leaving the heir-apparent as regent. This visit brought to light two facts essential to be kept in mind for an understanding of the ministerial intrigues of the earlier Hanoverian kings. In the absence of the King, Townshend obtained the confidence of the Prince of Wales and was much in his society. Thus began the first of a series of alignments of son against father, characteristic of the first three Georges. In this case, the facts were magnified by the King's German adviser, Bothmer, and by Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in order to foment ill feeling in the minds of Stanhope and George against Townshend. A more important fact was the tendency of the King to let his dynastic plans as elector of Hanover rather than the interests of his British kingdom shape his foreign policy, a tendency in which Stanhope was willing to humor him, but which Townshend and Walpole opposed. In 1715, as Elector of Hanover, George obtained by purchase from the King of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had originally been under the dominion of the King of Sweden. Russia, Denmark, and Poland were at war with Charles XII, Sweden's venturesome young monarch, and were trying to strip that country of its possessions in northern Germany. In October,

1715, Charles added Hanover to the number of his enemies. England thus found herself at peace with a country with which Hanover was at war. British merchants also had many grievances against Swedish privateers for interfering with British trade in the Baltic, and a British fleet was sent to afford protection. The British admiral behaved so discreetly that he was not involved in actual hostilities. George also soon found himself as Elector of Hanover involved in difficulties with Russia, and the electorate was threatened by Russian troops. Both George and Stanhope wanted to adopt strong measures against the Tsar and sent to make that request of Townshend, but Townshend and Walpole felt that such a policy would be ruinous. The King returned to London in the early winter of 1717. The Swedish ambassador was taken prisoner in his own house, and his papers were seized, disclosing plans of a fresh Jacobite rising under Swedish patronage. This episode gained support in parliament for Stanhope and led to the elimination of Townshend and Walpole, leaving Stanhope and Sunderland supreme in the counsels of the King.

Stanhope and Sunderland undertook, in 1719, to consolidate their position and to crystalize the House of Lords in its existing form and size by providing that henceforth there should not be further creations of peers except where an existing peerage became extinct. Had this measure passed, it would have made perpetual the control of the government by the family groups then in power. The King agreed to accept this restriction of his prerogative as a means of limiting the power of his son, whom he had just tried in vain to keep from succeeding to the family possessions on the Continent. The bill passed the House of Lords, in which it originated, by a large majority. The most serious opposition it encountered was from the Earl of Oxford, now restored to his seat in that house. Stanhope enlisted Addison to write in defence of the project in a periodical called *The Old Whig*. Addison had earlier served as secretary of state for the southern department. Steele countered *The Old Whig* in *The Plebeian*, and Walpole himself took up his pen in behalf of the right of men to acquire titles of honor as they accumulated wealth and prestige. Stanhope perceived that the measure would probably not survive the House of Commons and dropped it.

Stanhope now added to his foreign projects, which, as we shall see, were more successful, a scheme for paying off the national debt by incorporating it in the stock of the South Sea Company. The South Sea Company was organized in 1711 by the opponents

of those interested in the Bank of England. Since the Treaty of Utrecht, its members had developed wild hopes of accumulating fabulous wealth by engaging in trade with and the exploitation of Spanish possessions in the South Seas. The absorption of the more than fifty million pounds of public debt would implicate the government in this venture. The stockholders in the bank, fearful of losing their favored position, made a bid against the original offer of the South Sea Company, tempting the latter to offer even more favorable terms to the government, far too favorable, if regard was had for sound business canons. The project was carried for the company by the use of corruption on a large scale, involving the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the mistresses of the King, among others, and gave rise to an era of extravagant speculation. All manner of companies were organized for every conceivable undertaking. Nothing seemed to be too absurd to enlist support. Subscribers were actually found for "an undertaking which in due time shall be revealed."

Walpole engaged in the speculation along with the rest, but his shrewd business capacity is evident in his ability to withdraw in possession of a profit, without suspicion of dishonesty in its acquisition. Manifestly, a return to sanity meant the bursting of the bubble and a disappointment of the hopes of most of those who had participated in the orgy. Stanhope and Sunderland realized that they must give up office unless they could enlist the support of some of those, like Walpole and Townshend, who had latterly allied themselves with the Prince of Wales. Readjustments were made to provide offices, though of a subordinate character, for Walpole, Townshend, and others of the Prince's friends. Both houses of parliament began too late to investigate the disaster caused by the falling prices of stock. Stanhope died after a speech in reply to an attack made on him as a "second Sejanus." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Aislabie, and the other Secretary of State, James Craggs, were both eliminated for corrupt participation in the South Sea scheme. Walpole protected Sunderland from trial, fearing that it might be fatal to the existing political machinery to push the charges against him. The ministry was reorganized with Townshend secretary of state for the northern department. Walpole became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, offices he held for the twenty ensuing years. Among the new names on the list of ministers was John Carteret, Lord Carteret, later to become Earl of Granville, who had more education and had traveled more widely than most of his colleagues and who

had also the additional advantage over them that he could converse with the King in his native German. The government took care of its creditors by various measures of compromise. The treasury itself undertook payments after salvaging as much as could be collected from the resources of the members of the South Sea Company. England settled down to less exciting and slower methods of accumulating wealth by trade and industry, with Walpole to take care that taxes were no higher than they need be and to see that foreign affairs should interfere as little as possible with the normal vocations of peace.

Since Townshend and Carteret found it difficult to agree on foreign questions, and Walpole, in his earlier period, left these matters to his brother-in-law, Townshend, in 1724 Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, replaced Carteret as secretary of state. Carteret went for a time to Ireland, where he served with some success until 1731; then he was eliminated from the ministry altogether. Before that time, the second George had succeeded the first on the throne, an event that did not turn out as some had anticipated and others had hoped. Bolingbroke, who was now joining forces with William Pulteney against Walpole, had hoped, by making terms with the mistresses of the Prince of Wales, to achieve the same influence with the new King that Townshend had had with the old. Pulteney had followed Walpole out of office in the administration of Stanhope, but had not returned with him, and he wrote as brilliantly as Bolingbroke for *The Craftsman*, a periodical which they conducted jointly. When Walpole heard of the death of the old King (1727), then on a visit to the Continent, he is said to have killed two horses taking the news to the heir. Having arrived, he demonstrated that a practical man of the world was not without weapons wherewith to combat more brilliant politicians. For one thing, he offered to both the new King and Queen a larger personal income than had been promised by the temporary, makeshift ministry already appointed. Since whatever was finally bestowed had to come from parliament and since Walpole was in a better position than any other man at the time to make promises in the name of that body, this offer in itself was probably enough to insure him retention of favor for a while. But Walpole sensed further that the Queen rather than the mistresses of the new King would prove the better instrumentality for his management, and he forthwith made an alliance with Caroline of Anspach that did not terminate until her death in 1737. Bolingbroke and Pulteney were thus foiled again. Walpole soon undertook

in addition, as he put it, to change the firm of Townshend and Walpole to Walpole and Townshend, on the grounds that foreign affairs could no longer be conducted without the privity and consent of the head of the treasury, since it was the duty of the latter official to find the revenues to make good any foreign engagements that might be made. Walpole had been embarrassed on that score in former times, and he now (1733) lost the aid of his brother-in-law, who retired to his Norfolk estates to render his community greater services as "Turnip" Townshend, a patron of improved agriculture, than he had rendered the nation as a minister.

The first serious defeat administered to Walpole in consequence of the persistent efforts of Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and the growing numbers added to their group as the ministry made enemies, was in the case of the excise bill of 1733. This measure was intended by Walpole as merely another step in the task of making more systematic the methods of regulating trade and collecting revenues. He proposed to change the existing import duties on wine and tobacco into excise taxes on these commodities, payable when they were taken from warehouses for sale in England; goods taken out for reëxport would not pay the tax. The proposal required that these commodities be stored in warehouses as they were brought into the country and would have rendered the evasion of the tax difficult and thus have facilitated the task of suppressing smuggling. But the word "excise" had an ill savor, inherited from the disputes of the seventeenth century. Those who were profiting from illegal trade supplied funds to kindle a furor of panic in the minds of taxpayers, who were traditionally timorous of change. In the excitement, it was easy to lose sight of the limited and practical nature of the proposed measure in painting the imagined dangers that would accrue should a general excise be imposed on all manner of goods. The example of France was cited, and the wearing of wooden shoes introduced as an implied result of the excise prevailing in that country. Pulteney and his allies lent their efforts to fan the flames. Walpole was secure in his majority in parliament, as any minister would be who had the support of the comparatively small group of men who controlled the election of its members. But it was one thing to place the law on the statute book, and quite another to effect so important a change in the fiscal machinery with the emotions of all classes of people unduly stirred. Walpole accordingly abandoned the measure.

The next blow to Walpole's power was the death of the Queen in 1737. The next was the declaration of war with Spain, in spite of his opposition, in 1739. Nevertheless, he retained office as head of the government until 1741, when, fearing defeat, he retired to the House of Lords, advising the King to offer his position to Pulteney. Pulteney elected rather to enter the House of Lords as Earl of Bath. Carteret, whom the King preferred, assumed the direction of both the ministry and the nation's foreign affairs. Bolingbroke's group was still left out. Newcastle and others of Walpole's followers retained their places. Carteret soon discovered that it was easier to improvise an extensive foreign policy than it was to enlist the nation in its support. England was threatened with invasion by a French army in 1744, with no adequate provisions for defence. Carteret was accused of giving attention to the King's Hanoverian interests at the expense of those of Great Britain. His resignation was necessary and, on the advice of Walpole, he was replaced as head of the ministry by Henry Pelham, brother of the Duke of Newcastle, who, following Walpole's precedent, took the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

This ministry, like the two that preceded it, was opposed in the House of Commons by a group of young men, protégés and relatives of Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, chief among whom was William Pitt. Pitt had made himself obnoxious to the King, among other ways, by his vitriolic attacks on the use of English money to employ Hanoverian troops to engage in a war, which he felt was Hanover's war no less than England's. While George II was unusually pliable in the matter of accepting ministers that were recommended to him, he refused to agree to Pitt, though the Pelhams earnestly desired to win his support and his silence. Nor would George give in until after Pulteney and Carteret had tried for two days in vain in 1746 to form a ministry, lacking the support that Newcastle and his brother could control. Pitt, accordingly, took office as paymaster general in that year. Just a year or two before, he had inherited ten thousand pounds from the old Duchess of Marlborough for his criticisms of the group he was now engaged to support. Moreover, one of the first measures he was called upon to defend in his new position was the indirect employment of Hanoverian troops in essentially the same manner that he had formerly condemned. But, like Walpole, Pitt was little troubled about the consistency of either his words or his actions. England was again engaged in her long duel with France. On that subject he was ever

deadly in earnest and willing to take part, whether under Pelham, as now, under Newcastle, as he did in 1754, or as himself the most influential minister, as was later the case.

THE TRUCE WITH FRANCE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR

The period of Walpole's dominancy was an interlude of peace with France, and he much desired it to be of peace with other powers as well. He desired peace because he was the chief financial officer of the government, and wars were expensive. More important, he desired peace because he felt that the permanent establishment of the house of Hanover on the British throne would be helped by peace, and the reign of that house was, as he believed, essential for the power and prosperity of himself and the group with whom and for whom he acted. This interval of peace with France had its beginning in the treaty which Bolingbroke and Oxford negotiated at the close of the War of Spanish Succession and carried through parliament with a high hand against the opposition of the group with which Walpole was then associated. This treaty, we recall, procured for British merchants a share in Spanish trade that was a very substantial reason for its maintenance by a minister with Walpole's outlook. By a fortunate coincidence, the death of Louis XIV occurred within two years after the Congress of Utrecht and shortly after the accession of the house of Hanover in Britain. The infant heir of the French crown had for a regent the Duke of Orleans, whose claim to be next in succession, should Louis XV not survive to adulthood, was likely to be challenged by Philip V, King of Spain. The two Bourbon powers were thus for the time easily alienated from each other, and Great Britain was able to negotiate alliances with Holland, France, and Austria, though, like most alliances of this period, they were of comparatively short duration.

Meanwhile, as we know, George I, in his electoral capacity, had been busy trying to add to his possessions at the expense of Sweden on the north, while he acted as mediator making peace between Turkey and Austria in the south. But the most troublesome power in Europe for the moment was Spain, where Elizabeth Farnese, the Italian wife of Philip V, was ambitious to procure principalities for her children and had decided that the Italian peninsula offered probably the most promising field. This undertaking was made the more feasible by the necessity

under which Charles VI of Austria found himself of procuring ratifications for the so-called Pragmatic Sanction guaranteeing to his eldest daughter the right of succession to his throne. Charles, in return for the ratification of the Pragmatic Sanction by Spain, agreed to interpose no objections if Elizabeth acquired coveted principalities in Italy. Then both she and Charles embarked on measures that were irritating to England. Spain began to agitate for the return of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the Emperor established in the Netherlands the Ostend Company to compete for a share in the trade with the East. This prospect pleased neither the British nor the Dutch merchants, and it is unlikely that a British House of Commons would willingly have suffered the return of Gibraltar, though Stanhope had dallied with the thought in 1716 in the heyday of his ministerial career.

Another Continental question soon caused still a different alignment of the powers. The death of the king of Poland in 1733, while Walpole was busy with his excise scheme, led France to espouse the cause of one candidate and Austria that of another. England would not follow the cue of her ally, and terms were made between France and Spain that resulted in the "Family Compact"; Austria, on the other hand, obtained the support of Russia. The system that had lasted for nearly a generation was breaking up. Then, within the space of a few months, occurred a series of events destined to influence profoundly the affairs of Europe. Frederick William of Prussia died in May, 1740, and left the throne to his venturesome son, Frederick II, one of the few men in history to achieve the title "Great." Charles VI of Austria died in the following October and left his daughter to defend her claims to his crown against attacks from whatever source. Cardinal Fleury, who had coöperated with Walpole in preserving peace between Great Britain and France, gave way to a minister of a less pacific disposition. Walpole himself passed from active participation in a scene in which he had long played a stellar rôle.

Great Britain embarked on a war with Spain in 1739 before he quit office, though in the face of his opposition. The questions at issue grew out of the commercial clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht. British traders had been carrying on a more extensive trade with the Spanish dominions than was sanctioned by that covenant. Spain was seeking to adopt effective measures for preventing this encroachment on her rights. Neither the British merchants nor the Spanish guards were over scrupulous

in their dealings with each other. The opponents of Walpole discovered in the grievances of the merchants a weak place in the Minister's political armor. They prompted one, Captain Jenkins, to exhibit an ear of which he claimed to have been bereft as evidence of the cruel treatment he had suffered. Walpole went to war because he was unable to withstand the furor, though he manifested no great ability in the conduct of the war after it began.

Her part in this war soon led Great Britain into the midst of a welter of more strictly Continental rivalries. The death of Charles VI was the signal for Frederick II first to occupy forcibly and then to lay claim to Silesia. France, thereupon, undertook to support the claims of the Elector of Bavaria as a candidate for emperor against Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa of Austria. Thus, for a time, Frederick and France had an enemy in common. The Family Compact was also still in existence, so France was among the enemies of Great Britain. Hanover, for fear of Frederick, tried for a while to preserve neutrality. Later, the Electorate was invaded, and George II appeared in the field as leader of his troops in the battle of Dettingen (June, 1743). Frederick developed a disposition to change sides according as his interests seemed best served at the time. The war went badly for France, though it can scarcely be said to have gone well for any other power. Then the Emperor died, and Maria Theresa's husband was elected to succeed him with the support of Bavaria. In 1748 a truce was patched up at Aix la Chapelle on substantially the basis of a *status quo ante bellum*, except that Frederick retained Silesia. There were some definite results, however. Great Britain had discovered that France was beginning to challenge her supremacy in India, while France began to realize that the steadily growing British colonies in North America were not without capacity to take measures in their own defence. In these respects, the war laid the foundation for another soon to follow. The interlude of peace between England and France was at an end. The battle was on again, not to be concluded until Trafalgar and Waterloo. No small part of the credit for the strength that enabled the British finally to emerge from this trial of strength victorious was due to the patient labors of Walpole. The future was for Pitt, but the fighting achievements of that minister rested on the more prosaic foundations laid by his great predecessor.

THE TEMPER OF WALPOLE'S TIME

Two men having apparently few things in common and moving in entirely different spheres, taken together, reflect much of the spirit of this time. One of them, John Wesley, was still a comparatively young man at Walpole's death and survived into another generation; the other was the Minister himself. Somebody has aptly said that Walpole was "not the man to die for a cause or to live for an ideal." He was rather pliantly realistic and tolerantly practical. Like many other men who have taken the lead in the development of British institutional life, he probably made no systematic plans much in advance of the immediate needs of the moment, and he did not see far into the future. As much as he cared for anything, he coveted as large a personal share as possible in the government of the country. He obtained the power he craved because he took care to understand the sources from which it might be derived in his time and then acted on the basis of his understanding, with few scruples as to the methods he used, when they seemed to be necessary to compass the ends he had in mind. His manner of life, not unusual in a lax age, would scarcely be tolerated now, either as regards his personal morality or his financial methods. His strength was that, knowing better than most men the conditions with which he had to deal, he was able to improvise measures to suit the conditions. He was not wanting in social qualities, though he lacked much in refinement. Alexander Pope, a boon companion of Walpole's enemies, such as Bolingbroke and Swift, nevertheless, wrote:

Seen him I have; but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure ill-exchanged for power;
Seen him uncumbered with the venal tribe,
Smile without art and win without a bribe.

The government in Walpole's time was in the hands of a comparatively small group of magnates, both those who had used their wealth accumulated by other means to purchase landed estates and those who were not yet that far on their way to join the socially elect. This group had acquired the implements of power, but wanted the knowledge necessary to use them. Walpole furnished the skill they lacked. He knew both how to conciliate them and how to curry favor with the actual members of the House of Commons and with those not represented in either house of parliament. but who were called upon with fateful regularity

to contribute a quota for the expenses of the government. While a majority of the members of the lower house were chosen by a comparatively few of the magnates and by the government of the day, these members so chosen were, nevertheless, individuals, and were liable occasionally to momentary excitement and rebellion. They required management, with a due regard for their very human nature. Walpole discovered by experience that mobs, whether in or out of parliament, and regardless of whether the men comprising them could vote, were able nevertheless to give him much trouble. His most serious defeats as a politician were not caused by actual decisions determined by a counting of votes but by the voice of a clamor making it obvious that it was more prudent to abandon the project in hand than to use the force necessary to carry it to a successful conclusion. Perceiving the large part that might be played by mere noise and loud assertion, he was as active as his opponents in efforts to start a hue and cry. If he seems to have been less successful than they in these undertakings, it is probably because the compromises in which actual accomplishments take form are not easily supported by violent statements. The excise and the ear of the redoubtable Jenkins are both cases where noisy agitation directed at a specific point was able to carry the day. But in neither case did the noise transmute itself into further positive accomplishments.

Walpole was a country squire, and he recognized the necessity that his kind be won to support the new dynasty if the latter was to retain the crown. The result proved that he knew how to appeal both to the country gentry and to their urban counterparts, the men who had accumulated substantial though not excessive wealth. The most sensitive relation of their classes with any government was the contribution they were called upon to make to its revenues. Any measure likely to diminish taxes would appeal to them. No small part of Walpole's merits as a minister lies in the improvement he made in the collection and application of public funds. On the positive side, he was interested in promoting by favors and bounties both trade and agriculture. It is easy to understand why the improvements made in methods of cultivation by such men as Jethro Tull and Townshend had their beginning in his time. He was likely to be opposed to any project calling for public expenditure, unless arguments recommending it to taxpayers of moderate means were overwhelming. Herein lies the explanation of his desire to avoid war at almost any cost, except in a time of actual and

immediate national danger, when the necessity for extraordinary expenditure and the consequent sacrifices would be obvious to all. Apparently, he felt that it would help much to recommend both the Hanoverian dynasty and his own administration if he could establish and maintain the impression that the resulting régime was characterized by economy of expenditures. A realization of this point was probably one of the reasons why his opponents constantly attacked him for enriching himself at the public expense, a charge of which he was no more guilty than other ministers of his time similarly circumstanced. It was the custom for British statesmen in the eighteenth century to provide liberally from the public resources for themselves, their relatives, and their friends. Walpole was no more scrupulous than the rest, but he was little, if any, worse.

Walpole was wiser than most statesmen of his time in that he recognized in the House of Commons the coming forum in which the character of the government would be determined. Most of the ministers in Walpole's own generation were from the House of Lords, and, truth to tell, the real springs of power in the House of Commons took their rise in the upper house until long after Walpole's day. But the temper and tone of the nation found a truer expression in the membership of the lower house, and, no matter how completely the magnates in the upper house seemed to have matters in hand, they never dared long to persist in a line of action counter to the feelings of the substantial but less well-to-do classes who could make themselves heard in the House of Commons. A prudent statesman would, therefore, trim his sails to suit the persistent moods of that assembly. But the more seriously the House of Commons was taken by those in power, the more seriously it took itself. In this way, Walpole and the two Pitts after him did much to enhance the part of the lower house in the conduct of the government.

Walpole knew enough of the forces actually represented in the House of Commons not to depend on his own arguments or on mere merit to win the necessary support for his measures. He took care to obligate as many members as possible to the government and to ally himself with magnates who had means of appealing to other members. Money was used freely in elections, and it is not unlikely that on some occasions bribes were paid to individual members. But the latter method was too crude and uncertain to be depended upon to procure the support constantly necessary. We may safely assume that Walpole procured

the support in the cheapest way possible, though there is no reason to think he would have hesitated to pay bribes when he could find takers and stood in pressing need of votes. Nevertheless, it would be as incorrect to assume that the House of Commons of Walpole's time was corrupt beyond measure as it would be to think of him as depending for support on a party accustomed to act in concert on accepted principles and in behalf of measures generally agreed to. In reality, there were as yet no such things as political parties, as the term came to be used in later times. There were numerous factions, associated with different leaders whose friends or henchmen the members were and with whom they usually acted. When a minister had the support of one of these leaders, he had the support of the faction of followers also, though, on many matters, an individual member of a faction might decline to follow his chief. The only way a minister like Walpole could carry on the government was to enlist the support of a sufficiently large group of these factional leaders to enable him to have a majority in parliament. That was a practical condition the minister had to face, and he must needs make whatever terms the factional leaders demanded or else be helpless. In Walpole's time there was not even an opposition party united in anything except opposition to Walpole. As he lost the support of one or another group of his followers, he usually replenished his strength from another among his opponents. It was scarcely a conceivable thing to supersede an entire ministry with another composed wholly of the members of the groups in opposition. Bolingbroke, in his project of a "patriot king," endeavored to provide a positive principle on which the opponents of the government, as it was conducted by Walpole, might unite, but when the time came for those out of office to receive their invitations to join those in power, they usually accepted, sometimes not even making the terms that an elementary regard for consistency of action might suggest. What Bolingbroke did succeed in doing, perhaps, and that was a needed service, was to provide an alternative to which the former supporters of the house of Stuart could turn when they became convinced of the hopelessness of the cause they had cherished.

It is not the least notable achievement of Walpole's administration that when the final effort was made in behalf of the Stuart Prince in 1745, just after the death of the Minister, it commanded little support among the respectable people in England. They were not prepared to offer efficient opposition

to the project, but neither had they any interest in its success. They had not yet accumulated a large store of loyalty to the new house in losing that which many of them had felt for the old. They were simply content to let well enough alone. Why risk other ills than those with which their generation was familiar? Walpole had provided a régime that had lasted for the better part of a generation and one that had been on the whole peaceful and prosperous. Men now reaching their prime had never known the experience of living as adults under another house than that of Hanover, and they had reached a mood which made them feel it scarcely worth while to chance the experiment of a change.

This mood of pliant compromise is characteristic of many phases of the life of the dominant classes in Walpole's generation. The national Church found the upper house of its convocation silenced, when the King quietly prorogued it in the spring of 1717, after which it was not again summoned for the dispatch of business for the space of a hundred and thirty-five years. As the sees fell vacant, they were filled with men likely to be more tolerant in both their views and their actions than some who had occupied these positions in the previous generations. In the reign of George II, Queen Caroline took a personal interest in the organization. She was scarcely an orthodox Anglican of the earlier school, and a bishop she patronized was likely to be noted more for latitudinarianism than for the stricter type of theology or polity. Almost the first bishop to be consecrated under the new dynasty was Benjamin Hoadly, who held successively the sees of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, an indication of the favor he found with the King. He was soon involved in a controversy in which he questioned some of the accepted doctrines concerning the divine authority of the ecclesiastical organization. Other controversialists with similar tendencies in other fields of theology and philosophy made their appearance. The old Arian doctrines were revived and amplified as an alternative to the accepted Trinitarian view. Deists like Samuel Clarke elaborated a view of natural, as distinguished from the revealed religion of the more orthodox. One of the more influential apostles of this liberal tendency was John Locke, who published in 1695 his essay on *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, suggesting that the New Testament was a sufficient manual and belief in Jesus as the Messiah a sufficient creed. As a result of these controversies, the orthodox found it expedient to rephrase their views and to find new apologetics for them.

An able worker at this task was Bishop Joseph Butler, who published in 1736 his interpretation of the orthodox attitude in his *Analogy of the Christian Religion*. Never again could the Church as a whole return to the full measure of its earlier intolerance.

Other ecclesiastics, notable among whom was Bishop George Berkeley, wrote essays on economic and philosophical subjects as well as replies to the Deists. In his *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, Berkeley went farther than his master, Locke. Locke had contended that all of the objects of knowledge are ideas, making it difficult to defend the reality of the things of which we have knowledge. Berkeley solved this difficulty by the simple expedient of assuming that the ideas are the things, thus promulgating the foundation principle of idealism in philosophy. In this same period, Francis Hutcheson, a professor in the University of Glasgow, hit upon a formula in ethics, "the greatest happiness for the greatest number," destined to be changed in detail and popularized by Jeremy Bentham in a subsequent generation. Edmund Halley of Oxford, Newton's pupil and successor, by his solid observations, won the right to have his own name perpetuated in connection with a comet he discovered.

But this time, like most times, when we take the trouble to inform ourselves, was full of paradoxes and contradictions. Not all of the clergy in or out of the national Church felt the influence of this scientific attitude of mind or cultivated a tolerant disposition. The lesser clergy in particular, now deprived of some of the contacts they had formerly enjoyed with their superiors, frequently went about their tasks with a seriousness and enthusiasm that was to gather momentum as the years passed and to keep alive a sincerity of religious life that sometimes seemed in danger of losing its vogue. In this period the Wesleys, John and Charles, began their work at Oxford, which was later to become so effective in inspiring in the ordinary man a feeling of personal relationship between himself and his God. John Wesley desired to do his work within the established Church, but he placed no very vital emphasis on matters of ecclesiastical polity. "If," he wrote to his brother, "all outward establishments are Babel, so is this establishment. Let it stand for me. I neither set it up nor pull it down. But let you and I build the City of God." To the Deists he said: "Go on, gentlemen, and prosper. Shame these nominal Christians out of that poor superstition which they call Christianity. Reason, rally, laugh

them out of their dead, empty forms, void of spirit, of faith and love. Press on, push your victories, till you have conquered all who know not God. And then He, whom neither they nor you know, shall rise and gird himself with strength and go forth in His almighty love and secretly conquer you altogether." After returning from a visit to America (1737), John Wesley carried on an extensive work, traveling many thousands of miles and organizing many societies among those who shared the fervor of his religious experience. He declined to submit to the limitations of the Church in which he claimed membership, and so he was excluded from its pulpits. Nothing daunted, he preached in the open air to congregations of any type that would listen. The influence of his work in stimulating in people of the humbler ranks of society a sense of their personal worth and individual responsibility, at least in matters of religion, is not easy to estimate. Though a large part of the goal at which he stirred them to aim had more reference to another world than to that in which they had for the time to do their work, he helped at least to give them something to look forward to and for which to live, and, in his view, improved behavior in this world was a vital part of preparation for life in the next.

This evangelical work enlisted the support of many besides the Wesleys, some of whom moderated their enthusiasm until they were able to do their work within the national Church. Some of these evangelicals followed Wesley in adopting an Arminian theology; others preferred the way of George Whitefield, which was a modified Calvinism. It would be a mistake to assume that there was no intellectual background to this movement. Both the Wesleys and Whitefield were Oxford men, and the literary foundation for evangelicalism had been laid by William Law, a graduate of Cambridge, whose *A Serious Call to a Holy Life*, first published in 1728, influenced most of its leaders. John Wesley pronounced it "a treatise which will hardly be excelled, if it be equalled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or for justice and depth of thought." Even Dr. Samuel Johnson, who belongs to the next generation, relates that, though he went to Oxford "a sort of lax talker against religion, for I did not much think against it," when he "took up Law's *A Serious Call to a Holy Life*, expecting to find it a dull book," found instead "Law quite an over-match for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion." Perhaps one reason for the widespread success of this movement, as the century went on, was that, unlike the

more Calvinistic Dissenting sects, it offered no necessary challenge in the realm of either polity or doctrine to the established organization and thus did not become an issue in politics. John Wesley, like Dr. Johnson, remained a Tory in politics to the end of his days.

It was natural that some of the enthusiasm of the evangelicals should find outlet in the writing of the hymns so effective in stimulating the growth of the movement. Charles Wesley alone is said to have written six thousand, and some of them have decided lyrical merit. Preceding him in the field were his contemporaries, Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge among the non-conformist clergy; he was followed by the more meritorious poet, William Cowper, in the next generation. But Wesley's hymns reflected the spirit of the movement better than those of the others.

This same general temper, taking the form of extreme personal purity rather than religious enthusiasm, is reflected in the novels of Samuel Richardson, who published his first, *Pamela*, in 1740, followed it in the same year by *Clarissa Harlowe* and, thirteen years later, by the voluminous *Sir Charles Grandison*. The excessive, if superficial, virtue of Richardson's first heroes inspired Henry Fielding, a barrister who had written against Walpole as a pamphleteer and also for the stage, to undertake a parody, which developed into a novel, *Joseph Andrews*, with a decidedly human hero. After an interval, in which he produced lesser works, among them a satire, *Jonathan Wild, the Great*, Fielding published, in 1749, *Tom Jones*, one of the greatest of all English novels and one which reflects much of the tone of the life of Walpole's time. The Minister himself, in his younger days, might have served as the original in spirit of the hero, if his youth had been cast in the same mould as his more mature years. The elements in the picture left out in the novels of Richardson and Fielding and out of the novels of Tobias Smollett, who depicted a still lower stratum of society, were the fashionable life of the capital and the country houses of the nobility. The superficial character of much that went on in those circles is seen, for example, in the petty rivalry between the patronage given to the operas and oratorios produced by George Frederick Handel, who came to England in the reign of Anne and was sponsored by both George I and George II and their immediate circles, and that given to the works of a rival Italian composer, who had the support of the opposition faction.

The rulers of Britain in that day and in the next generation, perhaps, were among the groups in which moved Walpole and his associates and rivals, but the Britain of a little more distant future would take its tone from ferment already beginning to work in the lower social classes. These classes would then also take control of the government. But the change, when it came, involved no radical departure from the accepted order of things in government. The new groups would simply take control of governmental machinery that Walpole himself, perhaps all unwittingly, helped not a little to devise.

THE CABINET TAKES FORM

The British cabinet, familiar in later generations, is appointed by the king on the nomination of its own chief known as the prime minister. Its members are from the political party of which he is leader, and their tenure of office, like his, depends on the ability of that party to command the support of a majority in the House of Commons. The several members of the cabinet, or most of them, are usually the administrative heads of the various departments of the government and members of one or another of the houses of parliament. Acting together, they determine the executive policies of the government and formulate legislative measures to be submitted to parliament for consideration and passage. They may lose the support of parliament, and so find themselves unable to carry on the government, by the defeat of either a legislative proposal or a question of executive policy. The history of this series of practices, so largely conventional and for the most part unsupported by written law is, by reason of its intangibility, not easy to trace. There was little premeditated intention at any stage of the development. These practices emerged largely in the processes of adapting existing machinery to meet the needs of situations as they arose, or in the improvising of machinery to suit new conditions.

We hear of a "Cabinet Council," called specifically by that name, at least as early as the reign of Charles I, but we need not assume that this body much resembled a cabinet of to-day or was even its lineal ancestor. For one thing, it was a cabinet appointed by, responsible to, and presided over by the King in person; the period of its existence had no relation to its approval by either house of parliament. It was composed of members

whose counsel the King desired, whether for personal, prudential, or purely political reasons. The select group of persons whom Charles II habitually consulted and on whose advice he usually acted was probably a more definite body than that which had served his father. It came into existence because the Privy Council, both as regards the number of its members and the diversity of its composition, had become unfitted for the functions it had served under the Tudors. Some of these functions were now delegated to select committees of the Privy Council, and any group of confidential advisers the King was likely to summon would probably contain members of one or more such committees. The King was also likely to seek advice from the men to whom he had entrusted the administration of the more important departments of state as well as from the more honorable officers in the household. The archbishop of Canterbury or some other important official in the ecclesiastical establishment was also likely to be summoned whenever ecclesiastical questions were matters of first importance. That an archbishop has not thus been utilized since the reign of Anne is evidence of the subordinate part the Church as an organization has played in the government since the accession of the Hanoverians. The officers of the household were also rapidly losing their importance, as parliament assumed the responsibility of directing the expenditure of the revenues it voted. In consequence, cabinets in time came to be composed almost solely of active or honorary officers of state. There was never an actual prohibition of membership to either ecclesiastical dignitaries or officers of the household. Their attendance simply ceased in the normal course of things, when it no longer served a useful purpose.

The cabinets of William III and Anne differed little in function and character from those of their immediate predecessors on the throne, except that William, if any different, was more distrustful than the later Stuarts of his English advisers in making decisions on matters of foreign policy and was inclined to reserve such questions for his personal decision. True, he depended on parliament for revenues to support his measures and so frequently found his action hampered when he would have preferred to have it free. But the cabinet was, in his reign, as it was to be in that of Anne, still a group whose primary function it was to give counsel to the sovereign who presided over it. As the cabinet grew in importance, the Privy Council became a more formal and less powerful body. It did not cease, and has not to this day ceased, to meet; it simply ceased to

serve the purposes that had originally called it into existence. For similar reasons, both William and Anne found it preferable in the end to take the advice of groups who had the faculty of agreeing among themselves on the policies that ought to be adopted at a given time, else the policy had slight chance of effective support. But it is well to repeat that these practices emerged as a result of experience and were shaped by the manifest implications of human behavior rather than by speculative reasoning or a premeditated plan.

The coming of the Hanoverians, with just as little premeditation on the part of anybody, marked a decided step in the progress of the cabinet toward the form it was later to take. For one thing, George I, since he could not understand or speak the English language, found presiding at the meetings difficult and the meetings themselves a bore. On that account, he soon began habitually to absent himself. All of his successors, except George III on several special occasions, have followed the precedent thus set. This fact changed the cabinet from a body giving informal counsel to the king in person into one accustomed to meet apart from the sovereign and, after previous deliberation, to give him advice of a more formal character. It followed that the king came to depend increasingly on the cabinet both to formulate his measures and to take the steps necessary to give them practical effect. But it is much easier to recognize at this distance the importance of the change thus inaugurated than it was for the king at the time to realize that he was resigning his power or for his ministers to appreciate the extent to which theirs was enhanced. As a matter of fact, neither George I nor George II would have relished a diminution of his rightful power, had he been aware of it, and both kings exercised a real voice in the government. Walpole, who was, as we know, accustomed to manage the latter through his Queen, said of him: "He thinks he is devilish stout and that he never gives up his will or his opinion, but he never acts in anything material but when I have a mind that he should." But this very boast of the most powerful minister of the time is evidence of contemporary doubt of the fact and of the clever management Walpole so constantly found necessary in training his royal master to do as he wished.

The habitual absence of the king from the meetings of the cabinet made it almost necessary that the body find another presiding officer, and it followed as naturally that this officer achieved an enhanced prestige among his colleagues and became

in time the normal officer through whom the cabinet made communications to the king on matters of general policy. As the prestige and power inevitably inhering in this position became apparent, ambitious politicians appointed to the office intrigued to keep it, while others coveted it as the primary object of political desire. Walpole was the first to hold the office for a considerable period after it began to take this definite character, and so to him, more than to any other single person, belongs the credit for giving shape to it. He denied, when it was alleged against him, that he had aspired to be or had become a "Prime Minister," as did Lord North in the later decades of the eighteenth century, and we need not assume that either was insincere in his denial. The office came into being to meet a political need rather than to gratify a personal ambition. Since it had real functions, it could not afterward be dispensed with as long as the functions needed to be served. Since the king had now come to be almost entirely dependent on the coöperation of parliament for providing the means to give effect to any policies of importance, the chief minister found by experience the management of parliament to be one of the most important of his duties. Accordingly, he began to pay more attention to pleasing the legislature and correspondingly less to the wishes of the king. The king must perforce yield in most cases, regardless of his personal choice, else he would shortly find himself without means for carrying on the government at all. All of this is manifest now, and Walpole's actions laid the foundations for so much of it that it is difficult to resist the impression that it did not precede his time. Yet the cabinet as he knew it, though it had much of the form, largely lacked the substance of the body familiar in later times.

The members were, as yet, by no means entirely the nominees of the chief. The king, acting on his own initiative or at the suggestion of other influential members of the governing group, found occasion to name members without always consulting the preference of the head of the ministry. Then, too, the nature of the parliament with which eighteenth century ministers had to deal made it impracticable, as a rule, for them to resign in a body in order to give place to a different group. Most of the members of the cabinet were usually from the House of Lords, and no dependable control of the House of Commons was feasible without the coöperation of some of the members of a group of magnates who had the seats in the lower house at their disposal. An election could not change the situation. A minister

had to make terms with some at least of the parliamentary magnates. The position occupied by these powerful leaders made the formation of a cabinet more largely a task of personal intrigue and arrangement than of the agreement in advance on a program of public policy likely to win popular support. The problem was to conciliate factional groups rather than to lead a party. Not that the members of these factions were any less patriotic than the leaders of the parties that developed in later times, as conditions changed. In fact, party names were already familiar in the discussions of the day, but they existed as shibboleths for public agitation and as badges of a vague general attitude rather than as names of definite groups organized for action. Only the factional group held together sufficiently to act in consistent unison. William Pulteney would probably have insisted that he was a Whig, even when most active in coöperation with Bolingbroke against Walpole. When Walpole quitted office, Pulteney's faction lent strength to his ministry. It occurred to no one to replace all of the ministers Walpole had led with men accustomed to act under Bolingbroke and Pulteney. No minister could long have dispensed with the coöperation of Newcastle, or of others who managed the House of Commons, and none thought of trying. Pitt later found it as essential as had Walpole to have Newcastle's support. It was not a question of party loyalty, but of making practical arrangements for carrying on the government of the nation with the existing machinery.

A minister usually preferred to humor the monarch rather than to raise the question of conflicting power. In fact, there was never any question as to the legal power of the king; it was simply a question of the most expedient way to exercise the king's power. It was rapidly becoming inexpedient for the king to act contrary to the expressed wishes of parliament or of a group of ministers having the support of parliament. Not being without intelligence, kings learned to acquiesce in that which they could not help. George II disliked the prospect of having William Pitt as a member of the cabinet in a position involving personal relations with himself. The members of the cabinet resigned in a body in 1746 to convince the King that they felt the support of Pitt to be necessary for the national government. The King could not go on without them, so he yielded after two days. This was perhaps the first example of a cabinet carrying its point by resigning in a body, but it will be noted that this was a point against the King rather than

against a rival group of party leaders in parliament; there was little thought of replacing a Cabinet with one of a different party.

Obviously, in order to conduct the government successfully, the presiding minister must be able to command the support and coöperation of his colleagues. This is assumed in later cabinets, and Walpole proved that he recognized the need for such a rule by dismissing those of his group who refused to support the excise scheme in 1733. Yet this was one of the most severely criticized of Walpole's actions, and many cabinet members after his time took the liberty of opposing measures sponsored by the chief minister.

There is no better evidence of the failure of Walpole's contemporaries to understand what was going on before their eyes than the attempt to impeach that minister after his retirement and the precautions taken by Walpole himself to avert that disaster. Bolingbroke, under different circumstances to be sure, had been attainted. But impeachment was a judicial process, likely in normal times to be successful only against officials indulging in actual infractions of the law or betrayals of public trust. Attainder, formerly substituted at times, could, from its very nature, be used only on extraordinary occasions. The thought of regarding a minister's actions while in office as political matters, to be terminated and punished by excluding him from office, had not yet become familiar. It could not be accepted as a normal procedure by parliament as long as ministers were in fact appointed by and responsible to the king, and no other assumption was accepted as a fact in the middle of the eighteenth century. Ministers, as yet, probably felt their responsibility to the monarch more vividly than their responsibility to parliament, even though they recognized their inability to carry on the government without the support of parliament.

Positive statement on any of these points is difficult. The only fact established beyond the peradventure of a doubt is, that there was in process of development in Great Britain in the eighteenth century constitutional machinery by which the real seat of power was in the course of transference from the king to parliament, and that the transfer was already farther advanced than either the kings or the other statesmen of the time were fully aware.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. xv; William R. Anson, "The Cabinet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,"

English Historical Review, XXIX. 56-78; *Cambridge Modern History*, VI. ch. ii; W. H. R. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture*, chs. xiv, xv; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. chs. iii-iv; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chs. vi-vii; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, ch. iv.

FOR WIDER READING

A. Andréadès, *History of the Bank of England*, Part III; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. chs. iv-v; N. A. Briscoe, *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole*; G. G. Butler, *The Tory Tradition*, ch. i; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX. chs. iii, viii, xii, xiii; X. chs. i-ii; *Cambridge Modern History*, VI. chs. i, iii; J. H. Colligan, *The Arian Movement in England*; I. S. Leadam, *The History of England, 1702-1760*, chs. xiii-xxviii; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, I. chs. ii-iv; John Morley, *Walpole*; J. H. Overton and Frederic Pelton, *The English Church from the Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, chs. i-x; R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, ch. vii; C. G. Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, chs. i-iii; Leslie Stephens, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*; H. W. V. Temperley, "Inner and Outer Cabinet and Privy Council," *English Historical Review*, XXVII. 682ff.; "Powers of the Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century," *English Historical Review*, XXVIII. 127ff.; E. R. Turner, "The Development of the Cabinet," *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 751ff.; XIX. 27ff.; "Committees of Council and the Cabinet," *American Historical Review*, XIX. 772ff.; Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt Earl Chatham*, I. chs. i-iv; "The Foreign Policy of England under Walpole," *English Historical Review*, XV. 251ff., 479ff., 665ff.; XVI. 67ff., 308ff., 439ff.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the Atlantic trading area (c. 1740), showing the territorial possessions of the sea powers and the places where important commodities were produced, see J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 386. For a map of Europe at the same time, see *Shepherd*, pp. 130-131. For the campaigns of the Pretender, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 56; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, p. 532. For the treaty adjustments of Walpole's time, see *Shepherd*, p. 133.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SPIRIT OF THE OLD EMPIRE

THE GROWTH OF EMPIRE

The first six decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a growth of the British Empire that was on the whole steady and continuous. A respectable part of the strength of Britain was now admittedly in these dominions and plantations beyond the seas, and the peoples and problems of the outlying portions of the empire were influencing increasingly the policies of the home country. These policies, like most other factors entering into the growth of British institutional life, were the result of no premeditated system or consistent theory. Men in power for a time simply dealt with the questions of the hour according to the lights they had, and left the results to those who followed. Classes long established, with vested rights and with means for exerting influence, were naturally likely to have their interests protected, sometimes at the cost of inflicting on others what almost amounted to injustices. That colonies existed primarily for the advantage of the mother country was still a common assumption; any different notion would have seemed untenable. The differences of opinion that arose were as to the advantages to be derived from colonies, and opinions on this score were apt to vary according to the interests of those who expressed them. Most apostles of empire agreed that it was the function of colonies to contribute to the advantage of the state as a whole, else the state were better off without them. There was difference of opinion concerning whether a given thing was calculated to advantage the state. With colonies as varied in location and in resources as those already under the dominion of Great Britain, some interests at home occasionally found themselves threatened with disadvantage because of activities in the colonies. The colonists, on the other hand, were finding it increasingly difficult always to give way when a conflict of interests arose between them and the mother country.

Such conflicts seldom arose in the case of the fur trade carried

on by the Hudson's Bay Company or in the case of the fisheries that were carried on near Newfoundland and in the adjacent regions. In both of these cases colonization was a minor feature in the undertakings. The Hudson's Bay Company spent most of its energy in collecting the catch of the trappers and in marketing the furs. The manufacture of these raw materials into articles of comfort and adornment was left to the enterprise of craftsmen in the home country. The maintenance by the Church of seasons and days of fasting stimulated a market for fish larger than otherwise might have existed. This trade was lucrative in that, without competing with any established interest at home, it involved the selling of a commodity on a large scale to other peoples and so tended to create a balance of trade favorable to the empire. It was further valued because it served as a training school for sailors, who were available for service in the navy in a time of need. Of the settled plantations, the West Indies were the most highly prized because they produced sugar, a commodity not produced, but used in Great Britain in increasing quantities and marketable both in the other colonies and in foreign countries as well. The English sugar colonies dominated the markets of both Europe and America in the earlier period of the empire, but the French were now learning the culture of the cane, and their fresher and more fertile lands soon gave them a prestige which led to jealousies that were among the most troublesome of the British colonial problems of the eighteenth century. The colonies that most nearly approached the sugar islands in value to the country, in the judgment of contemporary statesmen, were those that furnished staple commodities not produced in the mother country. Rice was supplied by South Carolina and tobacco by Virginia and Maryland. The New England and Middle Colonies offered no immediate prospect of supplying goods similarly desirable. Instead, they produced many things that competed with the products of the mother country, and they threatened to engage in manufacturing in a way that would limit the chief advantage they now served; that is, as a market for British manufactured goods.

In the course of the first half of the eighteenth century parliament at one time or another gave attention to matters pertaining to almost all of these colonies, and some of these questions became vexatious issues and led to sharp differences of opinion. The foundations of the policies reflected in the measures passed had been laid in the earlier Navigation Acts, but the

provisions of these measures were disregarded whenever an immediate interest seemed to call for it. The Carolina rice planters pointed out that they would be unable to sell their product in the markets of southern Europe unless they were relieved of the necessity of sending it first to England, and they were given permission to ship directly to ports south of Cape Finisterre. The shipping interests assented to the change, feeling that the increased sale and consequent production would contribute to increase their business, and rice did not enter into manufacturing. But when the colonists began to fashion from the furs they gathered not only hats for themselves, but also to threaten to make a surplus for export, the hatters at home objected. Sir William Keith, a colonial governor, stated the prevailing view in 1726; namely, that any projects or commercial enterprises in a colony "prejudicial to the interests of the mother country, must be understood as illegal and the practice of them unwarrantable, because they contradicted the very end for which the colonies existed." An act in 1732 provided, therefore, that henceforth no hats should be exported from a British plantation and that those made for consumption in a colony should be the handiwork of artificers who had served appropriate terms of apprenticeship under approved regulations. On the other hand, when the colonists seemed reluctant to undertake the production of goods not produced at home, parliament on occasion lent encouragement in the form of bounties, relief from duties, and in other ways. Efforts were made in this way to stimulate the production of naval stores in the continental colonies and of coffee in Jamaica. Pursuant to the same policy, the colonies were encouraged to send home copper but not to manufacture it, to send iron in the form of pigs but no further advanced in the process of manufacture.

But perhaps the most difficult of all the colonial activities to reconcile with any of the current doctrines of empire was the disposition of some of the continental colonies, especially the more northerly ones, to carry on an illicit trade in sugar and molasses with the French West Indies. The foreign islands, by reason of the greater fertility of their soil, were able to sell these commodities more cheaply than the British. Moreover, they stood in need of things which the continental colonies had to sell, such as lumber, grain, horses, and other goods needed on the islands. The British islands could not consume all of the surplus of these commodities that the continental colonies produced, so the colonists felt that it would be an injustice to deprive

them of access to the markets of the French islands. But their ability to procure the cheaper French sugar made it unlikely that they would remain customers of the British islanders, and the British sugar planters felt that this trade of the continental colonies with the French was a first-rate grievance. The continental colonies retorted that only by the barter of their surplus products to the French and the subsequent sale of the rum made from the molasses thus obtained could they procure means for the purchase of the manufactured goods they needed from Great Britain. The question was fought out in parliament, where the sugar planters, being a more compactly organized group, were able to make a more clamorous presentation of their wishes. The result was the passage in 1733 of the Molasses Act, which, if enforced, would have had the effect of practically forbidding the importation of French molasses and other goods. But the French and the continental colonists proved ingenious in devising methods for its evasion, and the officials were obliged to let the law remain for the most part a dead letter. This trade between the British continental colonies and the French islands went on, even when the parent countries were at war.

Perhaps a reason why no more strenuous efforts were made to enforce this law after the clamors of the planters had been quieted by its passage was the steady growth of manufacturing in England. An impression was gaining wide acceptance that colonies were primarily useful as markets for manufactured goods. The inventions had not yet been perfected that in the course of the next century were to lead to such a change in the face of society that we are accustomed to think of it as a revolution. But the pressure of the traders for increased production had already set men to work at experiments that, in a few decades, were to result in the devising of machines and the improvement of methods for the manufacture of textiles, iron, and other commodities and in new uses of them for the enhancement of human pleasure. There were already towns with a distinctly industrial atmosphere. Already, there were vested interests engaged in manufacturing as well as in trade, though the business of production for export was still largely organized as tributary to the agencies of commerce. Even in the seventeenth century, we know, the woolen interests in England were able to oppose successfully the growth of cotton manufactures in India. But the government was under financial obligations to the East India Company, and the trade was not entirely prohibited. The manufacturers of woollens and silks were strong

enough in 1720, however, to procure the passage of the Calico Act, prohibiting for the most part the sale of printed calico in England for any purpose, whether for apparel or for upholstering. English manufacturers had not yet learned how to make the finer fabrics of pure cotton, though fustians; that is, goods part cotton and part linen, and other stuffs of a mixed weave were produced. The British, since the later years of the seventeenth century, had been engaged in the business of printing the plain imported calicoes and similar fabrics, and it was this printing rather than weaving that the woolen interests were seeking to estop by legislation. By 1736 the printers were able to procure the passage of the Manchester Act, providing that the prohibition of printed goods should not apply to fustians, and the printing industry grew steadily. Its processes made necessary the use of capital in considerable amounts and the location of factories where water power was available. The woolen interests, so long supreme in the British textile trade, were right in their fear of this new rival, but the makers of woolens were in the end helpless against the desires of women for apparel made of the new fabrics, those "printed tandrums and gewgaws of the East Indies" which came upon the country like a "plague." It was to facilitate the making as well as the printing of these goods that the existing machines for spinning and weaving were improved and new ones devised. Being a newer enterprise in the country, the cotton industry was more receptive to the improved processes than was the time-honored woolen trade.

This growth of manufactures and the consequent increase in the emphasis on the colonies as sources of raw materials and as markets for surplus products called for appropriate modifications in the current doctrines of trade and empire. Not that all of the groups in England were perhaps ever agreed on the details of any doctrine. Those who tended to esteem the colonies highly as markets for British wares, for example, now looked favorably on the migration of additional settlers to increase the colonial population and on the extension of the settled districts toward the westward into the unsettled regions, as was proposed by the Ohio Company. Naturally, they were opposed to the growth of manufactures in the colonies. All groups agreed on that, though there was some difference of opinion as to when a commodity (bar iron is an illustration) ceased to be raw material and became a manufactured article. Some groups even opposed the further settlement or extension of the continental

colonies, preferring to keep them chiefly as sources of such raw materials as furs, which could be collected by trade with the natives. But this was scarcely feasible at so late a day, since the continental colonies were rapidly increasing in population. The West India planters, we know, were a well organized interest in England, strong enough to procure the passage of the Molasses Act and to procure its renewal at intervals until 1763. After 1740 they were organized in London at the Planters Club.

But the continental colonies grew in importance also, and the proposed reënactment of the Molasses Act, two decades after its first passage, became an issue of serious importance. A "Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce," founded in 1754, busied itself bestowing medals and otherwise offering encouragement for the production of such commodities as hemp, flax, raw silk, iron, pipe staves, vegetable oils, dye stuffs, naval stores, and the like and for the invention of machines. When General James Oglethorpe founded Georgia, in 1732, the new colony was not only projected as a haven for the unfortunate, but as a source from which Britain might obtain wine and silk as well. One over-sanguine promoter of the venture represented England as bidding her merchants bring Continental "wine no more."

And France herself may drink her best Champagne;
Behold at last, and in a subject land
Nectar sufficient for thy large demand.

While not all of these efforts, whether made by the government or by private initiative, to encourage the production of raw materials met with success, they did stimulate the growth of the colonies and make them objects of greater esteem. But they also made the colonies a greater burden on the public revenues, and statesmen who found funds not always easy to obtain soon began to wonder whether these growing dominions could not contribute more toward their own upkeep. One proposal was to substitute a tariff, at a rate that could be collected, for the prohibitory terms of the Molasses Act. But the war with France was renewed before anything was done.

The colonies were governed by a machinery as haphazard and as devoid of system as the philosophy by which they were explained and defended. The Board of Trade and Plantations still existed as an advisory body. Its functions were rather to gather information and to make recommendations than to participate in the actual task of administration, though it served as a board of

review for the legislation of the colonial assemblies, and the king, through the Privy Council, usually acted on its advice in disallowing colonial legislation. In reviewing this legislation, it was usually guided by a decision as to whether an act in question would be favorable or hostile to the commercial interests of Great Britain, as such matters were then understood. As a matter of fact, not a great many of the acts passed by the colonial assemblies were disallowed. It was currently assumed that the colonies, like everything else in the British dominions, were subject to the legislative powers of parliament, though parliament, when it dealt with the colonies, was in most instances, like the Board of Trade, chiefly concerned with matters pertaining to trade and industry. The chief executive officer who dealt with the colonies in the eighteenth century was the secretary of state for the southern department, who also had under his supervision the affairs of Ireland, Scotland, Africa, and Southern Europe as well. The royal governors and similar colonial officials were appointed on his recommendation (on nomination of the Board of Trade, 1752-1761). But this did not end the list of officials at home with which the colonies had to deal. The treasury, the admiralty, and inevitably the war office and the commissioners of customs all had functions in the government of the colonies. The colonies, on their part, developed the policy of maintaining resident agents in England to take care of their interests and to constitute a connecting link between the central and the local governments. Since a part of the governmental machinery in the colonies was in the hands of men appointed in England and a part in the hands of men chosen in the colonies, and since, under the prevailing conditions and the current theories, the interests of the mother country and the colonies were assumed to be in frequent conflict, there was manifestly large room for friction in this cumbersome and inadequate machinery.

The colonies grew nevertheless. It was estimated that the population of the continental colonies had increased from two hundred thousand in 1700 to more than a million and a half in 1760, nearly one-fourth as large as the population of the mother country. There were nearly one hundred thousand white inhabitants in the British West Indies and twice as many Negroes or more, and a small white population took part in the African and East Indian trade. Emigrants were still traveling westward in a steady stream. Some of them were of a kind that could be well spared at home. By special arrangement, after

1719, a definite number of criminals were sent each year. Many bound themselves to a period of servitude to obtain passage. But the growth of trade and manufactures in Britain had caused the pressure of population to be felt less than in the period when colonization began, and many later emigrants went as a result of some immediate stimulus, the Jacobites after the rebellion in 1745, for example. Propagandists of the large opportunities open in the new lands found their way to the Continent, and many Germans, French Huguenots, and others crossed the sea to swell the number of the marvelous new England that, all unconsciously, was developing qualities distinctive to itself as it grew in size and stability.

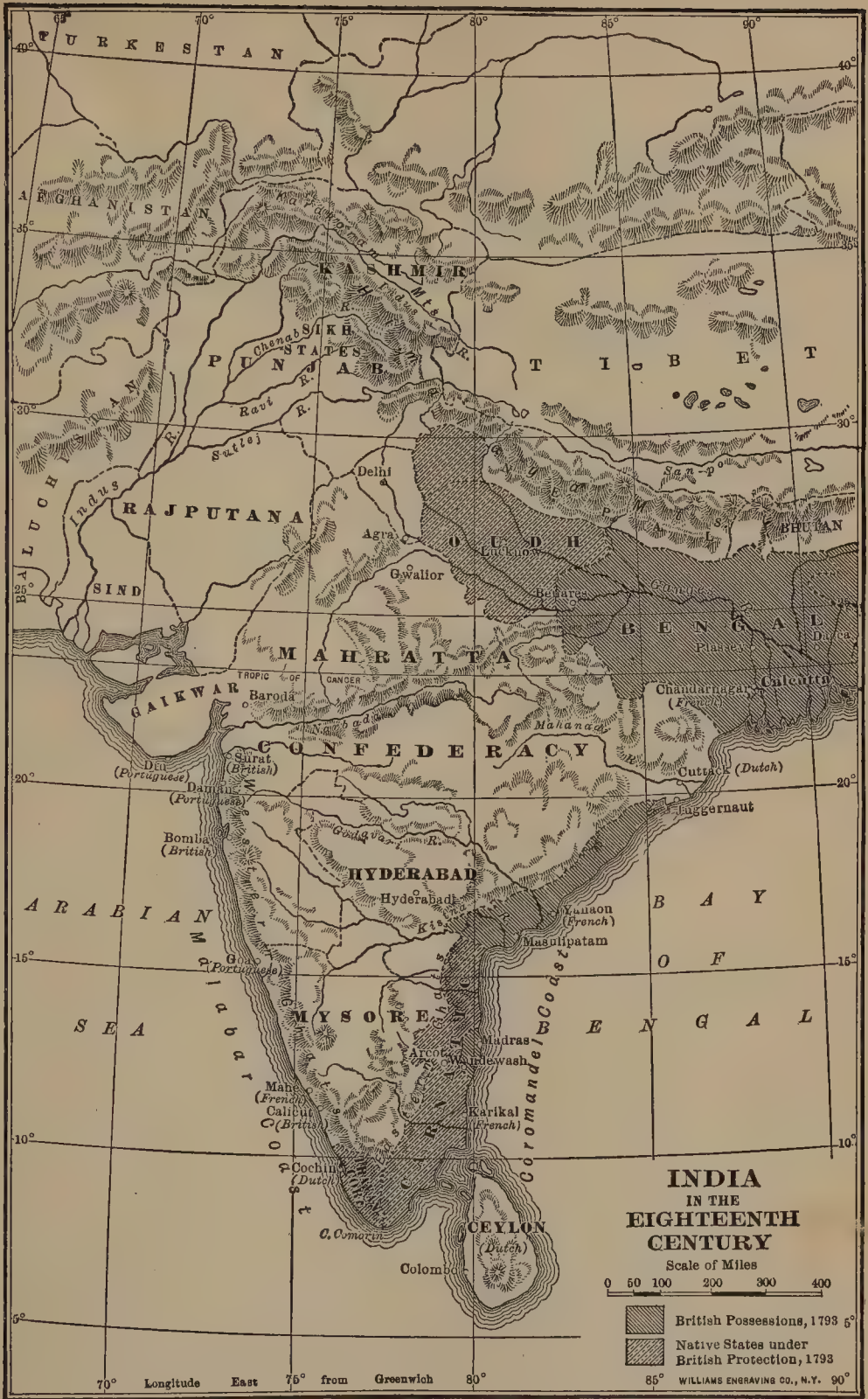
As the new lands grew in size and their interests became more important, they sought to develop means for taking care of themselves at times when the government at home threatened to act in a way calculated to jeopardize their privileges or rights. The West India planters were as little able as the East India proprietors or the merchants and planters of the American continental colonies actually to speak with a dominant voice in the British parliament or to intervene with overwhelming power in the executive government. When the interests of the mother country were in manifest conflict with the colonial interests, the colonial interests suffered. But the colonial groups, as we have noted in the case of the West India planters and the East India Company, were rapidly learning to use the political methods of clamorous factions at home, and, in matters where there was no pronounced opposition by a strong domestic interest, they discovered that by having a few representatives in parliament and by the skilful use of pamphlets, ballads, and other paraphernalia for creating an impression that the atmosphere was electric and important issues at stake, they could intimidate action, sometimes against what would otherwise have been the sober judgment of those who acted. This method of producing action by artificial excitement aroused by propaganda and intrigue was not introduced by the colonial interests; they but borrowed methods that for a generation had been growing increasingly familiar as a part of the normal method of British politics. Those who used these methods did not yet understand them well enough to guard themselves against them. But the time was now at hand when one more skilful than most of his contemporaries in their use was to make them serve the positive function of promulgating an enthusiasm for empire that Great Britain had never felt before on the same scale. Before we can

appreciate his work it is essential to follow in outline that of some other adventurous spirits, who laid the foundations for British dominion in India.

BRITISH FOUNDATIONS IN INDIA

The foundations for British dominion in India were laid without much forethought by a company of commercial magnates chiefly bent on trade and primarily concerned about their own profit. Both the Stuart kings and the eighteenth-century parliaments levied heavy tolls on the company for the lucrative privileges they granted. Even so, as long as the company was primarily engaged in trade, it tended on the whole to prosper. By 1737 it had a subscribed capital of £4,200,000, all in the hands of the government, and was carrying on a profitable trade, which enabled it to pay its shareholders an annual dividend of about nine per cent. Before the middle of the century it had control of three major factories in India, whither its ships went to obtain cargoes, and of other factories of less importance. The three major centers were Calcutta in the Bengal district to the north and Madras in the Carnatic, on the east coast, and Bombay on the west. Other European powers also had depots, though the Portuguese trade had long been on the wane, and the Dutch were now becoming of minor importance except in Ceylon. The two chief rivals in continental India were Great Britain and France. The most important factory of the latter country was at Pondicherry, to the southward of Madras on the east coast, though there were lesser depots, such as Chandernagore, on the Ganges river north of Calcutta and Mahí on the west coast. As long as there was a reasonably stable government in India with which to deal, the European powers all preferred to confine their activities there to trade. But before the middle of the eighteenth century that condition no longer existed, and it was necessary to devise means for keeping the peace if the trade that had formerly been so lucrative was to be maintained. In order to understand the rivalry between France and Great Britain that came to a crisis in the Seven Years' War, it is important to know something of the conditions the two countries faced in India.

The impression of India usually gained by looking at a map of Asia tends to conceal the fact that this immense peninsula was in former ages a continent in itself, separate from the



**INDIA
IN THE
EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY**

Scale of Miles

0 50 100 200 300 400

- British Possessions, 1793
- Native States under British Protection, 1793

70° Longitude East 75° from Greenwich 80°

85° WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y. 90°

Asiatic mainland. Relics of marine life found high in the Himalayas are evidence of the body of water in which that region was formerly submerged, and the superlative height of the mountains is itself eloquent testimony of the comparatively recent geologic age in which they made their appearance and became exposed to the erosion of time. The population of this large territory is, and long has been, of a diverse character as regards race, religion, language, and social conventions, varying from the primitive tribes in the jungle districts to the highly cultivated Brahmins, whose extreme intellectual subtlety is the result of centuries of training. This disunity of the people was emphasized by a remarkable system of caste, which segregated a large part of the people into numerous groups with little chance of coöperation among them. These castes seemed to be almost innumerable, and each successive addition to the population or attempt to alleviate the castes usually resulted in an increase of their number. The result made the peninsula a tempting field for conquest, and its people were subject in turn to a long series of conquerors. The normal approach of the later invaders, prior to the coming of the western Europeans, was through the mountain passes of eastern Afghanistan. Hence the last of the older peoples to be subdued were those in the southern region of the peninsula. Indeed, the last empire of the Great Moguls, which was in the final processes of dissolution in the early decades of the eighteenth century, was never able to extend its power over these Hindu Mahratta tribes, which remained a thorn in the flesh to those imposing emperors to the last and were one of the agencies that overthrew this, the last of the Mohammedan empires.

The last of the Great Moguls to maintain his empire with any of its earlier prestige was Aurangzeb, who retained his scepter from 1658 to 1707. Preceding him on the throne, was his father, Shah Jehán, whom he deposed, in whose reign the Mogul Empire reached the climax of its magnificence. Its splendor was confined to a few centers, in which the rulers lavished the wealth which they extracted from impoverished subjects, many of whom were obliged to exist in squalid villages. After the death of Aurangzeb no strong hand appeared to claim the succession. In consequence, bands of Afghan raiders from the northwest vied with a confederacy of the Mahrattas from the south in undermining the feeble strength left in the Mogul government. The incessant strife that followed led to substantial anarchy as far as any general government was concerned, and the European trading

companies saw that they must depend on their own efforts for the protection of their property and their interests. Accordingly, they began both to employ and to train natives for that purpose and to make alliances with the native leaders in the vicinity of their factories. Since Britain and France were almost always at odds in the period when the empire of the Great Moguls was breaking up, their rivalry added to the confusion among the native factions, which was already approaching chaos. The War of Austrian Succession, in which Great Britain and France participated on opposite sides in Europe and America, had also its counterpart in India.

At the time of the outbreak of this war, "the Indian people," says a competent authority, "were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them. They were prepared to acquiesce in the assumption of authority by any one who could show himself able to discharge the most elementary functions of government in the preservation of life and property. In short, the people were without a leader or protector; while the political system under which they had long lived was disappearing in complete disorganization." Into this native turmoil the struggle between Britain and France was projected. Having acquired the island of Mauritius from the Dutch, France had the advantage of a naval station, which served as a base of action and as a break in the long voyage from Europe to India. From 1735 this island was under the competent seaman, Bertrand de la Bourdonnais. In 1741 Joseph François Dupleix, who had previously been an active servant in India of the French East India Company, became governor of Pondicherry. On the capable shoulders of these two men rested the responsible burden of taking care of French interests in the East. Dupleix had scarcely reached Pondicherry from Chandernagore, where he had previously been stationed, when he sought to concert measures with La Bourdonnais for making an attack on the English factory at Madras. The attack was finally made with success in 1746, after the war began between the two countries in Europe. Meanwhile, Dupleix, who had busied himself making friends with native princes, induced the Nawab of the Carnatic to forbid hostilities between the English and the French upon his territory, a guaranty of security which the English accepted for more than it was worth. La Bourdonnais, however, undertook to restore Madras to the English on the payment of a ransom,

an arrangement with which Dupleix did not sympathize, since he was anxious to drive the English from the Carnatic permanently. Consequently, when La Bourdonnais returned to France, Dupleix refused to abide by his agreement. By this time, the Nawab, who had been promised that Madras would be restored to his possession, began to doubt the fulfilment of that promise, while a British fleet appeared in the Indian Ocean and began an attack on Pondicherry. Before the struggle had reached a decision, but with the advantage decidedly on the side of the forces of Dupleix, Madras was restored to the English company by the terms of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1747) in return for the fortress of Louisburg, which the English colonials had captured from the French in America.

The interval that ensued before the countries were at war again in Europe was scarcely even one of truce in India. Dupleix was anxious to achieve empire for his country by immediate conquest rather than by the slower processes of trade, and he accepted every opportunity that offered to make alliances with native princes in an effort to check and destroy the power of the British. The British, in turn, adopted similar methods. Thus the representatives of the two countries vied with each other in seeking to replace hostile native princes with puppets, owing their positions to the power that set them up and so obliged to serve the purposes of those to whom they were indebted for power. Dupleix had an able military subordinate in the Marquis de Bussy, an impoverished nobleman who had come to India in search of fame and fortune and who was so successful in the latter quest that he returned to France after a score of years one of the wealthiest men in his time. But the British had discovered in Robert Clive an even abler captain, one to whose ability as a leader is due no small part of the credit for the foundation of the British empire in India. While Dupleix was busy acquiring a nominal supremacy in south India, Clive was establishing British power on a more substantial basis in Bengal. Then the French company, preferring the larger immediate profits of trade to more shadowy promises of empire, recalled Dupleix from his dreams of splendor a short time before England and France again took up arms.

Throughout the period of their strife in the Carnatic, the British and French traded peacefully in Bengal side by side, a paradox made possible by the existence of a strong native prince in Bengal. In 1756 this prince died, leaving the throne to his nephew, a violent youth with a name that appears in a variety

of shapes but is perhaps most familiarly spelled in English Surajah Dowlah. On account of the long period of quiet, the British defences and garrisons at Calcutta were inadequate. Learning that hostilities had begun between Britain and France in America in 1755, the authorities at Calcutta decided to strengthen their fortifications. This measure, coming after other troubles, so displeased Surajah Dowlah that he determined to drive the British from Bengal unless they desisted from their defensive measures. His threats were not taken seriously, and Surajah Dowlah, having collected a large army, was able to capture the town without much difficulty. This capture was made memorable in British annals in India by the confinement by the victor of one hundred and forty-six persons overnight in a narrow guard-room cell, intended for only two or three occupants, with the result that only twenty-three came out alive. Surajah Dowlah seems to have felt that he had now accomplished all that he had undertaken, and he did not anticipate that the British would make any effort to recover what they had lost.

But Clive had just returned from a visit to England and was now a member of the council at Madras and a military officer of high rank as well. He and his fellow councillors at Madras knew that Bussy, who had formed strong alliances in Southern India, only awaited the outbreak of actual war to make another attack on the British factories in the Carnatic. They resolved, therefore, at any cost, to send relief to Bengal in the hope that the situation there might be retrieved before the outbreak of hostilities with the French. The expedition sailed in October, 1756; by January of the following year Calcutta had been recaptured with little difficulty. But news had now arrived of the declaration of war between France and England, which led Clive to turn his attention to the capture of the French post at Chandernagore, though at the cost of further difficulties with Surajah Dowlah. The defeat of that prince's army at the battle of Plassy was followed by his deposition in favor of one of his own nobles, who had previously covenanted to betray him. Mir Jafir, the new ruler, since he owed his throne to the British, was amenable to their will and soon came to depend on them for protection. Clive already saw that the British might well take possession of the country, and so advised the authorities at home. But they were still unaware of the nature of the enterprise on which they had embarked.

While Clive was thus busy in Bengal, the French sent an expedition to strengthen their forces at Pondicherry and to

attack the British in the Carnatic. Fortunately for the British, the Irish Jacobite, Comte de Lally, who commanded the expedition, was not blessed with an abundance of tact or understanding. The siege of Madras thus dragged on ineffectively until a British fleet arrived to bring relief. The British themselves took the offensive in time and captured Pondicherry, though both that post and Chandernagore were restored to France at the peace in 1763.

But the British had, nevertheless, regained more than they had suffered in loss of prestige in the period of the successes of Dupleix and Bussy. The methods of conquest by the use of native troops, of the corruption of some native princes, and of intrigues against others, were becoming familiar. The effective use of these methods required a leadership without too many scruples. But men with an abundance of scruples were unlikely to leave home for inadequate remuneration and go on adventures to the ends of the earth. Furthermore, the company that thus failed to provide for its servants could find little fault if they divided their time and energies between enriching themselves and serving the corporation that sent them out. The temptations were beyond those to which most men are subjected, and very few, if any, who were tempted were able to withstand. Clive, one of the most loyal of all the company's servants in his time, did not scruple to accept from Mir Jafir a grant of thirty thousand pounds a year, which the company had contracted to pay the Nawab for quit rents held in the vicinity of Calcutta, and that at a time when the prince who granted it was sore pressed to find means to meet his obligations. This was but a part of what accrued to the great captain for his indispensable services. And he was merely one of a number who fattened on the plunder of the wealth of India and returned to Britain to establish for themselves places of power or prestige. Little wonder the profits of the company began to fail, when its servants thus waxed rich, and its energy and means had to be expended in the acquisition of empire rather than in the promotion of trade. But the trade itself could not have gone on had not the challenge of France been met. The same challenge had also to be met across the Atlantic.

RIVALRY WITH FRANCE IN AMERICA

In America, as in India, the period succeeding the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle was a truce, during which an ill-disguised

preparation went forward for the next war. The maneuvers which culminated in the Seven Years' War resemble nothing so much as a great game of chess, in which the prize was dominion in the Western Hemisphere. The players on neither side were the ablest statesmen that guided their several countries in their eighteenth-century rivalry. Perhaps for that reason there was much hesitant sparring for position before they actually came to grips. The French had established themselves in North America almost contemporaneously with the planting of the earlier English settlements for much the same reasons, and thus with very similar hopes. Gradually, as we have seen, they left to their rivals the regions that mattered most to British trade, such as the Hudson Bay district and Newfoundland with the neighboring fisheries. They still held some productive sugar islands in the West Indies and the settlements along the St. Lawrence River on the mainland. They had also a small colony at New Orleans, strategically located near the mouth of the Mississippi. Jesuit missionaries had traversed much of the fertile valley of that great river, but its fabulous future as one of the most productive regions in all the world could not yet be imagined. There was no conceivable market for the commodities it was adapted to produce and no means of transporting them to such markets as existed. But it was a considerable part of what was left of the French empire in America and was cherished on that account.

Why the English efforts to colonize America were in the end more fruitful and permanent than those of the French is an interesting subject for speculation. No explanation that can be stated in a few words is probably valid and accurate. A plausible assumption is that a part of the strength of the British colonies was due to the fact, of which they sometimes complained, that the government at home left them largely alone. The colonials, on that account, had themselves to deal with the situations with which they were confronted, and this necessity taught them a large measure of self-reliance. Most of them had come over seeking new opportunities—or their fathers had—and for them there was little thought or possibility of ever returning to the home of their nativity. Some of them had come because they did not fit into the normal pattern of the social fabric where they were. Others were from the discontented among many peoples. There was a diversity of religion, of social groupings, and of economic life. To think of these settlements as a new England was, by the middle of the eighteenth century, already becoming

inaccurate. The element of environment had already begun to turn the scales against a somewhat depleted heredity in the conflicting forces that determined the character of the colonists.

In the case of the French settlements, these things were not so true. The French made an effort to reproduce in the New World an organization of agricultural life similar to that with which they were familiar at home. Then the very strength of the French monarchy, while it was consolidating its power, and the weakness of the colonies at the same time made natural a stricter surveillance over them than the English government was able to maintain in the same period. The French colonies in consequence displayed a much larger degree of uniformity in religious and social organization than did the English. This close supervision from the mother country tempted those Frenchmen who succeeded in the colonies almost habitually to return home and exploit their success. In this way, the French colonies tended to remain settlements of transplanted Frenchmen and did not so rapidly acquire the characteristics bred into the English colonials by their surroundings in the new land.

Another interesting point of difference was that, after the earlier years of experimentation, the English differentiated the functions of colonization and trade. The government assumed the burden of colonization, and the magnates were content to have it so, since colonies offered little prospects of paying immediate dividends. Trade was a different matter and was carried on by private or semi-private groups, with, to be sure, protection and encouragement from the government. The French were rather inclined to manage both colonization and trade as a part of the same general undertaking.

Whether these are in large or small part the explanations of the failure of the French where the English succeeded, the fact is that the French, after the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, undertook to put into effect a plan on a grand scale for recovering as much as possible of the ground they had lost and for restricting the English to the regions they then occupied. The French were hastened in this action by the activities of the English in the valley of the Ohio River. Organized groups from Virginia and neighboring provinces established trading points in what is now western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky and sought to develop friendly relations with the Indians in these regions. The French Governor in Canada, the Marquis de la Galissonnière, appreciating the threat to the French should the British occupy this district, sent a force to take possession of

it and to proclaim the sovereignty of his King, preparatory to the establishment of a line of forts from the French settlements on the St. Lawrence to those on the Mississippi. The Marquis Duquesne, who followed Galissonière as governor in 1753, sent an expedition of some fifteen hundred men to occupy the Ohio country. Learning of the activity of the French, the Governor of Virginia, having procured authority from home, sent a message warning this expedition to depart, or he would drive it hence by force. The bearer of this message was George Washington, a young surveyor barely twenty-one years old. The French received Washington courteously, but informed him that they meant to stand their ground. Force was evidently necessary if the English were to gain possession of this territory. Dinwiddie, the Governor of Virginia, accordingly, undertook to make good his threat. With but little assistance from the other colonies, he sent a small detachment against the French in 1754. A smaller force of backwoodsmen had gone ahead earlier in the same year, instructed to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers, where they form the Ohio. The French demolished this fortification and replaced it with a stronger one, which they called Fort Duquesne. They prevailed against the larger body of militia, when it arrived under the command of Washington, and so not an English flag was left waving in America west of the Alleghenies. Hitherto apathetic, the other colonies were even now not greatly aroused, though representatives from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the New England colonies met at Albany in June, 1754, to consider means of gaining the allegiance of the powerful Indian confederation called the Six Nations. A plan of union of the colonies for defence that was suggested at that conference proved as impracticable as did another one later suggested by the Board of Trade.

When news of these distant events reached Newcastle, it brought him to a sharp realization of prospective happenings which he began to fear the future might hold in store. In October, 1754, he wrote to the Earl of Albemarle, the British Ambassador at Paris: "A most illjudged advertisement from the War Office has set all ministers on fire and made them believe we are going to war, which is, I hope, the furthest from our thoughts." Realizing, however, the possibility that his hopes on that score might be disappointed, Newcastle began to meditate on the instructions to Dinwiddie to drive the French from the Ohio region. He had guessed that the French activities

in that quarter were probably fruits of an overabundant zeal on the part of the Governor of Canada. Should he be mistaken in that surmise, and the French government itself assume responsibility for the action of Duquesne, and should the English in the face of that circumstance proceed with the expedition against the French, then the English might, with some plausibility, be accused of beginning the war. This was an event to be avoided, since Spain was obligated to come to the assistance of France only in case the French were not the aggressive party. Newcastle feared the consequences if he went on, but it was scarcely thinkable that he would not go on.

In fact, General Edward Braddock was sent with a contingent of British troops to reënforce the colonial forces on the Ohio. When the French heard of this expedition, they sent eighteen men of war, followed a little later by nine more with some three thousand troops, to the coast of Canada. A few years previously the French had strengthened their fortifications on Cape Breton Island, while the English had established a town on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, called Halifax in honor of the President of the Board of Trade. The British now decided that if the French could send reëforcements to Canada without acquiring suspicion of hostile intent, they could as well send a fleet in pursuit. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded this fleet, had orders to attack French vessels having on board warlike stores and to coöperate with Braddock. The ministers who gave these orders assumed that if Boscawen attacked the French fleet in American waters he would destroy it and would thus remain in control of the seas in that region. Meanwhile, it was necessary to tell the French Ambassador in England almost a positive falsehood in order to conceal the real nature of Boscawen's mission. Hawke, the commander of the home fleet, received orders to harass French commerce but not to engage the fleet, a policy which Halifax described as "vexing our neighbors for a little muck."

All of this bother to conceal what was actually feared and intended grew out of difficulties for which it was essential to find a solution before Britain would be in a position to undertake an active campaign against France in America. The normal diplomatic alignment in that period, we recall, was an alliance of Great Britain, Holland, and Austria against France and Spain and lately Prussia. The British King was still elector of Hanover, and any engagement that endangered the safety of the electorate made futile successes gained in other parts of the

world. The treaty at the end of such a war was likely to be based on a return to the *status quo ante bellum*. Until some provision could be made to insure the safety of Hanover, little was to be gained by a war on France in America. Then, too, the Dutch were only under obligations to aid the British in case the French were the aggressors. Furthermore, Maria Theresa of Austria had found in Kaunitz a minister who was beginning to doubt the merit of the old diplomatic alignment of her dominions. What is now Belgium was then Austrian territory, which made it necessary for Maria Theresa's empire to defend it from attack. In order to make sure that this line of defence against France was strong, Austria, since the Treaty of Utrecht, had been bound to maintain at her expense but in Dutch hands a series of fortresses on the French frontier and at the same time not to engage in trade with India from Ostend. The treaty supporting this arrangement was now soon to expire, and Kaunitz saw little to be gained by its renewal. He was more interested in taking steps to recover Silesia from the King of Prussia. The British, on their part, were more interested in avoiding an attack on Hanover than they were in making trouble with Frederick, so there was little common ground between Austria and Great Britain on that score.

George II went personally to the Continent to arrange for the safety of Hanover, but he was unable to manage anything better than an alliance with Elizabeth, the Tsarina of Russia, as against his nephew, Frederick of Prussia. This arrangement and the probability that sooner or later he would have to fight in defence of Silesia induced Frederick, in 1756, to sign the secret Treaty of Westminster, by which he and his uncle's government agreed to guarantee the neutrality of the northern German states in case of the war then imminent between France and Britain. Earlier in the same year the British sent a fleet under the command of the ill-fated Admiral Byng to relieve Gibraltar and Minorca. Reports were current that the French meditated an attack on these points should hostilities begin. It turned out that the French did make an attack on Minorca, whereupon the British formally declared war (May, 1756). In the meantime, Kaunitz, helped by the anger of the Tsarina at the treaty between Frederick and England, was able to organize a coalition composed of his own country and Russia, Sweden, Poland, and the Catholic German states for the rescue of Silesia. He even induced France to acquiesce in the arrangement and to promise that the Austrian Netherlands should be respected—all without

making it obligatory that Austria help France. This revolution in the customary diplomatic alignment threw Frederick actively on the side of the British, since he could now manifestly expect no aid from France.

But just at the juncture, when it seemed that Newcastle and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who was his ablest adviser, had brought their long and tantalizing period of diplomatic attack on France to a successful conclusion, they learned of disaster upon disaster and found themselves discredited in the wreck of much that they had worked so long to build. Braddock's unfamiliarity with warfare under conditions existing on the frontier cost him his life and the loss of most of his troops; a remnant was rescued by the intrepid Washington. Boscawen took the aggressive against the French, but he captured only a small contingent of the French force. Finally, Byng took counsel of his fears and so failed in his defence of Minorca. This unfortunate naval commander was made the scapegoat. After a trial, he suffered a fate since universally regarded as harsher than his due. But the indignation of the nation was great, and even Pitt, who more than any other single person had been instrumental in arousing this exaggerated sense of danger, was unable to procure a mitigation of the sentence, though he tried earnestly to do it. The very emotion that made Pitt helpless to save the life of the individual naval officer soon made him easily the largest figure in the history of the next five years after the autumn of 1756.

THE TRIUMPH OF PITT

William Pitt was a grandson of Thomas Pitt, sometime governor of Madras, who had returned from India with a famous diamond and a fortune and had established himself in England as a country gentleman with several parliamentary boroughs. Being the scion of a younger son, William did not inherit the family wealth. He did gain access to Eton, that training school of the rulers of Britain, where he made friends with the contemporary representatives of the Grenvilles and Temples, among other families, names forever afterward associated with that of Pitt. William later married Hester Grenville. He was already a relative by marriage of the Stanhopes. In this way, a family connection came into existence that was destined to be a primary factor in shaping British policy for the next two generations.

William did not long remain as entirely dependent on his relatives as he was in his youth. The old Duchess of Marlborough, we recall, bestowed on him a matter of ten thousand pounds and a country estate as a reward for his opposition to her inveterate enemy, Walpole. He soon made friends with Henry Pelham and was on the public pay roll, despite the reluctance of the King to see it. He got on less well, after Pelham's death, with that minister's brother and successor, the Duke of Newcastle. His marriage placed him in easier financial circumstances, and he was soon loud in his criticism of the ministers, finding himself before long out of office as a consequence. Under these circumstances, he manifested a natural tendency when he spoke to voice the grievances of those who were at variance with the policies of the government of the day.

It is probable that Newcastle was too anxious to remain in office, and so too timid at the prospect of unsettled conditions at home or abroad, to be able to sense the mood that was rapidly coming to be dominant among the powerful classes in Great Britain. The supporters of the House of Hanover and, in fact, of the whole Revolution settlement, inherited a tradition of hostile rivalry with France, made memorable by the diplomacy of William of Orange and the battles of Marlborough and kept vivid by the persistent support the French kings had given to the Stuart "pretenders." Any plausible trumpet sounding an alarm of danger from France was likely to stir a response in Great Britain. Clive was now engaged against French enemies in India. The French in America were trying to restrict the expansion of the British colonies. The French attack in the Mediterranean had been successful in the outset. There was an immediate threat, if not a danger, of an invasion of England itself, while the old defensive alignment on the Continent had disappeared. The atmosphere was thus vibrant for a call to arms in defence of country. Pitt responded to this mood with alacrity, while the more cautious and careful Newcastle delayed, fearful of his own position. Pitt lent a hand at swelling the volume of clamor, which Newcastle rather tried in vain to still. The fright of those who had a stake in the affairs of Great Britain was now so real that their fears for the safety of their enterprises and their country nerved them to respond to a leader proposing bold action. Pitt was severe in denouncing Newcastle and the feeble measures of his ministry. The disasters in America and Minorca made it imperative to placate Pitt and thus rendered Newcastle's position at the head of the ministry

untenable. The King was persuaded to accept Pitt as the head of a ministry composed in a large part of new men. Only four months were necessary to demonstrate that the noise which, in circumstances of national danger, was effective enough to drive Newcastle from office had, nevertheless, caused no real change in the alignment of the groups actually potential in the government of the country. Fortunately, Pitt was more interested in occupying the center of the stage and in having a share in doing work to which he felt a call half divine than he was in wielding actual political power, and so he soon came to a working agreement with Newcastle. They proved to be a good team, each complementing the other.

In reality, Pitt departed but little from Newcastle's program. Whether he would have employed Braddock or Byng we cannot tell. He exerted himself, if in vain, to save the life of the latter. He did utilize Boscawen. He had inveighed against the system of Continental subsidies for insuring the safety of Hanover. He and Newcastle now proceeded to pay them in larger sums than ever before to one who gave fruitful return in services rendered. A parliament elected and managed under the leadership of Newcastle furnished the needed majorities to support the measures adopted. Frederick of Prussia was at first afraid that the accession of Pitt to office would mean the adoption of the policy that Pitt had advocated in opposition and thus would involve a neglect of the arrangement Newcastle had made with him. He was soon ready to proclaim that England had labored and had at last brought forth a man. Essentially the same government was in power, carrying out practically the same policies, but it was imbued with a new spirit. Pitt's energy and enthusiasm, hitherto expended in dividing counsel, now contributed much to add verve to action, which became on that account manyfold more productive of results.

One of Pitt's biographers has suggested that a touch of insanity is evident in his behavior. Perhaps this is so, in that he had the exaggerated egoism necessary to arouse in him a faith in his own unique qualifications for power, with an accompanying blindness to the fact that it was the trappings of power rather than the reality that actually came into his hands. He could not have played the rôle he did without extraordinary histrionic gifts, enabling him to cast himself for a stellar part and to play it, contriving with surpassing ingenuity to have the spotlight trained on himself for a large part of the time. But the applause which he won for himself, for the successes

achieved for the nation while he was in office, was not wholly undeserved. He brought to their joint undertaking in the name of country ingredients of success which Newcastle alone did not possess. He was bold to audacity. Feeling that the country was aroused to a real sense of danger, he was not afraid to challenge it to action on a large scale. He called for efforts, and for still greater efforts. He reasoned or felt that no cost was too large to pay for averting an overwhelming danger. But it is only one step from acting to avert an immediate danger to a resolution that a recurrence of the danger shall be made impossible in the future. The very process of rendering France helpless in the future involved an expansion of the empire of Britain at the expense of her rival. It was only a little way from a determination to expand the empire to insure its safety to a frank ambition to enlarge its boundaries and to enhance its wealth and power. Pitt went with enthusiasm the whole length of this journey of motives. Indeed, he became boyish in his pride in the victories of Frederick. New successes tempted him to further exertions.

Successes did come after he had had time to transmute some of his enthusiasm into action. There were still failures, but the successes were memorable, and it is a part of the genius of leadership to use successes to obscure failures. Of Clive in India, we can say no more. He found in Pitt a kindred spirit and suggested to him that the government take forthwith the step it did in later generations and acquire for itself the territory still ruled by the company through native, puppet Nawabs. Wolfe, like Braddock, left his bones in the New World, but he died after leading his troops up the heights of Abraham and in the knowledge that they had wrested from the French Quebec, the citadel of their possessions in Canada. In the West Indies the British fleet, after finding the defences of Martinique too strong, captured the island of Guadaloupe. The appearance of a British fleet in the St. Lawrence River in the spring of 1760 decided the fate of that region, and in September of that year the last French Governor of Canada surrendered to the British. Nearer home, Pitt and Newcastle not only granted subsidies to Frederick; they helped him by threats against the coast of France, while the British fleets triumphed over the French on the seas. Then, in the midst of these achievements, occurred the death of George II, an event that brought a change in British policy and ultimately curbed the plans of Pitt.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*, chs. xvii-xx; *Cambridge Modern History*, VI. ch. xv; G. B. Hertz, *The Old Colonial System*, chs. i-iii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. ch. v; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, ch. viii; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, I. Book VI. chs. vi-viii; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, ch. iii; A. P. Usher, *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England*, ch. xi; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part IV. chs. iii-v.

FOR WIDER READING

J. T. Adams, *Revolutionary New England*, chs. i-xii; A. H. Basye, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations 1748-1782*; G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy 1754-1765*, chs. i-ix; N. A. Brisco, *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole*, ch. v; Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years War*, 2 Vols.; G. W. Daniels, *The Early English Cotton Industry*, ch. i; I. S. Leadam, *The History of England 1702-1760*, chs. xxvi-xxvii; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, II. ch. viii; Sir Richard Lodge, *Great Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century*, Lectures ii-iii; Sir A. Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India* (Fifth Edition), chs. i-viii; Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, chs. i-ii; H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, I. chs. i, iv; II. Part II, chs. i, vi; F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies 1700-1763*; Albert von Ruville, *William Pitt Earl of Chatham* (Translation), II; J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*; Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt*, chs. viii-xv.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For India to the time of Clive, see Muir, ff. 59, 60, 61a; for India, 1744-1763, see J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 363. For maps showing various aspects of the North American colonies, see Muir, ff. 54, 55, 56a. See J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 389, for the Anglo-French struggle in North America. The principal seats of war in the world are indicated in *Shepherd*, p. 132; treaty changes, 1735-1763, are shown in *Shepherd*, p. 133. In *Shepherd*, p. 136, is a map of the world illustrating the struggle for colonial dominion, 1700-1763; *Shepherd*, p. 137, contains a map of India showing the European activities therein, 1700-1792. In the *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 59 illustrates the expansion of Prussia, 1648-1795; No. 60, the Germanic Empire, 1648-1795; No. 64, the beginnings of British dominion in India; Nos. 66, 67, the rivalry of the British and French in North America to 1763; No. 69, the West Indies in 1763. W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. 183, contains a map of India, 1710-1740; II. 238, a map showing the growth of Prussia, 1415-1795; II. 302, a map of the American colonies in 1763; II. 259, a map of the European world at the Treaty of Paris, 1763. Appended to C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, is a map of the North American Colonies, 1755-1763. A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. appendix, contains maps of India, 1740-1802, and of North America, 1713-1783.

CHAPTER XIX

THE KING TAKES A HAND

GEORGE LEARNS THE GAME

George III, who ascended the throne of Great Britain in the autumn of 1760 in the midst of the successes of Pitt and Newcastle, was more nearly a native product of Britain and had a keener appreciation of British ideals than either of the Hanoverians who preceded him. Grandson of the second George, who outlived his scapegrace son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, the new King had been trained for his task by his mother with the assistance of her friend, and it was alleged more, John Stuart, Lord Bute. In sharp contrast with all of the members of his family who had gone before him in England, he was throughout his long life almost exemplary in his personal morality. Bute, who claimed descent from the ancient royal family of Scotland, had received through Bolingbroke's essay on *The Idea of a Patriot King* a portion of the inheritance that survived in England from that house. The doctrines in that essay were at the bottom of the views of his office that George III learned to hold in his youth and from which he was never afterward able to free himself. Perhaps they were rather the views of William III than of James I, but they implied a restoration of so much power lost to the crown now for more than a generation that it was impossible to reassert such claims without a challenge. The task of retrieving this power for the crown was the more difficult, in that George came to the throne in the heyday of the imperial spirit, with Pitt and Newcastle apparently triumphant over the ancient enemy of the nation.

In some respects George III was one of the ablest politicians of his time. The few ends on which he fixed his determination, he pursued with a fanaticism intensified by the persistence of his always somewhat unbalanced mind. If he displayed an unwillingness to question the soundness of these views with which he was indoctrinated in his youth, he developed a remarkable facility in learning political methods from those who opposed

him. He seldom departed from paths which other political leaders had marked out, and he ought himself to be regarded as a political leader rather than as a king of the type exemplified by the first two Georges and by his own descendants. Against becoming a king of their type he struggled as long as he had sufficient command of his mental faculties to enable him to assert his will.

It was imperative that the young King dislodge from their seats of authority both Pitt and Newcastle before he could hope to exercise the power he coveted. With Pitt's skill in appealing to the emotions of the nation and with Newcastle's proved ability in controlling the seats of power, the two ministers constituted a team whose will could scarcely be challenged as long as their measures were successful. George's first task, therefore, was to make peace, and to this task he addressed himself with the assistance of Bute, whom he introduced into the cabinet immediately after he came to the throne. But Newcastle wanted peace also, and even Pitt was not unwilling to make peace if the terms were sufficiently favorable. At first Bute became a member of the cabinet without holding an office of state. The initial step of the King on the long road he had elected to travel was to intrigue with Newcastle against Pitt to make Bute secretary of state, which he accomplished in the spring of 1761. George disclosed his knowledge of the sources from which power could be obtained by interfering in 1760 with Newcastle's normal habit of using the resources of the government to procure the return of members of the House of Commons favorable to his own interests. He later adopted Newcastle's methods for his own and was thus able to create an interest in the lower house of parliament partial to the royal views. And not even Pitt could refuse to begin negotiations for peace when the King desired it, and so the question was opened in March, 1761. But a peace satisfactory to the King, or even to Newcastle, would not necessarily satisfy the minister who had stirred the national spirit into fighting the war to a successful stage. Perhaps Newcastle let Bute into the ministry because he was not unwilling to have among his colleagues a strong ally against this imperious mood of Pitt. The question which enabled the King and Bute to gain their next point, in the deposition of Pitt, arose in a way they had not anticipated.

Some matters were in dispute between England and Spain, though as yet peace prevailed between the two countries. Spain had a better chance of making her views prevail while Britain

and France were at war than she would have after peace was declared. Accordingly, when France seemed inclined to make terms with the British, Spain intervened to stiffen the backbone of the French minister. Matters reached a crisis in the late summer of 1761. Pitt believed that Spain meant to join in the war on the side of France, and he desired to take the initiative without giving the prospective new enemy time to prepare. When his colleagues would not acquiesce in this measure, he resigned his office, leaving Bute and Newcastle in control. The scheme on foot was to retain Pitt in office until after the conclusion of peace. Thus the plans of Bute and the King had in some measure miscarried. They tried in vain to induce George Grenville, a brother-in-law of Pitt though not one of his followers, to take the post vacated by the great man and finally accepted a man of even lesser stature, Grenville's brother-in-law, Lord Egremont. Grenville himself promised assistance. Pitt's other brother-in-law, Temple, accompanied him into retirement. As the national leader left the position he had occupied so proudly, the King took the opportunity to seek to diminish his prestige by bestowing on him a pension for himself and a peerage for his wife, favors not unusual in the time nor unmerited, but nevertheless calculated to reflect on his boast of exalted patriotism.

Bute was making ready to dispense with the services of Newcastle also. The first clash between the two came over the question of abandoning the policy of supporting Prussia and of adopting strong measures against Spain, both of which Bute now favored and Newcastle opposed. Bute was unwilling to force Pitt into open hostility to the ministry, while Newcastle wished to retain the support of Frederick in order to make an early peace. Though outvoted, Newcastle held on to his office. When Bute persisted in his determination to put pressure on Frederick to induce him to make peace, Newcastle and his friends resigned from the ministry (1762). Bute and the King were thus left in control of the government with a free hand to make peace and to consolidate their power. Secret negotiations had begun before Newcastle resigned.

John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, who had a passion for peace and who was leader of a faction whose support Bute wished to conciliate, was sent to represent the British in the negotiations. Grenville was soon at odds with Bute. In the course of the negotiations he was forced from his position as leader of the House of Commons, though he remained in the





cabinet as first lord of the admiralty. He was replaced by Henry Fox, Pitt's ancient opponent and one of his ablest rivals, who, since 1757, had held the lucrative position of paymaster of the forces and had accumulated a fortune thereby. There was serious need of such a leader to procure the approval of the completed treaty by the House of Commons. This treaty, signed at Paris in 1763, brought to the British Empire as actual gains Canada, with its dependencies, Senegal, Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. Minorca, which the French had captured, they restored. Britain's allies in Germany, with the exception of Prussia, received back the portions of their dominions and territories occupied by the French. Spain gave up her claims to a right to fish off the shores of Newfoundland and agreed to cede Florida in return for Havana, which the British had captured in the latter stages of the war. Altogether, they were substantial acquisitions. But many things that seemed to have been gained in the flush of victory were sacrificed in making the peace, and Pitt was, on that account, irreconcilable to its terms and afterward hostile to Bute and Bedford, the ministers responsible for its negotiation. Bute himself, having thus served his royal master and pupil, realized that his further services would likely prove a source of weakness rather than of strength and retired from office in April, 1763, perhaps hoping to exert his influence privately, with George Grenville as head of the treasury and nominal chief of the ministry.

Grenville was as little qualified to enlist the coöperation of a ministry under his own leadership as he was willing to be a figurehead under the guidance of Bute and the King. He had a legal type of mind, and his real ambition was to be speaker of the House of Commons, an office he would probably have filled with credit, if not distinction. As it turned out, his administration was made memorable by several ineptitudes into which it was natural for a man of his type to fall, like the levy of a tax on cider at home, the attempt to tax the American colonies in the Stamp Act, and the prosecution of John Wilkes after his arrest under the authority of a general warrant. Of the Stamp Act more will be said in another connection. In personal character, John Wilkes was probably as ignoble a figure as fortune ever cast for the rôle of a popular hero. As a free lance, rather than as a party man, he established a paper, called ironically *The North Briton*, in which he paid his respects in no uncertain terms to Bute and the King. In his speech to parliament, prepared of course by his ministers, the King described the Peace of Paris

as "honourable to my crown and beneficial to my people," even laying stress upon the "happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure." Wilkes pronounced this performance "the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery, not to be paralleled in the annals of this country." More strong language to the same purpose followed. The ministers took up the challenge and issued a general warrant for the arrest of the authors, printers, and publishers of the offending journal and for the seizure of their papers. Wilkes himself was among those taken into custody and sent to the Tower. The legal and parliamentary struggle that ensued raised two points. Authorities differed as to the validity of a general warrant such as that under which the prisoners had been arrested. Chief Justice Pratt of the Court of Common Pleas, later Lord Chancellor Camden, pronounced it illegal, though other as eminent officers of the law took the opposite view. Moreover, Wilkes was a member of the House of Commons and might plead a violation of the privileges of that house. The episode was important politically, in that it was a matter on which Pitt and those who looked to him for leadership could make common cause with Newcastle and his friends.

But the alliance between these two groups was always superficial. They never had much in common. Newcastle, by practical experience, had acquired knowledge of the real mainsprings from which the British government derived its power, and he understood that the only way to challenge successfully the supremacy of the King and Bute was to organize for common action among those having votes and influence in parliament a group so formidable that it would be difficult and almost impossible to conduct the government in defiance of its wishes. He appreciated the prestige that Pitt would bring to such a group, and he was willing to make many sacrifices to induce him to join it. But Pitt's head was still in the clouds, and his tentative action with Newcastle was a temporary arrangement. Whereas circumstances impelled Newcastle to undertake the organization of something that would have much resembled a political party had he been able to make it a reality, Pitt was openly opposed to parties and announced that he was interested in men rather than in measures. Even so, these two collaborators, who had rendered the nation valiant services in former times, seemed in the autumn of 1763 about to be restored to power, when something, perhaps the influence of Bute, intervened to prevent it, and Grenville was retained, strengthened by the fac-

tion led by the Duke of Bedford. The ministry as reconstructed contained fewer of Bute's friends than the one that went before and was correspondingly less sympathetic with that nobleman. The King, on that account, was anxious to be rid of the ministry. In fact, his anxiety on this point was so open that his failure to achieve it left him practically in the hands of the Grenville ministry, which did not scruple to demand that he banish Bute from his counsels. The King now busied himself in seeking relief. He had come to understand something of the difficulties which Pitt and Newcastle found in acting together, which made him less in awe of them and willing to have them come in as successors to Grenville. The final dismissal of the latter minister came in July, 1765, as a result of his mismanagement of a bill for establishing a regency in case of the disability of the King, who had just experienced a slight attack of the malady that was finally to incapacitate him permanently. The ministers insisted that the King's mother be left off the list of those eligible to serve, pleading that the bill could not be got through parliament otherwise. This argument was made ridiculous when the House of Commons inserted her name in the bill by a special vote. But Pitt persistently refused to affiliate with the Newcastle group in organized effort, and the King turned to Newcastle's friends, whom he ultimately persuaded to undertake the government under the leadership of the young Marquis of Rockingham, with whatever help they might receive from the King's own friends.

The new administration lacked both power and prestige. Rockingham was a nobleman of good character, but small reputation, who depended much on the advice of his secretary, Edmund Burke. Newcastle himself was too old to take an active part. The King's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, who was partly instrumental in persuading his friends to undertake the government, died shortly after they took office. Pitt still held aloof and was not conciliated by the repeal of either the cider tax or of the Stamp Act. In the case of the Stamp Act, the ministers sent in advance to know his views and asked him to join the ministry. He refused to express an opinion except to the King in parliament. Rockingham went on with the repeal, though he was obliged to accompany it with an act affirming the right of parliament to tax the colonies. In the accompanying debate, Pitt illustrated once more his talent for the histrionic. "I rejoice," he exclaimed, "that America has resisted," and he therefore advocated the repeal. But as for giving confidence to

the ministers who proposed the measure, he was still in doubt. "Confidence," he said with emphasis, "is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom."

In consequence of this attitude, some of the ministers—the young Duke of Grafton, for example—who had formerly looked to Pitt rather than to Newcastle for leadership resigned their positions. There seemed to be no way for Rockingham and Newcastle to carry on the government without making terms with either Bute or the Bedford faction, and this they would not do. Furthermore, George III had by this time perceived that he and Pitt at bottom held similar views on the manner in which the executive government should be organized. Both of them were opposed to the assumption that all members of a ministry ought to be members of the same political party. Both felt that each minister should be selected for his individual qualifications, with due regard paid to his political influence. Members of a cabinet thus selected would tend to become largely administrative officers, with little more than an advisory function in shaping policies. But there was one important point on which the King and Pitt did not agree. The sincere simplicity of Pitt's confidence that he was the man in his time best fitted to take the lead in shaping the destinies of Britain and her empire was more than surpassed by the determination of George III that he would himself be the active leader of any administration that long survived in his reign. The King had the advantage, in that it was necessary to do whatever was done in his name, and in that he was more prosaically aware than Pitt of the methods necessary to be used to procure and retain the support of a majority of the members of parliament. On this last subject Pitt's mind was never enlightened to the degree that his son's was in the next generation. As he began to appreciate the impotence of his eloquence, when there was no Newcastle or other such lieutenant at hand to provide him with a majority, he talked vaguely of a reform of parliament, but he never reached the point of making it a practical issue.

Realizing how much he had in common with Pitt, and Pitt's helplessness without the support that he could himself provide, the King tried the experiment of enlisting the prestige of the national leader on his side. They could work together, he felt, in opposing the growing determination of the group led by Rockingham and Newcastle to insist on dominating the government if they participated in it at all. But George was still wary of giving Pitt too free a run of the stage in the forum of his

former greatness, and so the great statesman became a member of the House of Lords as Earl Chatham. True to the principle of disregarding party lines, he included in the ministerial group men of all factions. Burke later described the administration as "a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand upon." The exaggeration in the figures is characteristic of Burke's style, but the ministers whom Chatham collected were almost worthy of the description. Among them were neither of his two brothers-in-law, Temple and Grenville, nor the chief men in either the Bedford group or that accustomed to act with Newcastle and Rockingham. Chatham himself, ill in both mind and body, soon (February, 1767) deserted a task that was perhaps beyond the ability of anybody and retired to recuperate his health, leaving the inexperienced Duke of Grafton to try as best he might to hold the ministry together until such a time as its head should return.

Grafton preferred the pleasures of the race course to the confinement of the capital, but an abler man than he might have done no better with the task with which he wrestled for several years, never having the prestige of real leadership. He soon faced the withdrawal of those members of the Rockingham group who had remained in office when the ministry was formed. Then, in 1768, the Wilkes case was reopened in a more threatening form. In the previous year the brilliant, if irresponsible, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, had busied himself with a renewal of the attempt to raise a revenue from the American colonies. Other mischief that he might have done was forestalled by his death in the fall of the same year, when Frederick, Lord North, succeeded him. The King turned to North as a successor to Grafton, when Chatham returned from retirement in 1768, resigned his office as Lord Privy Seal, and joined with the followers of Rockingham in attacking the ministry which had taken office under his own leadership. In easy-going, good-humored, unambitious North George III had at last found a tractable minister. His royal master clove to him for more than a decade after 1770, the year in which Grafton finally resigned, and gave him up reluctantly at the close of a disastrous war. He suited the King admirably, chiefly because he was willing to

leave most of the task of government in the royal hands, though he had a certain ability in conciliating the support of a friendly House of Commons. His jovial manner helped much to overcome the handicap of an unimpressive physique. He served the King because of a complacent disposition to accede to the wishes of so exalted a personage; probably he never had any genuine liking for George's theories of kingship. Thus, within a decade after he inherited the crown, George III seemed to have carried his point and to have established himself as king in fact as well as in name.

THE FINE ARTS EMERGE

The persistent campaign of George III to wrest the government from the group of magnates who had dominated it in the generation and more previous to his accession did not prevent him from lending the patronage of his name, and in a less degree of his purse, to an aspect of the national life that was now beginning to flourish more extensively than ever before. Men of parts, otherwise aligned in the factional divisions of current politics, were nevertheless able in the first two decades of the reign to find common interests in the tide of esthetic expression and appreciation that was already rising to a respectable height. Royal grants were not so essential for their encouragement as had formerly been the case. Those who had enriched themselves in one way or another in trade and in other relations with America and the East, added to those who had thriven by successful participation in the widening economic life at home, constituted a profitable body of patrons for others who had the skill to minister to their pleasure. Many of these men, who were attaining to means and leisure to enable them to seek to please themselves, were not slack in spending for the purpose. In consequence, this generation witnessed a body of artistic achievement which our interest in matters of moment in the fields of politics and empire is liable to obscure.

There must have been a growing interest in esthetic expression and an enlarging public to whom the subject appealed, or a young man liked Edmund Burke, who was frankly ambitious to make his fortune but as yet had no very definite haven in view, would not have published (1756) as one of his earlier works *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful*. That the conclusions of the author do not agree in every point with those current to-day is not so

important as is his evident perception that a significant item in the appraisal of a work of art is the way it is received by the individuals it is intended to please. He suggested that it is as illuminating to know something of the psychology of the audience for which a work of art is designed as it is to determine whether the artist has conformed to the classical canons conventional in his art. Burke himself, after starting on its way in 1759 the *Annual Register*, a repository of current historical, political, and other information which still regularly appears, found a friend and patron in the Marquis of Rockingham, who gave him opportunity for whatever fortune he was to achieve; his subsequent efforts were in the field of politics more than in esthetics. But the orator and politician never lost interest in the latter subject, and he was a welcome member of the circle that ruled in that field in his generation. Among the better known members of that circle were Dr. Samuel Johnson, the critic and lexicographer, and his inimitable biographer, James Boswell; Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter; David Garrick, the actor, dramatist, and manager; Oliver Goldsmith, the poet, novelist, hack writer, and dramatist; and Sir Charles Burney, musician, historian of music, and father of Fanny Burney, author of that most read novel of the time, *Evelina*.

This group and those who resorted with them, Dr. Johnson dominated by his dogmatism and by his genuine ability. He was the unique literary figure of his time, whom to have had no contact with argues another personality of less account. Just outside of this inner circle were many of those who counted in most fields of endeavor. The list of them is much too long to enumerate. It included Edward Gibbon and William Robertson among the historians. Lord Shelburne, Charles James Fox, and William Windham were among the politicians; Johnson even found some things in common with John Wilkes. Men were included as far apart as John Wesley and Topham Beauclerk, the latter a man of questionable domestic morality, whose chief claim to fame is that he was the great Doctor's friend. There were lawyers like Sir Robert Chambers, Indian judge and scholar; Sir William Scott, later the famous Lord Stowell; and Lord Chancellor Edward Thurlow, the last a man as prone to dogmatism as Johnson himself and one for whom the latter acknowledged a corresponding respect as a rival in verbal repartee. Hogarth and Allan Ramsay were among the painters; there were architects like Sir William Chambers and John Gwynn; philosophers, economists, and scientists, there were, like

Adam Smith and Sir Joseph Banks. There were a host of others, among whom the learned women, including Hannah More, Catharine Macaulay, and Mrs. Elizabeth Montague, the original blue stocking, ought not to be left unnoticed. Many others than these live in the pages of Boswell because they at some time came in contact with Boswell's hero.

This galaxy of names takes no account whatever of many whose achievements were notable, but who were without even the larger circle who paid tribute to Johnson. In the earlier days of the learned doctor, before Bute induced the King to relieve his necessities with a pension, the novelist Richardson intervened to save him from arrest for debt. Among other hack-work which Johnson did in these earlier years, were the parliamentary debates he reported for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, frequently without the trouble of attending the sessions. This monthly publication, long unique as a repository of miscellanea likely to interest persons of the culture normal among polite circles, was established by Edward Cave in 1731 and persisted in one form or another continuously until near the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. While Johnson was at his best as a conversationalist and is, therefore, in great debt to his reporter, Boswell, for his reputation, he really did solid work with his pen. His famous *Dictionary*, in which he set out to illustrate his definitions with citations from literature, was a noteworthy achievement, despite the evidence it contains of the prejudices and idiosyncrasies of which the author had not a few. His criticism of Shakespeare helped to prepare the way for a saner appreciation of both the merits and the weaknesses of England's national dramatist than was possible as long as his work was measured by inelastic standards derived by an ill-informed study of ancient Classics. Johnson was himself trained in this Classical school of criticism and never able, had he cared to do so, to free himself from its terminology or its rules. But he had the understanding to perceive and the honesty to proclaim that the many departures of Shakespeare from the Classical canons were not all imperfections, when due account was taken of the personality of the dramatist and the time in which he wrote. These same qualities of human interest and honest appreciation, limited both by his Classical bias and his firm conviction that it is a primary function of literature to inculcate morality, characterize Johnson's biographical and critical introductions to an edition of the English poets, which he was solicited to write by a contemporary publisher and which constitute still the most sub-

stantial body of work of this type that has come from the pen of a single author. His ventures in the field of political writing, while no credit to him, were no worse than much that appeared in the time. They probably do not illustrate a service of sycophancy, inspired by the pension the author received from the King, as much as they do the normal views of a man who was inclined to be orthodox on all questions and who let his mind rest but lightly on matters of state. Despite this orthodoxy, however, this most notable figure in a school that was already beginning to wane was not wholly without appreciation of the more human attitude that was making itself felt even in his day.

Johnson came to London in company with David Garrick, his own pupil. It was Garrick's glory that he did much to substitute for the conventional sing-song declamation on the stage a natural impersonation of the characters represented and an enunciation appropriate to the scene. He was thus able to revive successfully many of Shakespeare's plays, though some of their scenes, such as that of the grave diggers in *Hamlet*, were still omitted, because they violated the canons of Classical art. The stage had not wholly recovered from the ill-repute into which it had fallen in the conflict between the Stuarts and the Puritans. It was further handicapped by regulations imposed at the instigation of Robert Walpole, when his opponents, using among others the talented Henry Fielding's plays, made it an instrumentality for agitation against his policies. Theaters other than the two officially licensed now resorted to the subterfuge of advertising music or other entertainment and then using dramatic representation as an added attraction. Since the phenomenal success of John Gay's *Beggars Opera* earlier in the century, itself a burlesque of the foreign musical drama patronized by the court, the stage had retrieved some of its native, patriotic flavor. An audience was capable, when feeling against France was running high, of refusing to be entertained by a company of French and of giving vent to this national feeling by a patriotic chorus like *The Roast Beef of Old England*. Perhaps a more real evidence of the growth of a British audience for native drama, though it offended somewhat the Classical taste, was the popularity of a piece like Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, which was a comedy reflecting a stratum of contemporary society. Englishmen had arrived at a sufficient maturity so that they could find entertainment in their own foibles. Thus the native drama gradually freed itself from the chains that bound it to a Classical past and from the politicians

who sought to make it the vehicle of partizan propaganda and became a means of artistic expression, whereby all the emotions of the audience could be stirred, as the actors and dramatists developed insight and skill.

A movement, as we know, was already under way to make emotion a more vital factor in religion. An aspect of this same tendency soon began to inspire poets to feel, and to express feelings, concerning nature and the homely sentiments of domestic life. This movement away from the turgid dignity of the Classical school of writers was doubtless facilitated by the growing interest in the ancestral literature of the British peoples, now promoted by the publication in 1765 of Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, which, as the dawning of the new day brightened, was in time to make him famous. The way for its success was prepared by James Macpherson's fabricated works of Ossian, an alleged Gaelic writer. A collected edition of the works of Ossian appeared in 1765. Dr. Johnson and others attacked their authenticity, and the unfortunate author, who had been tempted into the hoax by a genuine interest in Celtic literary survivals, finally, in desperation, undertook to improvise Gaelic originals to substantiate the views of partizans who had espoused the cause of the genuine character of the translation.

Perhaps the works of contemporary poets are in themselves better evidence of the emotions to which a growing number of Englishmen were moved to respond as they contemplated the native scene. Thomas Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, of which Wolfe expressed high admiration before his last battle, and Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* are memorable illustrations of the ability of the poets of the period to stir their readers with themes local in setting and sentimental in character. If James Thomson in his *Seasons* and other poems displayed an ability to talk about nature rather than to respond to that sense of the beautiful in it his successors were to feel and express, he at any rate evidenced a growing realization of this source of delight, of which a large proportion of even the cultivated among his contemporaries had hitherto been unaware.

In the field of native music, Purcell was still a lofty peak emphasizing the lesser elevation of those who followed him. Nevertheless, there was an audience for music in England and an interest in it. The House of Hanover, from the beginning of its occupancy of the throne, lent patronage to performances of the works of Handel, who survived until 1759, and to other composers. There were also worthy names among the architects,

among them Robert Adam and his brother and Sir William Chambers, who taught George III drawing when a youth. But many of those who were beginning to be conscious of their affluence, and consequently desirous of establishing seats for the posterity of the families they were ambitious to found, were apparently more interested in the interiors and the appointments than in the outsides of their houses. The last two generations in the eighteenth century set a standard for British furniture designs that has not since been surpassed. The brothers Adam are remembered more for their furniture than for their work as architects. Chambers himself played a conspicuous part in introducing into British furniture the Chinese influence, which Thomas Chippendale adapted into a variety of native patterns. To the same period belongs the work of Thomas Sheraton and George Hepplewhite, names familiar to every lover of beautiful furniture.

In the very year that George III finally got rid of Chatham as a minister (1768), he nominated thirty-six men of distinction in their several fields to constitute the nucleus of a "Society for Promoting the Arts of Design" and promised to take care temporarily of any deficits of the society from his own purse. Sir Joshua Reynolds was the first president of the Royal Academy of Arts, which thus began and which still carries on its work of giving encouragement to and instruction in the fine arts. Others had meditated on this project and had contributed to lay the foundations for its successful achievement, among them Sir James Thornhill, a painter of some repute in Queen Anne's time, and his more famous pupil and son-in-law, William Hogarth. Hogarth was both an engraver and a painter and was, on that account, able to obtain greater remuneration for his work and to insure it a wider distribution. His engravings now began to adorn walls that had hitherto lacked decorations. His pictures were adapted for this purpose, since he agreed with Dr. Johnson that art ought to serve a moral purpose. Yet there have been few artists with a keener eye for realities or who have depicted the society they observed with a more sincere hand. His best known works are in the form of a sort of pictorial dramas; that is, pictures arranged in a series to illustrate different stages in the progress of the same group of characters. He painted scenes from Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, but among his best known series are *Marriage à la Mode*, a satire on the conventional marriage for convenience, and *The Rake's Progress* and *The Harlot's Progress*, both aimed at

the prevailing immorality. These are but a small part of the fruits of a generation of labor, lasting from 1726 until the artist's death in 1764.

But the wealthier patrons of the fine arts, who made possible the successes of the designers of furniture, preferred to see their walls adorned with likenesses of themselves and of those they loved and admired. Reynolds achieved his greatest successes as a painter of portraits, as did his rivals and contemporaries, Thomas Gainsborough and George Romney. There was as yet little demand for representations of the native landscape scene. In another generation British eyes would be opened to the beauties of the nooks and crannies in their own countryside, but that day had not yet dawned. Sir Richard Wilson earned a poor livelihood as librarian to the Royal Academy, though he had achieved a reputation as a painter of landscapes in Italy. He returned home to find that the conservative wealthy patrons of his own day, following the example of Sir Robert Walpole and others in the previous generation, would pay large sums for the originals and even for copies of the works of Renaissance artists, but they were not yet able to discern the beauties in scenes closer at hand. After a vain effort to break through this Classical conservatism of his countrymen and to open their eyes to the scenes amid which they lived, Wilson died in 1782, long neglected by those he was anxious to please, and awaited posthumous recognition by those with eyes better trained to see.

Perhaps neither history nor philosophy are among the fine arts, but David Hume and Edward Gibbon belong in any adequate picture of the cultural life of their time. They expressed aspects of it not so well manifest elsewhere. Hume, in the field of philosophy, carried to a logical conclusion the theories of Locke and Berkeley. All mental contents, he concluded, are derived from sense impressions, and these arise from unknown causes. Having thus made the conclusions absolute, he began to hedge, and his final working hypothesis was somewhat inconsistent with his theory. "No philosophical Dogmatist," he says, "denies that there are difficulties both with regard to the senses and to all science; and that these difficulties are in a regular, logical method absolutely insolvable. No Sceptic denies, that we lie under an absolute necessity, notwithstanding these difficulties, of thinking, and believing, and reasoning with regard to all kinds of subjects, and even of frequent assenting with confidence and security." In other words, the logical processes of the philosopher had led him into difficulties that were insoluble;

hence, in order to go about his practical business, he elected to disregard these difficulties and to think and believe like other men. He turned, therefore, to writing history in an effort to discover in the past guidance for the present. His work in this field brought him lasting fame, though it deserves to be read now as literature rather than as history, and, consequently, it is much more praised than read at all. A fellow-countryman of Hume, William Robertson, divided fame with him in the field of history, and a number of lesser lights took up their pens and found a market for their products so extensive that Hume was inspired to write in 1770 "this is the true historical age."

Though Edward Gibbon was less interested in topics relating to his own country—perhaps in part because of that fact—his is a greater name in the field of history than that of either Hume or Robertson. The world has not yet wholly outgrown the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which he was twenty years in preparing as the one great work of his life. Later scholars in the field, with additional sources of information, find it expedient to edit and elaborate the work of this master rather than to plot the project anew. Despite some criticisms from more orthodox contemporaries and weaknesses natural in one writing in the atmosphere of the eighteenth century, Gibbon's work still lives as both literature and history.

More nearly akin to the fine arts, perhaps, than the work of the historians were the achievements of one of the greatest potters of all times, Josiah Wedgwood. He played a large part in transforming his craft into an industry producing wares that, at any rate, were later to be cherished because of artistic merits attributed to them. There were native potters in England before Wedgwood, and he was more interested in production on a large scale than in the device of individual patterns. His sire, Dr. Thomas Wedgwood of Burslem, was a potter before him, and young Josiah was taken from school in early youth and set to learn the trade. Apprenticed to his oldest brother in his father's pottery at this early age of fourteen, he served out his time there and later gathered experience in other neighboring potteries. By 1762 he had acquired a business of his own and had achieved sufficient success in it to attract the attention of the Queen, to whom he presented some of his better ware. As an acknowledgment of the recognition given to him by both her Majesty and her husband, Wedgwood later called this type of his product "Queen's Ware." Stimulated by the discovery of Pompeii and of classical vases in Italian graves, he now turned

his attention to adapting these patterns to suit British tastes and was so successful that his own name associated with his products gives them an enhanced value in later generations, worthy of comparison with that which measures the esteem we have for the Classical objects themselves.

In the midst of this conflict of the old day that had almost run its course in the field of esthetics with the new one about to dawn, a political cloud appeared above the horizon that was soon to divide into hostile camps many who had discovered common interests on cultural subjects. Burke and Dr. Johnson were on different sides of this question, which was already attracting attention in 1765, as, indeed, were many others bound by intimate ties outside of the field of politics.

NEW PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

One of the first imperial questions with which Lord North had to deal, after he established himself as leader of the government of George III, was the application of the East India Company for a loan of a million pounds to relieve the immediate distress of that corporation. This pressing condition arose from a natural failure to face with understanding the tasks which devolved upon the company by reason of Clive's successes against France and the native Indian princes. After Clive's departure for England many employees of the company busied themselves more with filling their own pockets than in serving the interests of their employers. To remedy the chaos that ensued, the great captain was sent to India in 1765 for a third time. The strong measures he adopted were successful for the moment. The agents of the company assumed the responsibility for collecting all the revenues of the Bengal district, allotting to the Nawab, a puppet of the company, the amount essential for the conduct of his government. An effort was made to eliminate insubordination among the employees of the company, a measure that did not help to make Clive's work popular among that group. The officers of the native army resented a reduction in their pay and mutinied in 1766. Clive soon quelled the mutiny, but this sign of danger to come, coupled with the growing influence exercised in British politics by returned nabobs, who vaunted their new affluence, caused Chatham, who was then the head of the government, to meditate an investigation of the affairs of the company.

This proposal was a cue for the Rockingham and Bedford groups to raise a clamor in defence of the chartered rights of the company, in the hope of attracting the support of this powerful vested interest in their struggle against the King and Chatham. Chatham's plan was defeated by a division within his own ministry. Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was among those opposed to it. After Chatham retired from active participation in the ministry, Townshend and Grafton arranged a compromise with the company, whereby the government was to receive an annual payment of £400,000 in return for a continuation of the privileges of the company. Under this agreement, the total direct and indirect income of the government from East Indian enterprises, counting duties collected on trade, was in the neighborhood of two million pounds per year. The shareholders of the company at this time decided to claim for themselves a portion of the wealth, which was apparently available in unprecedented sums, and to allot to themselves larger dividends from the revenues of Bengal, now collected by their agents. Parliament sensed the danger in this proposal and, under the leadership of Grafton, though with little aid from Townshend, undertook to limit by statute the amount of dividends that could be paid. A famine in Bengal, in 1770, and the consequent failure of the revenues to amount to the sums anticipated embarrassed the affairs of the company. The directors appealed to the government for help and, in the same year (1772), sent to India perhaps the most notable of all the company's servants, Warren Hastings, to bring order out of the chaotic conditions that existed.

The Rockingham group denied the right of the government "to interfere in the legal and exclusive property of a body politic" and opposed both North's preliminary investigation and his remedial measures, just as they had opposed the similar projects of Chatham. Burke described the privileges of the company as "held in virtue of grants from the Delhi emperor, in the nature of offices and jurisdictions dependant on his crown; a very anomalous species of power and property quite unknown to the ancient constitution of England." But North's government decided that if this species of power and property was hitherto unknown in England, it was now high time that its relations with the British government be defined. Basing the action on "the eminent domain of parliament over every British subject in every concern," the government prescribed statutory conditions to be complied with before the assistance requested by the

company should be granted. A loan of £1,400,000 was to be made, and the company released from paying the £400,000 per year until such time as this loan should be repaid. In view of these favors, certain changes were effected in the government of the company, both at home and in India. Only one fourth of the directors were to be elected annually, instead of the entire membership of the board, as had formerly been the case. No returned nabob was to be eligible to the directorate until after he had resided in England for two years. No proprietor was to be eligible to participate in the government of the company who represented stock of less than a thousand pounds value. The effect of the act on the company at home was thus to make it more stable and conservative.

As much cannot be said of the weird machinery the act provided for the management of the company's possessions in India. General direction of affairs there was vested in a governor general and a council of four, who were to reside at Calcutta and who were named in the act itself to serve for a period of five years. Two of the members of this initial council, including Hastings, the Governor General, were men experienced in Indian matters; the other three, who constituted a majority, were not similarly qualified. The friction that resulted ought to have been foreseen. As a further complication, the act provided for a supreme court having jurisdiction over all British subjects in India, without any definition of its relations with the governor general and his council. This court was to administer English and not Indian law, and it was possible to interpret its jurisdiction as extending to all who paid taxes to the representatives of British interests in the country. This court, therefore, might entertain all manner of complaints against the governor general and his council. The best that can be said for this well-intentioned scheme is, that, since the task was quite unprecedented in the annals of mankind, its successful performance on a first attempt was scarcely to be expected of a body constituted as was the British ministry and parliament at that time, perhaps not by any legislature. On one point, indeed, the parliament refused to follow the ministry. Clive admitted that, in the course of his career in India, he had accumulated nearly a quarter of a million pounds and professed "astonishment" at his own "moderation"; parliament, however, qualified the resolution condemning him with the statement that "he did at the same time render great and meritorious services to this country." But Clive's work was done. He broke down and took his own

life as a result of ill-health and the natural strain of the investigation.

India was not the only place where the difficulties of the growing empire were manifest. Questions were already in agitation on the opposite side of the globe that later resulted in a fatal quarrel. Like most quarrels between political groups, neither side was wholly right or wholly wrong, if indeed ethical values have any pertinence to the matter at all. Perhaps the most hopeful point of departure in an effort to understand this quarrel is from the practical conditions that faced both the mother country and the colonies after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Pitt's ambitious campaigns had resulted in a large increase in the national debt and in the normal expenses of carrying on the government. The decision at the peace to retain Canada and the Mississippi valley rather than Guadeloupe and other neighboring French West Indies bequeathed a problem of imperial organization on a vaster scale than the country had ever faced before. Whether the new regions should be reserved for a time as the abode of natives or opened to settlement in a way not altogether unprofitable to the government—and there was a sharp difference of opinion on that question—, in any case, it would be necessary to keep a much larger army in continental America than before the war. To complicate matters, more than one of the older colonies claimed extensive areas in these almost unsettled regions, and in some cases they were busy with schemes for their exploitation. To keep the natives sufficiently peaceful and friendly to facilitate trade with them and at the same time to curb somewhat the plans of the older colonies would require a world of tact as well as troops sufficient to guard the boundaries of the older colonies, if, in fact, these boundaries could be established.

The colonists were involved in a war with the Indians before any arrangement was effected. But the Indians were much less formidable enemies than the French had been. One of the strongest ties that had hitherto bound the colonies to Britain was the ever present danger of attack from their neighbors, a danger that now existed no longer. On that account, the inevitable frictions that arose in the fumbling efforts of a power three thousand miles distant to govern settlements as large as these had now grown to be put the loyalty of the colonies to the mother country to a more severe test than it had previously met. The experiences in the war just ended contributed little to strengthen this loyalty. The colonials

resented the patronizing attitude naturally, and for the most part unconsciously, assumed toward them by those who went from the older country to help in their defence. Since there was no machinery to compel them, the help that the colonies themselves gave in the war fell short of what might have been rendered. Even while the war was in progress, trade with the enemy went on in a way that increased the strength of the French. The Molasses Act of 1733, hitherto honored more in the breach than in its observance, was now about to expire. It needed either to be repealed or made enforceable. The situation seemed to call for decisive measures, and such measures were soon on the way to adoption. The colonies now received attention which might better have been given earlier.

Men who had embarked on land speculations in the frontier regions beyond the mountains objected to the proposal to limit Virginia and others of the older colonies to the lands east of the Appalachians. Grenville and his ministerial associates were somewhat more successful with their proposals, in 1764, for restricting trade. The Molasses Act was modified to admit French molasses at a lower duty, which the government expected to collect as revenue. Other items, including coffee, hides, lumber, iron, and raw silk, were added to the enumerated list of articles to be sent to England as the staple of exports. Goods of European manufacture, designed for the colonial market, on which the duties had formerly been remitted when reshipped from England, were no longer to be thus privileged. A more effective organization of the machinery for enforcing these regulations was projected, and Grenville informed the official colonial resident agents that in the next year he would propose to parliament to impose a stamp tax on official documents, newspapers, and other similar articles, unless the colonies should in the meantime suggest some more expedient method by which they could contribute to the support of the troops necessary for their own defence. At the end of this interval there were some petitions against any taxation at all, but the agents had nothing better to suggest than the old scheme of making requisitions for the help needed and trusting that the colonial assemblies would respond favorably. Grenville, therefore, went on with his project and met with little opposition in parliament except from Colonel Isaac Barré, who, voicing the sentiments of Pitt, prophesied that the "sons of liberty" would not relish such a measure. The colonial agents, among whom were Benjamin Franklin and Richard Henry Lee, seeing that the passage of the act was in-

evitable, busied themselves to procure the appointment of their friends as agents to distribute the stamps.

Had the act been enforced, it would have called for the payment by the colonists of larger sums than they were accustomed to raise by taxation for the support of their general provincial governments, though it would not have imposed a burden beyond their ability to bear. But, taking their cue from Barré, the provincials organized groups known as Sons of Liberty to protest the measure. The merchants of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, encouraged by the lawyers, united in an agreement not to import British goods until the act should be repealed. In fact, in most of the colonies, the substantial people united to oppose this attempt to tax them, and many less immediate grievances, some of them of long standing, contributed to swell the tide of opposition. Not the least important of these grievances was the more efficient administration of the customs regulations already felt in the colonies. As a colonial later put it in a letter, "it is this new invention of collecting taxes which makes them burdensome." By the time news of the resistance of the colonies was fully comprehended in Britain, Rockingham and the Newcastle group had succeeded Grenville and the Bedford faction. Pitt insisted that the Stamp Act must be repealed, and Newcastle knew that Rockingham needed the prestige of the great orator if his administration was to last and be strong enough to deal with the King. But the act could not be repealed without the King's support, and those who acted with the King insisted that the right to tax the colonies should not be given up. The expedient of accompanying the repeal of the Stamp Act with an act declaratory of this right afforded a basis of compromise for the moment, but it pleased nobody. Coupled with this act, was another placing a duty on molasses, whether of British or foreign origin, at a uniform rate and one low enough to admit of its collection. Though Pitt refused to give his confidence to the ministers, notwithstanding this effort to please him, the colonies themselves were pacified for a time. But the proposed scheme for the development of the new frontier regions had to be postponed for lack of revenue to go forward.

In his famous speech on the repeals of the Stamp Act, wherein he expressed his joy at the resistance of America, Pitt was not departing from the prevailing view that the colonies existed chiefly to serve the interests of the mother country. Indeed, he never departed from that view. He had just previously read the effusion of a colonial pamphleteer, Daniel Dulany, which

contained a curious distinction between "external" and "internal" taxation. It suited admirably the needs of the orator. Parliament might regulate colonial trade to its heart's content, imposing taxes at will in the process, but it had no right to take money from the pockets of the colonists by direct levy. Benjamin Franklin seemed for a while to adopt this view. The distinction is scarcely real, but if the colonies took it as seriously as appeared from the arguments of their spokesmen both at home and in England, it had interesting possibilities. So, at any rate, thought Charles Townshend, who, as chancellor of the exchequer under Grafton, succeeded to the task of finding the revenues to meet the increasing expenses of a growing empire. Accordingly, he carried through parliament in 1767 a bill levying duties on tea, lead, paper, glass, and a few other manufactured articles when they were imported into the colonies. The revenue thus obtained was to be used for the support of royal officials in the colonies, thus freeing them from dependence on the provincial assemblies. There was to be a board of commissioners residing in America and having oversight of the enforcement of trade regulations there. But the author of these acts died before they had time to have their natural effect in the colonies. It turned out that the Americans were as much opposed to external as to internal taxes. In fact, they now discovered that they did not wish Britain to tax them at all. Profiting by their experience in averting the enforcement of the Stamp Act, they made even more strenuous exertions to protest against these measures. The protest was, of course, loudest in regions where the more influential merchants resided and where trade was most extensive. At Boston the spirit of the mob was so threatening against officers who tried to enforce the law that troops were sent to assist in keeping the peace. Soon there was a clash between the soldiers and the mob, in which some of the civilians were killed. It was unlikely that a jury from, or the local judicial machinery in, a community thus aroused would take steps against an opponent of the government, so a provision was now made that persons accused of treason in the colonies should be taken to England for trial. None of these measures contributed to allay the rising tide of feeling in the colonies. At home, the merchants whose trade was interrupted tended to sympathize with the colonies. In consequence, the Townshend duties were repealed in 1770 with the exception of that on tea, but the mischief was done.

Thus the success of the British in the Seven Years' War, the

large areas of territory gained thereby, and the new problems that resulted caused the rulers of the kingdom to think of imperial questions in terms somewhat different from those customary before the war. As a recent suggestive writer on the subject puts it:

In the past men had spoken of "empire," meaning the self-sufficient empire of the mercantilists rather than a thing of territory, centralization, maintenance, and authority. After 1763, however, territorial empire came into real and visible existence, and writers, both British and colonial, became aware that "imperialism" meant something more than commerce and colonies and that the colonial problem, with which they were familiar only in its mercantile aspects, had taken on a distinctly territorial and political form. They realized that to the regulation of trade and the struggle with other powers for a share in the profits of earth must now be added the difficult task of territorial administration and support.

Thus a new issue, that of territorial imperialism, had now arisen to perplex the souls of British statesmen, and so deeply did it become ingrained in the departmental habits of thought and routine and so little were those in office affected by the American War and its attendant circumstances that imperialistic methods remained dominant in Great Britain long after the Revolutionary War had come to an end.¹

In the agitation which attended the controversies over the Stamp Act and the Townshend duties, political and constitutional issues gradually emerged which divided those who took part in the discussions both in England and in the colonies. As regards the question of taxation, some authorities felt for a moment, though not for long, that the right of parliament was defined by the distinction between external and internal taxation. Those who adopted the views of the colonies were soon obliged to deny that parliament had any right to tax them whatever. However, many British statesmen, among them Chatham and Burke, who felt that it was inexpedient for parliament to tax the colonies, never reached the point of denying the right. Chatham's view, in his own words, was: "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power except taking money out of their pockets without their consent." The effort to expound a defensible basis of agreement on this subject led to an extensive examination of theories of imperial organization and of the constitution of Great Britain itself. On the subject of imperial organization, three views were stated with some degree of clarity. The view most widely pre-

¹ C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution*, p. 123.

valent in England was that the colonies belonged to Great Britain and could be governed as that kingdom might desire. The only question was as to the most expedient methods for exercising this prerogative. Another view was that, since the colonies were not represented in parliament, the British national legislature had no right to levy taxes on them. That difficulty might be overcome by admitting colonial representatives to parliament, but, until that was done, parliament was without the right to tax. Several schemes were suggested for the introduction of colonial representatives into the national parliament. A third view, the one on which the colonies finally rested their case before deciding to seek complete independence, was that the colonies properly ought to have relations with the crown rather than with parliament. Since there were no colonial representatives in the parliament at Westminster, that body could have no jurisdiction over the colonies. The King stood in the same relation to the colonial assemblies as he did to the parliament of Great Britain.

This political view was supported by a variety of constitutional arguments. Some of the colonies held rights by charter, which they argued that it was beyond the power of parliament to violate. But only five of the thirteen colonies had charters, and there was no practical way of enforcing the terms of a charter, so it was soon essential to find a broader ground of defence. The view that received greatest attention was that parliament itself was subordinate to the law of nature and that it was not in accord with that law that a people should be taxed by a body in which they were not represented. This law of nature was conceived as analagous to a fundamental, if unwritten, constitution, which it was beyond the power of parliament to violate. In this contention is the embryo of the later American doctrine of a constitution prescribing the nature and the powers of the agencies of government. But still another view received some attention and was supported by analogies from the relations between England and Ireland, the Isle of Man, Guernsey, and Jersey and from that between England and Scotland after the accession of the house of Stuart and before the union of the two kingdoms. In brief, this view was, that it was the revolutions of the seventeenth century that made parliament supreme in England even over the king. Since the colonies did not expressly acquiesce in these revolutions, the relations of the colonies were still with the crown and not with the king in parliament.

But it was scarcely possible that these constitutional doctrines

should be accepted by any substantial group in England at this juncture. The prevailing constitutional view was stated by the great teacher of law, William Blackstone: "What parliament doth no power on earth can undo." George III had no thought of inviting the clamor that would have arisen had he accepted the notion that the relations of the colonies were with the crown rather than with parliament. The theory of kingship to which he had committed himself involved no arrogant defiance of parliament. He merely claimed the right to exercise an actual direction of the government according to the determination of the legislature of which he was himself a constituent element. Certainly those who were laboring to establish the convention that the king ought to be little more than a figurehead, with power in the hands of a majority in parliament, would be unlikely to lend support to a doctrine that had the effect of eliminating parliament altogether from the management of the American colonies. And until the constitutional issue at home reached a decision, the theory of empire, in the nature of things, had to wait.

An American student in particular needs at this point to bear in mind that questions concerning the colonies were of secondary importance in the minds of those members of the ruling groups in Great Britain who engaged in the political maneuvers that filled the decades immediately preceding the achievement of American independence. Their primary interest was in the struggle in which they were engaged for the control of the British government itself, as against the King or among themselves. Not that the views they expressed on colonial questions for the moment were insincere. They were simply liable to vary to suit the exigencies of the domestic political situation. The issues in that situation were now beginning to be more clearly defined.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

After George III, with North's assistance, established himself as the effective leader of the government and thus acquired for himself the share of power that he had been taught to believe belonged of right to a British king, it was soon manifest that the factions opposed to him would have to find a common ground for action or else acquiesce in his views. Neither those associated with Chatham nor those who accepted the leadership of Rockingham were willing to accept the views of the King. But the

two factions found it difficult to agree on a common program of opposition. Although the strength of his group was numerically less than that of Rockingham, Chatham was obsessed with the feeling that he must either be cast for the rôle of star or left out of the play altogether. Knowing this fact, George III had announced his own resolution never to tolerate Chatham as chief minister again. Nevertheless, Chatham was totally unable to come to grips with the realities with which he was confronted. He still hoped by violent speech and gesture to cause such ferment among the people at large that the King must in the end come to him, as Newcastle had come when the nation was at war. But there was now a season of peace, in which men's fears were quieted, and the King and North were safely in control of parliament. The members of the Rockingham group, who had taken their cue from Newcastle, had a better understanding of the situation. They aspired to unite all the factions opposed to the King into a spirited army of attack and, by constant assaults on his strength, gradually to win enough of his supporters to be able to bend him to their will. Chatham never genuinely agreed to this project. It meant committing himself to a stipulated mode of action as a principle or measure, whereas he professed to feel that if the King were served by the fittest men among his subjects, the shaping of measures might safely be left in their charge.

In carrying on opposition to the King on their own account, the Rockingham group naturally sought to find things to criticize to which Chatham and his followers also objected. In the degree that items of this sort were found, and the two factions acted in concert, the opposition to the King appeared to be stronger than it really was. The Middlesex election of 1768 afforded such an issue. Over the protest of both the Chathamites and the Newcastle group, John Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons after his conviction of seditious libel. Wilkes bided his time in exile, procuring in the meantime a judgment from the courts that general warrants were illegal and damages from those responsible for his arrest. He was now returned as a member of the House of Commons by the county of Middlesex. Again he was expelled. This performance was repeated, and, on the third occasion, his opponent, who received only a third as many votes as Wilkes on the poll, was declared by the house to be the lawfully elected member. The popular clamor that had accompanied the earlier episode was renewed. "Wilkes and Liberty" became a shibboleth with which to conjure. Among

those who added bitterness to the attack on the ministers responsible for the action was that most famous of all writers of anonymous letters, Junius. Though the Chathamites and the Rockingham group joined in the attack, they had nothing positive in common to propose as a remedy. They could only unite in negative action. Now, they opposed the tax on cider; again, it was the colonial policy of the government; now, it was the necessity that money be voted for paying the debts the King had accumulated beyond the annual sums provided for the conduct of his household and the civil government at the beginning of the reign; soon, it would be a threatened break with Spain over the Falkland Islands; or, it might be the question of making terms with the East India Company. Of all the questions that arose, the exclusion of Wilkes had the greatest possibilities for exciting popular feeling, since it struck at the roots of the control of parliament by those who had vested interests in it. In the midst of this discussion, Grafton retired (1770) to give place to North. But even on the question of Wilkes the Chathamite and Rockingham factions were unable to agree on a common plan for positive action.

Chatham, for example, proposed at one stage to address the King in favor of a dissolution of parliament, on the chance that a general election would change the complexion of the House of Commons. He could scarcely have done anything else that would have revealed so vividly his lack of appreciation of the real springs of power in England in his time. Those who had followed Newcastle well knew that such a measure would not only be futile in its results, it would add also to their own difficulties and expense, and so would embarrass them more than it would the King, should they carry their point. Sensing a little this difficulty, in the heat of the debate on the Middlesex election, Chatham suggested that the House of Commons itself was in need of reform, since it had been corrupted by the influx of nabobs from India. He suggested the expedient of adding new members for the counties as a method of overbalancing these corrupt members.

Wearied by the difficulties of concerting action with so uncertain a leader, Burke undertook, in 1770, to describe the circumstances that had led to the existing difficulties and to suggest a way out. The pamphlet that resulted, *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents*, is the most pertinent, and was the most influential of all his political writings. Its primary design was to wean Chatham and his followers from their habit of

adopting any momentary will-o'-the-wisp that promised to arouse popular feeling, and to enlist them in support of what the Rockingham group felt to be the primary issue of the struggle. Some of the author's details, in his description of the intrigues by which the King made himself the dominant figure in the government, are open to question. The real point is that he recognized this achievement of the King and proposed as a remedy for it the organization of a political party to combat a method of government which he felt was inimical to the interests of the country and contrary to its traditions. The method of entrusting the government to a group of leaders who could control parliament, which had become familiar in the days of Walpole and Newcastle, Burke now tried to defend, on the ground that it was a cherished and vital part of the British constitution. An organized party was manifestly essential to carry on the government in this manner. Burke defined the type of party needed as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed." He supported this definition by the pointed assumption that "Whoever becomes a party to an administration composed of insulated individuals, without faith plighted, tie, or common principle . . . abets a faction that is driving hard to the ruin of his country. He is sapping the foundations of its liberty, disturbing the sources of its domestic tranquillity, weakening its government over its dependencies, degrading it from all its importance in the system of Europe."

As might have been anticipated, this publication tended to alienate rather than to enlist the support of Chatham in the opposition of the Rockingham to the King's government. The two factions were still able to find a common ground for criticism of the coercive measures which the government adopted against the colonies, but, while Chatham lived, they were never able to agree together on a common positive program. On still another point, it is well for readers of Burke's pamphlet in a later generation to caution themselves. He meant his famous definition of a party to refer to members of parliament and of the substantial ruling group in which moved those whose influence was felt in parliament. He was not thinking of people *en masse*, still less of electors in the constituencies. Indeed, Burke never had much sympathy with attempts to stir popular feeling against the established machinery of political action. His work is important, because it stated a program and a platform for those who opposed the views of George III and helped to change the

opponents of the King from mere contenders for power into upholders of a view of the constitution that the future was to reveal as of vital importance in the government of the kingdom.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

John Bailey, *Dr. Johnson and His Circle; Cambridge Modern History*, VI. ch. xxiv and pp. 423-456; G. B. Hertz, *The Old Colonial System*, ch. iv; A. D. Innes, *The History of England and the British Empire*, III. ch. vii; A. Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India*, ch. x; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, II. Book VII. chs. i, iii, iv; *The Making of British India*, chs. iii, iv; Sir William Orpen, *The Outline of Art*, I. chs. xii, xiii; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians (George III)*, ch. i; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part IV. chs. vi-viii.

FOR WIDER READING

J. T. Adams, *Revolutionary New England*, chs. xiii-xv; R. G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution*, chs. i-iv; C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 Vols.; C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution*, chs. i-ii; G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, chs. x-xiv; Horace Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes*, chs. v-xiii; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. ch. vi; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X. chs. iv-xiv, xvii; W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, V. chs. x-xii; E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, I. chs. i-xiii; W. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*; P. H. Houston, *Dr. Johnson, A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism*; G. E. Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution*, chs. i-xiii; W. Hunt, *The History of England 1760-1801*, chs. i-vi; W. E. H. Lecky, *The History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, III. chs. x-xii; C. H. McIlwaine, *The American Revolution*; Percy Macquard, *History of English Furniture*; W. E. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*; John Morley, *Burke*, chs. i-iii; A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, chs. i-v; C. H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the American War of Independence*, chs. v-xi; Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, II. chs. xix-xxiii; D. A. Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government; Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The map in Muir, f. 50, illustrates the settlement of the world by the Treaty of Paris; f. 55, the settlement in North America; f. 61a, the condition in India at that time. Adjustments on the Continent of Europe are shown in *Shepherd*, p. 133; in the rest of the world, *Shepherd*, pp. 136-137. *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 67, indicates the settlement of 1763 in North America; No. 69, the settlement in the West Indies.

CHAPTER XX

THE FAILURE OF THE KING AND THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

THE COLONIES REBEL

If the settlers who constituted the basal elements in the English colonies in continental America were not all from the type of persons who found it difficult to fit into the scheme of things at home, they certainly found an overwhelming environment in the New World which operated to differentiate them in a large measure from their kinsfolk who remained behind. The distance that separated the two territories was, in the eighteenth century, a more powerful divisive force than it is in more recent times. A majority of the something less than three million people of European descent in America at the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century had never even visited the homes from which their forbears had sprung, and by no means all of them were of English, or even of British ancestry. The most direct contacts they had with the mother country were with officials, not always of the highest type in personal character; they represented in their own persons the power of the distant government that sent them, whose instructions they had to follow, whose interests they tried to serve, and on the pleasing of whom depended their terms of office. They were scarcely to blame that a large part of their function was to enforce regulations designed more to benefit the mother country than the colonies, nor did they always have the unfavorable attitude toward the colonies that the colonial representatives who dealt with them were apt to attribute to them. That the home land rendered assistance to the colonies in return for the favors on which it insisted was clear to anybody who gave the matter consideration. But this assistance was frequently given in times of danger common to all parts of the empire. On these occasions, the colonies were under pressure to lend a hand at the common task, and they were in the end likely to be more sensible of their own efforts than of their obligations to the distant power.

Except on extraordinary occasions, most of their energy was spent on tasks that seemed to have little to do with the ancestral home. The community organizations in which the colonials joined to serve their common purposes were in a larger measure improvisations to meet needs they had discovered in their novel ventures than survivals of institutions familiar in the old world. Those who lived through in the stern adventure of founding a new society learned self-reliance in the process and supplemented the capacity to adapt themselves to conditions as they found them with a determination to see the enterprise through to the end. Those who succeeded after all were, not without some warrant, proud of their success and were not always disposed to repress the pride they felt. If they were sometimes inclined to emphasize their own rights even to the extent of declining to assume obligations they might have borne without injustice, that, too, was natural. They had achieved these rights, along with whatever else they had, at the cost of much effort, and they meant not to relinquish them lightly. They were so sensitive on that point that wise governors would have realized that it was imprudent to challenge them on it. Unfortunately, that point was raised at the close of the Seven Years' War by ministers more concerned with the letter of the law than with the spirit of the people among whom it was to be enforced. This same opacity of understanding characterized the King and Lord North in the measures they were now to adopt.

More than a century of growth had stratified somewhat society in the colonies, though the gulf between either economic or social extremes was bridged without much difficulty. In that sense, a democratic spirit existed in the colonies unknown in the older countries. The nearest to an exception to this rule was the case of the larger landlords in New York and in some of the southern colonies. The merchants did not hesitate to enlist the aid of artisans and even of humbler members of the community in their opposition to the Stamp Act and, later, to the Townshend duties. These efforts to provoke in groups unaccustomed to considered action a zeal for their own rights frequently resulted in mobs, which were not careful of either personal or property rights. The situation invited the activity of zealots and agitators, of whom Samuel Adams of Boston was an arch-type, who were not always willing to cease when the immediate purposes of the more substantial members of society had been served. After the repeal of the bulk of the Townshend duties (1770), for example, the non-importation movement collapsed, and the merchants were

soon filling their coffers in spite of the tax on tea. John Adams, a more level-headed patriot than his kinsman, records of himself with a chuckle, in the interval, that he supped with John Hancock and drank tea "from Holland, I hope, but I don't know." But the principle at issue still stirred the fervid soul of Samuel, who busied himself establishing a system of committees of correspondence to keep the neighboring towns informed of events of common interest. At the instigation of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, a similar system of committees of correspondence was later inaugurated in the several colonies and was an effective contrivance for concerting action when the time came. For the present, there was a rift between the merchants and the more enthusiastic of their former allies.

We know that the East India Company was in financial difficulties at this juncture and was seeking a loan from the government. Some seventeen million pounds of tea were then in the warehouses of the company awaiting a market. The normal method was to sell it at auction in London. But it had been pushed up to a price which, taken with the duties collected both in England and America, made the smuggling of Dutch tea a great temptation. The more efficiently the government enforced the laws against smuggling, the more its efforts in that direction were resented. The *Gaspée*, a small vessel in the revenue service, ran aground on the coast of Rhode Island and was burnt by a disguised mob of the inhabitants of the vicinity, the captain being severely wounded in the proceeding. The authorities in England were unable to find the offenders and to take them home for trial, but they made the attempt. Adams was thus furnished with an actual example to reënforce his argument. Then, with a disposition to give further assistance to the East India Company in its difficulties, the government relieved it of paying duties in England on the tea sent to America and gave the company itself a monopoly of the business in America. Had the company used discretion, there might have been no serious difficulty on this point. The removal of the duty made it possible to sell tea in America cheaper than the foreign tea could be smuggled in. But, instead of distributing the tea through merchants already engaged in the business, the company elected to designate special agents, who were in favor with the government or with one of its own directors. Consequently, many of the merchants, whose business was thus restricted, again made common cause with their old allies. When ships loaded with tea reached the harbors, steps were taken to

prevent its distribution. At Boston, in December, 1773, at the instigation of Samuel Adams, a disguised mob boarded vessels in the port and threw overboard some ten thousand pounds worth of tea.

An act in such utter disregard of the rights of property found few supporters among the soberer members of society in the colonies, and almost none in England. It was lamented there by responsible agents of the colonies like Franklin. From that distance, it seemed that something ought to be done to reduce so recalcitrant a town to order. A King jealous of his powers at home could scarcely tolerate such behavior in a distant dominion. Accordingly, he spurred on his ministers to carry through parliament a series of penal acts that evidenced more spleen than ability to understand and deal with a far-away, discontented people. The port of Boston was closed entirely to trade by water (1774). Ships were, for the time, to use the smaller port of Salem. The charter of the province of Massachusetts was in part abrogated, and a governor appointed by and responsible to the home government was sent out. Persons guilty of capital offences in that colony might be remanded to a neighboring colony or to England for trial, a measure designed to afford protection to officers and soldiers whose duty it was to enforce the law. Finally, provisions were made for quartering on the colony the troops that were to be sent for establishing and preserving order. General Thomas Gage, who had seen service in America and had married an American woman, was commissioned as the first governor under the new régime and as commander of the troops.

Another act of parliament, passed at the same session, was regarded by many colonial agitators, and not without some justification, as a part of the same general penalizing program. It was the fruition of a decade of procrastinating consideration of the problem of organizing a government for the territory acquired from the French under the Treaty of Paris (1763). This measure, the first Quebec Act, applied to Canada and to the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers. Immediately after the peace, the English system of administering justice and English law were extended to this vast region by royal proclamation. But an overwhelming portion of the people of European descent in the territory were Roman Catholic, and French law and methods of procedure had been prevalent. The Quebec Act provided that the Roman Church should retain its privilege of collecting tithes from its com-

municants. French law and procedure were likewise to be restored in civil matters, so that established property rights might be protected. The most potent source of objection to this act in the older colonies was its interference with some of their extensive claims of territory and with the speculative projects of some of their inhabitants. But, in Massachusetts, where these objections were not felt so keenly, it was easy to join in the cry that the act lent aid to "popery," which was anathema to that most Protestant people from its beginning. The omission of trial by jury in civil cases could also be represented as a violation of a right long cherished by all Englishmen. If these things could be imposed on the Ohio country, why not on the rest of the colonies? The Quebec Act thus became the fifth of the measures that representatives from the colonies soon (September, 1774) gathered in a congress in Philadelphia to pronounce intolerable.

George III knew that these disciplinary measures would raise a stir at home as well as in the colonies. Those whose views of the domestic government he had successfully thwarted would not let pass so good an opportunity to raise clamor. He, therefore, suddenly dissolved parliament in the autumn of 1774, without giving the interests unsympathetic with his ministers an interval to bargain for seats, and thus succeeded in procuring the return of a larger number of members of the House of Commons who were henchmen of the group in office than had been the case in the preceding parliament. This election is further interesting in that it was the first managed by John Robinson, a recently appointed secretary to the treasury, who soon became one of the King's most trusted servants and one of his most useful lieutenants in the conduct of the government in the next trying decade.

The fever of opposition spread through the colonies. Contributions of food and other supplies were sent from other places to the town whose business was practically estopped. Superhuman qualities of tact and forbearance would scarcely have prevented the troops under Gage from having a clash with people who were openly making preparations to defend themselves. This first blow, as everybody knows, was struck on Lexington Common, April 19, 1775. The next military episode was an imprudent attack by the British Commander on Bunker Hill on June 14. The congress at Philadelphia manifestly had to take steps to assert its power if it was to deal with the home government with any hope of success. John Adams, not the

least shrewd member of the group politically, nominated George Washington of Virginia as commander in chief of the continental forces, thus pledging the support of the largest of the southern colonies to the common cause. Redress of grievances was sought from the King, but without result. That monarch seldom drew back until obliged by dire necessity, once his hands were put to the plow.

As the King had foreseen, his opponents in parliament were loud in their expressions of sympathy with the colonies and in criticisms of the methods adopted by the ministers. Both Chatham and Burke, not to mention others, came forward with resolutions proposing schemes of conciliation, which served as texts for celebrated examples of their eloquence. Many of their remarks revealed an insight and imagination largely lacking in the measures that they had actually proposed. Chatham's proposal began by asserting parliament's right "to bind the British Colonies in America in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain . . . and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce." Burke took a different tack. "The question with me," he said, addressing the ministers, "is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable but whether it is not your interest to make them happy." He did not dwell on the point of legal right. "I do not," he said, "enter into these metaphysical distinctions. I hate the very sound of them." "Because," he explained, "nobody shall persuade me when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation." At an earlier stage in the quarrel, he may have been correct.

But a substantial group in the colonies had now reached a point when they insisted that the question of the right to tax, however metaphysical, was of vital importance. This group denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies and alleged recent examples to show that, in any case, it did not exercise the legislative power with expediency. That Burke and Chatham achieved a wide fame by their attitude toward the colonial cause is evident from a study of the nomenclature of the counties and towns in the older American states. But, faced with the actual task of conciliation, it is unlikely that either of them would have been more successful than was North with the act, carried in the midst of their eloquence, offering relief to colonies

that would voluntarily vote revenues to the crown. A constitutional point may not in itself arouse men to action, but, once they are aroused and such an issue is made, they are not easily appeased until the point is settled. Under the political conditions that existed, with the views of the constitution that prevailed, Burke and Chatham, no more than North, could accept the doctrine of the relations between the colonies and the crown that Congress upheld.

Sharper lines were drawn, therefore, on both sides of the Atlantic. In America, opinion was crystallized by a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, which appeared in Philadelphia in January, 1776. Although he was a native of England, it would have been difficult for another to give more appropriate expression to the gathering national emotions of a frontier people than did this staymaker, Thomas Paine. He did not blink the question of independence, and suggested that the colonies were growing up. "Is it," he asked, "the interest of a man to be a boy all his life?" He ridiculed the necessity of spending hundreds of thousands of pounds to support a single man as king. He became florid in his eulogy of liberty and in his appeal to America to become an asylum for the oppressed of mankind. "We have it in our power," he said, "to begin the world again. . . . The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men perhaps as numerous as all European countries, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months." In the early summer of the same year in which this widely circulated pamphlet was published, the party that had been agitating independence in the Continental Congress mustered a majority in favor of action, and a declaration, drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, was passed and signed and became a cherished document in American history.

At times it seemed that the projectors of the Revolution were more vocal in committing themselves, even to the extent of inviting punishment as traitors to the mother country, than they were willing to act in giving reality to their words. Even Washington, whose steady courage played no small part in the ultimate success of the adventure, was frequently at the point of despair. "Such a dearth of public spirit and want of virtue," he wrote on one of these occasions, "such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind and another . . . I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again." In another letter: "Such a dirty, mercenary spirit prevails the whole, that I should not be at all

surprised at any disaster that may happen." But the British were also finding it difficult to conduct a war which an incompetent minister, Lord George Germain, tried to direct from his post in Whitehall. By lax management, large sums were spent on the navy, with little to show for them in the way of an efficient force on the sea. In 1778 the campaign on land met with a disaster so considerable that it indicated greater strength than the American army really had. General Howe, who succeeded Gage in the early stages of the war, elected to attack Philadelphia instead of coöperating with Sir Henry Clinton, the Commander at New York, in sending an expedition to meet an army under General John Burgoyne that was coming down from the north in an effort to cut off New England from the other colonies. In consequence, Burgoyne and his army were captured. This substantial victory for the Americans helped France to decide to lend assistance; without it American success would have been doubtful, and it gave the war a new character.

A RENEWAL OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

The Treaty of Paris (1763), which deprived France of most of her territory in America, was felt the more keenly by French statesmen interested in foreign affairs in that it evidenced the humiliation of the country among European powers. Ambassadors and ministers representing the crown of Great Britain now began to demand places of precedence above those accorded to the representatives of France. The "Family Compact" with Spain and the alliance with the house of Austria were the chief diplomatic assets France had rescued from the wreck of her hopes. French statesmen attributed the enhanced prestige of Great Britain to her colonies and to her maritime power. Accordingly, they looked forward hopefully to a time when it might be possible to deprive Great Britain of these sources of strength. As early as 1765, the Duc de Choiseul, the minister responsible for the foreign policy of France in the later phases of the Seven Years' War, said frankly in a memorial to his royal master: "England is the declared enemy of your power and your state, and she will be so always. Many ages must elapse before a durable peace can be established with this state, which looks forward to the supremacy in the four quarters of the globe. Only the revolution which will occur some day in America, though we shall probably not see it, will put England

back to that state of weakness in which Europe will have no more fear of her.”

The agitation in the colonies against the Stamp Act stirred in the French Minister a hope that deliverance might be nearer than he had prophesied. In the spring of 1767 he sent one, Kalb, later an officer in the American Revolutionary army, first to Amsterdam and then to America to investigate rumors of unrest. Kalb, in his reports, discouraged any expectation of rebellion, but, in December of that same year, the French representative at London was feeding Choiseul's hopes. “Before six months have elapsed,” he wrote, “America will be on fire at every point. The question then is whether the colonists have the means of feeding it without the aid of a foreign war; and whether France and Spain should run the risk of taking an active part in fomenting the conflict and making it inextinguishable.” The Abbé Raynal's *History of the Indies*, published in 1770, also had weight in keeping the French ministers fixed in their determination. The author explained that the predominance of England was due to supremacy on the sea. “The marine,” he said, “is a new kind of power which has given, in some sort, the universe to Europe. This part of the globe, which is so limited, has acquired, by means of its fleet, an unlimited empire over the rest, so extended.” But France now lost the services of Choiseul, who did not have the support of the new favorite of the old King, and a revival of his projects awaited the accession of Louis XVI in 1774.

The minister of foreign affairs under the new King was Charles Gravier, better known by his later title, Count de Vergennes. He was trained in Choiseul's school of diplomacy and had seen service at a number of Continental courts. He accepted it as his mission to rescue the prestige of France from the slough into which it had fallen. The beginning of the partition of Poland, in which the King of Prussia and the Empresses of the Holy Roman Empire and Russia participated in 1772 without so much as consulting France, did not help the situation from the point of view of that country. France's ally, Maria Theresa, affected regret at the project. “She wept, but she took,” was the succinct comment of Frederick of Prussia. Russia was busy establishing herself on the shores of the Black Sea at the expense of Turkey. Vergennes scarcely knew in which direction to turn. He even thought for a moment of asking England to help defend Turkey. Then a prospect that Spain might become embroiled with Portugal and seek to acquire her smaller neigh-

bor, even at the expense of a break with England, led him to take stock of the troubles already brewing in the English colonies in America. In the autumn of 1775 he sent the dramatist, Beaumarchais, to London to discover the lay of the land. That agent reported that the war was "waged more ferociously in London than in Boston" and that America was lost to the British. Vergennes, thereupon, gave serious attention to the subject. Before the end of 1775 Rayneval, secretary to Vergennes, set down tentative conclusions to the effect that the colonies were seeking not merely a redress of grievances but entire independence of Great Britain. The interest of France in the premises was plain: "England is the national enemy of France, and a greedy, ambitious, unjust, and treacherous enemy, the constant and cherished object of whose system is, if not the destruction of France, at least her abasement, humiliation, and ruin." If the colonies should request help, it would advantage France to give it, since, in the end, it would enhance the power and commerce of France at the expense of England.

But France was already suffering under heavy financial burdens, and Turgot, the Minister of Finance, urged the King to be wary of embarking on expensive undertakings. Moreover, Turgot was of the economic school of the physiocrats, and so inclined to dispute the advantage of an empire founded on the principles of mercantilism. He felt that it was a wiser policy for a nation to convert its colonists from subjects into allies. Furthermore, the French did not greet with approval the prospect that Spain might annex Portugal. When this last danger finally passed, and the colonies declared their independence, the task of convincing the Spanish court that intervention in the war would yield an advantage was more difficult than was the persuasion of the French King. France, on that account, adopted a policy of giving secret aid to the American rebels. A fictitious corporation, managed by Beaumarchais, conveyed to them munitions and other needed supplies. Then Benjamin Franklin went to Paris to represent the Americans and to captivate the French capital. Some adventuresome young French nobles, the most prominent of whom was the Marquis de Lafayette, enlisted personally to serve the American cause, without much effort on the part of their government to oppose them. The capture of Burgoyne by the Americans, on the one hand, and the difficulty of going further with a policy of secret aid, on the other, determined Vergennes

to support the American cause before he was able to induce Spain to join with France in the undertaking.

The treaty which France signed with the American rebels, carrying, as it did, a guaranty of the independence of the colonies with extensive boundaries, caused Spain to hesitate at the prospect. The Spanish King still held an extensive empire in America; it was a dangerous experiment to assist the colonies of another European power in that quarter in a rebellion. Furthermore, the American states as an independent power might themselves become a menace to the Spanish dominions, especially if they were given access to the Gulf of Mexico through the navigation of the Mississippi. Spain did not finally agree to engage in the war until the French undertook to go on with the struggle to obtain Gibraltar, and perhaps Jamaica, as her part of the booty. France thus, on the one hand, bound herself to obtain independence for the Americans and, on the other, and that without the knowledge of the Americans, to obtain Gibraltar for Spain. Even so, Spain was lukewarm in the fight and sought to mediate a settlement. Failing that, she claimed a right to take for herself territories to the west of the Appalachian mountains, which were claimed by the British and not yet occupied by the Americans, though the latter thought in terms of a boundary reaching to the Mississippi River. The difficulties of a settlement are apparent.

The war was now a struggle for empire among the European powers. As in all maritime wars, the trade of neutrals suffered most from the belligerent with the most extensive powers on the sea. As a means of adding to the difficulties of the British, France and Spain acquiesced in the doctrines that free ships make free goods; that is, that a belligerent has no right to search the ships of a neutral for contraband. To have allowed such a rule in the case of Holland, would have meant an extension of Dutch trade which the British ministers felt to be scarcely reasonable. They, therefore, reminded the Dutch of their neglected treaty obligation to come to the relief of the British when attacked. Documents discovered on the capture of the American envoy, Henry Laurens, were the basis for forcing the Dutch into the group of active belligerents hostile to Great Britain. The powers in northern Europe, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, the Empire, and lesser powers, under the leadership of Frederick the Great, who had not forgiven the English for deserting him in the Seven Years' War, united in 1780 in an armed neutrality to protect their maritime rights. Great Britain

thus discovered herself isolated abroad and with little strength or unity at home.

The war on the American continent was conducted with even less vigor by both the British and the American rebels after France enlisted on the side of the colonies than had been the case before. Washington found it difficult to recruit or to retain the services of troops or to procure supplies, except such as funds came from France to purchase. The French finally dispatched an army under the command of the Marquis de Rochambeau, but of insufficient strength to accomplish the desired purposes. Then Spain demanded that assistance be given for the capture of Gibraltar and Jamaica, a plausible demand if the accomplishment of these projects was to be a condition of peace. An unexpected coincidence afforded to the combined French and American forces in 1781 a chance to achieve a success that proved to be decisive in favor of the Americans. Cornwallis, the British general in the southern provinces, acting contrary to the judgment of Sir Henry Clinton, his superior, chose to exert what power he had in subduing the Carolinas. Ultimately, he found himself isolated at Yorktown in eastern Virginia, awaiting supplies and reënforcements. The French naval commander, Count de Grasse, had, at the same juncture, been sent to the West Indies to coöperate with the Spanish in that quarter. While awaiting the coming of his Spanish allies, without specific instructions from home, but acting at the instigation of Rochambeau, he brought his fleet and several thousand troops to the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, there to join forces with Washington and the resident French commander in the capture of Cornwallis and his army. Though this disaster to the British proved decisive, as far as America was concerned, De Grasse himself was defeated a few months later in the West Indies by a British fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney. A little later the long process of arranging terms of peace began, a process made difficult for France, in that the aims of only one of her allies had been achieved.

The feeble efforts of the British at this time against the ancient enemy, humiliated less than a generation before, require explanation. The surging tide of patriotism that had swept the country into successful achievement under the inspiring leadership of Pitt in the Seven Years' War was now absent. There were calls that Chatham again come forward, when the hostility of France became open, but conditions made a repetition of his former success unlikely, if his age and health had permitted him to

make the attempt. George III refused to accept his services except as a subordinate of North, that is to say of himself. Moreover, Chatham and his followers were at variance with the Rockingham group as to the policy that ought to be adopted. Many followers of Rockingham had been led by their successive steps of opposition to the King and North to a point where they were convinced that it would be wise to acknowledge the independence of the colonies and then concentrate the resources of the country in the war against France, but Chatham did not acquiesce in this view. Theatrical to the last, when the Duke of Richmond, in 1778, moved a resolution in support of the Rockingham program, he hobbled down to the House of Lords to make his last public speech against the effort to "dismember" the empire, to the greatness of which he had contributed much in his time. This speech revealed that the disease which had sapped his life had left his mind distraught. He did not recover from the attack he suffered on the floor of the house when he rose to speak. After his death, all factions united to honor him in a public funeral. Only the King begrudged him that distinction and consoled himself with the hope that some of the followers of the dead leader might now come to the help of himself and North. But the division between the two groups in opposition and between both of them and the King was too great to be bridged under any leadership to which the King would agree. As the event was to prove, George III preferred even the dismemberment of the empire to yielding the point of his own supremacy in the government. Perhaps he was in part moved to this decision by the agitation of other questions then in progress. The substantial men in the kingdom were so thoroughly enmeshed in the factional disputes that divided them, that only the prospect of an overwhelming danger could have united them in common action, had the leadership available been abler than was actually the case. In fact, prospective bankruptcy was pressing France to make terms as soon as she could appease her allies, and so these British factions were left to fight out in the next decade the issues that divided them.

AGITATION FOR REFORM

By the time of the declaration of American independence, the followers of Chatham and Rockingham were agreed in believing that, as parliament was then constituted, it was almost impos-

sible to make headway in opposing the policies of the King. So thoroughly had George III mastered the rules of the political game that he seemed to be well-nigh irremovably entrenched in power. But a point on which the two largest groups opposed to the King soon found themselves sharply at variance was the remedy that ought to be adopted for a condition which they were agreed in pronouncing intolerable. The Rockingham group, for the most part, reasoned that the strength of the King in parliament lay in the number of members of that body who were recipients of substantial favors from the crown. Accordingly, they interested themselves in measures designed to exclude from the House of Commons persons having government contracts, persons receiving pensions from the King, and the lesser order of subordinate public officials. Many places that had become sinecures; that is, places carrying emoluments without any necessary duties, they proposed to abolish altogether. Finally, they proposed that officials in the navy and the treasury, including officers and employees in the customs houses and the like, should be denied the right to participate as voters in the election of members of the House of Commons. The Chathamites did not oppose these measures of what they called "economical" reform, but they wanted to go further and make changes in the very composition and method of election of the House of Commons. Most of the Rockingham group refused to join in this program, and the Chathamites themselves were never able to unite in support of a definite proposal. A suggestion that the duration of parliaments be shortened from seven to some lesser number of years, or even made annual, and Chatham's own suggestion that the shires be permitted to select a larger number of members illustrate the type of schemes they had in mind.

The parliaments of the eighteenth century are scarcely describable in terms familiar and pertinent when applied to those of later generations. Any attempt to compare the conventions of these earlier parliaments with those familiar in our own time is likely to lead to judgments of the earlier bodies so unfavorable as to be almost malign. Nevertheless, the men who participated in the older régime were probably no more conscious of engaging in a corrupt or discreditable enterprise than are politicians to-day. The point is, simply, that different conditions prevailed, conditions that the country was soon to outgrow and in time to supersede. But contemporaries were as genuinely proud of parliament in the eighteenth century as their ancestors were in the seventeenth or their descendants are to-day.

The English Revolution of 1689 was admittedly inspired chiefly by a desire to protect liberty and property. The parliament that afterward made itself substantially the supreme body in the state was, therefore, primarily representative of property and other vested interests. According to estimates current at the time of the American Revolution, the total voting population in England and Wales was only 214,000; the number in Scotland was even more ridiculously small. Of these voters in England and Wales, some 130,000 were freeholders eligible to vote for the ninety-two members of the House of Commons sent from the shires; the 421 members who sat for the cities, boroughs, and universities were chosen by the rest. In some cities, for example Westminster, the political capital, and London, the chief financial center, voters were numbered by the thousand. In lesser places, they did not reach a score. Even in the shires qualified persons seldom actually functioned as voters. In the general election of 1761, it was necessary to proceed to a poll in only two counties in all England and Wales; in the elections of 1768, of 1774, and of 1780, polls were taken respectively in eight, five, and three cases. A majority of the freeholds were in the hands of a comparatively small group of the larger landlords, and they were usually able to agree among themselves on suitable members, without the trouble and expense of actual voting. Even in a large county like Yorkshire, where the freeholders numbered some thousands, the wealthier and more influential families usually had no trouble in arranging matters much as they desired. A poll was not taken in Yorkshire between the time of the accession of George III and the end of the eighteenth century. In the borough constituencies, the nominal electors were worthy of, and received, even less consideration from those who held the reigns of power. In some boroughs, suffrage was vested in the householders, of whom there were usually a small number and they tenants of landlords who were careful that their houses should be inhabited by men who would vote according to instructions. Even in a larger constituency of this type—the city of Westminster was an example—each powerful magnate usually had a considerable number of voters who took their cue from him. George III did not hesitate to use his own influence in elections in the capital. In another type of constituencies, the right to vote was vested in certain burgage tenures, the owners of a majority of which naturally had the choice of the members of the House of Commons. In some boroughs, the corporation, which perpetuated itself by

coöptation, had the choice of the members. These corporations might elect to act independently, but a majority of the members were usually the henchmen of or amenable to the influence of a local magnate. The election was sometimes left to the freemen of the borough, but the corporation in those cases usually had the prerogative of electing additional freemen at will, and so control of the corporation meant control of the borough. Each borough was an individual case. The right to send members to parliament was a privilege granted by the crown in earlier times, and so governed by the charter and traditions of the constituency. Not many boroughs had been enfranchised since the time of the Stuarts, however, and many urban districts, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, had grown to considerable size without representation in parliament, while the single county of Cornwall sent more than two-score members from within its narrow boundaries. Those who served the patrons in the smaller places in the nominal task of electors, whatever the type of the constituency, not infrequently received a customary remuneration both for expenses and as an honorarium. But these payments were regarded more as conventional matters of compensation than as involving corruption. The electors were human, and it was unreasonable to expect them to function in a dependable way without some consideration.

If a man in control of a constituency cared to sit in the house himself, the matter was easy. If he had control of more than one seat (one magnate in the last decades of the eighteenth century had nine), he disposed of the rest for his own best advantage. If he was interested in politics, these seats in parliament were a plausible basis for claiming consideration in the distribution of offices or other evidences of power. A patron might use his seats as a source of income, accepting for them definite sums from the minister of the day or from some other interest desirous of having a representative in parliament. Although a seat in parliament of this type was not fully recognized under the law as a species of property, it was regarded as part of the assets of a bankrupt and, conventionally, was managed as property. The patron exerted himself to maintain his interest in or control of the constituency, and he expected to capitalize it for his own purposes as a matter of course. The government itself, through the naval and customs employees in some of the boroughs and by other similar arrangements, controlled the choice of between one and two hundred members, which were always available for the minister of the day, if he was in office

at the time of a general election. The bulk of the rest were in control of peers or wealthy commoners. Manifestly, electors of the type utilized in most boroughs seldom exercised themselves about political issues current in their time, and, when they did, they were not likely to let any views they might have influence their votes in an election. An election, therefore, contributed almost less than nothing toward revealing any national feeling that existed. Something that was beginning to have the appearance of public opinion was already a force with which statesmen had to reckon, but it was not able to make itself felt in an election.

Herein was the essential difference between the two projects for reform proposed by the groups opposed to the King. The Chathamites wanted parliament reformed in such a way that the substantial classes might express their will at the polls and have it reflected in parliament. Those who held with Rockingham preferred the parliamentary machine as it was then organized. Most of them had vested interests in parliamentary constituencies, which would be endangered by a radical change. Conscious of their own patriotism and good intentions, they were unable to see how the changes proposed by Chatham and his followers would help matters. In fact, they were already facing dangerous rivals in their efforts to maintain family influence where it prevailed and to extend it to other places. The custom in the past had been for a man who had accumulated a substantial amount of wealth and who wished to participate in the responsibilities of government either to procure a seat in parliament by purchase from a borough proprietor or else to establish himself on a country estate—by purchase if no opportunity offered for doing it by marriage—and so, in time, to obtain admission to the favored circle. But a new day was beginning to dawn that was to interrupt this comfortable arrangement. Even Chatham had denounced those who, coming back with the wealth of Asia “without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist.” Yet we recall that the speaker of this curious sentiment was himself the grandson of an importer of a small fortune from the Orient, and his relative still controlled Old Sarum, the most celebrated of all the so-called “rotten” boroughs.

The point was that property other than that in land was beginning to demand a voice in parliament and was making its

influence felt in what manner it could, the manner conventional for all classes at the time. Having obtained power in this way, however, those who held it seem to have behaved on political questions in much the same manner as those in a later day who spend proportionate sums in propaganda to procure favorable votes from more widely enfranchised constituencies. The difference is, that, in the earlier time, patriotic appeals had to be made only to the comparatively small part of the population who sat in parliament or who were instrumental in the actual designation of those who did so sit. It was because George III was astute enough to fortify himself with a majority in parliament, obtained in the ways familiar in his time, that his political opponents found it difficult to prevail against him. In desperation, they now undertook to arouse opposition to his policies, not only among members of parliament, where they had hitherto spent their efforts, but in the shires and larger towns as well.

Political agitation of this type had not hitherto been conducted in England on the scale now proposed by the opponents of the King. Their experience in the case of the arrest of Wilkes and of the disputed Middlesex election had disclosed several handicaps which called for remedy before they could go forward safely against an opponent as determined as George III. For example, the law of libel, as then applied by the courts, referred to the jury simply the question of whether the accused was guilty of publishing the offending statement, reserving to the court the decision as to whether the statement was in fact a libel under the given circumstances. Chatham insisted that this was bad law, and would not join with the Rockingham group in replacing it with a statute leaving to the jury the determination of the intent of the writer; not until 1792 was such a statute finally passed.

According to an old law, passed in parliament's youth, it was "highly criminal" to publish without the consent of the speaker what went on in the legislative houses. This law had long fallen into disuse, though those, like Dr. Johnson in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, who reported debates for the press usually represented them in some fictitious form. It was important that this law, in practice at least, be abrogated almost entirely, if persons outside were to influence or to be influenced by what went on in parliament. The question came to an issue over the case of Wilkes, in 1771, in a way that made London city magistrates abettors of the publication of debates. The offending officials were sent to the Tower, but the case caused so much

ado that little objection was later made to the publication of the debates in the press. The remarkable memory of Henry Sampson Woodfall, the conductor of the *Public Advertiser*, helped much to make the publication of the debates customary. He conducted his journal for a generation, and he had the ability to listen to speeches and then reproduce them with remarkable accuracy. The partizans of Wilkes had also adopted the policy of having the county authorities call meetings to petition parliament for action in his case. This expedient the opponents of the King now proceeded to use again.

The movement began in Yorkshire under the leadership of Christopher Wyvill, a local clergyman of independent means. Yorkshire was a strategic point for the purpose, both because of the large number of freeholders in the county and because most of them were amenable to the influence of Rockingham and some of the supporters of Chatham. A petition against the King's policy and in favor of a program of economy was obtained with little difficulty. The question of the reform of parliament was left in abeyance. Other counties followed suit. In Westminster, the presiding officer at the meeting was Charles James Fox, the younger son of Lord Holland, who had been dismissed from the King's service in 1774 for refusing to support a bill regulating the marriage of members of the royal family, and who had since been acting with the Rockingham group, though he did not always see eye to eye with them on the American question, and was destined to take a different view from theirs on parliamentary reform. After the petitions were formulated, an organization was perfected among the counties, somewhat like the American committees of correspondence, for the purpose of communication on questions of common interest. A convention of representatives of these groups was held in the winter of 1780, attended by men from some eighteen counties and towns. The immediate net result was to carry to a favorable vote in the House of Commons in that same year the resolution of John Dunning, a member of the Chathamite group, that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." That was common ground on which both the Chathamites, now led by Shelburne, and the followers of Rockingham could stand. But the county associations soon interested themselves in the question of reforming parliament, and most of the supporters of Rockingham participated less in their activities. Their timidity was emphasized by a riot in London, led by Lord George Gordon, against a bill designed to relieve Roman

Catholics of some of the disabilities under which they had labored since the Revolution. This illustration of the violent results that might follow a departure from traditional practices caused some fearful souls to prefer the existing ills to a venture into the unknown. But the more convinced of the reformers persisted in their views and laid foundations in program and doctrine for future generations. Various schemes were suggested, the most radical being a proposal that representation be based on population, that parliaments be elected annually, and that all males of proper age have a right to the suffrage. ▯

Many pamphlets, some of them widely circulated, appeared in support of these projects. Among the more notable were those by Major John Cartwright, brother of the inventor of textile machinery; by Dr. Richard Price, the philosopher and Unitarian divine; by Dr. John Jebb, Capel Lofft, Granville Sharp, and others who need not be mentioned. Both Fox and the Duke of Richmond adopted the views of the reformers, as did Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the dramatist and orator, who now came into parliament. Richmond for the moment adopted the most radical of the programs. A curious feature of all of these apostles of what was, in a later generation, to become a major issue was the typically English arguments with which they supported their views. Like the seventeenth-century opponents of the then existing order, they resorted to the records of the past and discovered all manner of precedents to confirm the conclusion that the existing organization of parliament was a departure from the ancient and purer state of that body. The man who collected and made available most of the citations to earlier literature used by writers of this and the following generation was a Dissenting schoolmaster, James Burgh, who died in 1774, soon after the publication of the third volume of his *Political Disquisitions*. Moved by the political discontent that resulted from the disputes between the King and his rivals and by the controversies anent John Wilkes, Burgh deliberately set for himself the task of discovering in the literature of the past the nature of government in general and that of Britain in particular. He had previously written a pamphlet in reply to Rousseau's theory of education as expounded in *Émile*, and his study was rather of the ancients and especially of the British writers of the seventeenth century than of the current writers in France. His work is noteworthy, in that it furnished a native platform for the more popular subsequent writers, who borrowed from him and for the most part gave him credit. But even

their work had little tangible result until after American independence was granted, and until even more startling events had transformed the face of Europe. For another half-century, parliament remained chiefly representative of propertied interests in land and trade.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA AND THE DEFEAT OF THE KING

"Easy, good-natured, facing-both-ways Lord North," as a contemporary described him, had never put his heart into the war against America. He disclaimed all responsibility for it; it was not of his seeking; it grew out of events for which he was not to blame; he was willing to end it on any terms short of humiliating surrender. He admitted openly that he was not master in his own ministerial household. When an opponent in debate addressed him on the assumption that he was the successor of Walpole, Newcastle, and Chatham, he replied that he knew of no such minister in the King's councils as then constituted. "I know of no such minister and do therefore hope that the honourable gentleman will consider me in two lights; namely, as acting at the head of a very important department, where I acknowledge I am solely answerable for whatever is transacted and as acting in concert with others in His Majesty's confidential councils." The King was his own prime minister. For that very reason, he clung to North and by dint of his own efforts kept him in a position from which he sought to be released after the early years of the American war. George III well knew how difficult it would be to find another respectable public man willing to play North's rôle. "Although he is not entirely to my mind," he said, "and there are many things about him I wish were changed, I don't know any who would do so well." Accordingly, he paid North's debts with money from his own pocket to relieve the embarrassment in his private affairs, and humored most of his suggestions in office, where they did not involve the point of relieving him from the position he filled with so little credit to himself and prospect of credit to the country. North made each successive evidence of his failure, and they did not come singly or infrequently, the occasion for a plea that he be permitted to retire from a responsibility which he lacked the capacity and was denied the authority to meet. But the King was more ingenious in pleading that he stay than North was in begging for permission to resign, and the despairing Minister

is reported to have given a somewhat incoherent but emphatic description of the situation in 1779: "I can't go on, indeed I won't, I am determined to resign, but why do I say determined to resign, when it is impossible for me to stay, treated as I am; there never were such people, they contradict and thwart me in everything, it is impossible for me if I wished it ever so much, no deference, no common civility; no common councils or wish of union in anything—they treat me in a way that no man was ever treated before, I don't know in the world what to do, if I wish ever so much to resign and give up business I can't, I am not my own master, I am tied to a stake and can't stir."

As long as Chatham lived, the King had an easy answer for North's requests for permission to quit office. He was entirely willing to accept the Earl or any other leader in the opposition as a lieutenant of North, which meant of himself. But he knew that Chatham personally would not accept office on those terms; and it was the frank policy of the Rockingham group to insist on a complete change of ministers, so that they might have sole responsibility for the conduct of the government. When, in the spring of 1779, after Chatham's death, several ministers from the old Bedford faction resigned office, on the ground that they despaired of a successful outcome of the ventures on which the country was embarked, North reported to the King that he found it difficult to urge them to remain, since he had held the same desperate conviction for some three years. George, thereupon, adopted a new tack. He was willing for North to resign, if all the parties would unite in an effort to preserve the integrity of the empire. But the Rockingham group had, by that time, declared in favor of the independence of America as a necessary step in the successful prosecution of the general war, and the King knew well their announced determination to undertake the administration of the government only if given complete control. And so poor North reluctantly agreed to go on, the King consoling him with a promise to share the onerous tasks of the hour.

The success of Dunning's motion and of other similar propositions of the opposition and the difficulty with which even more radical proposals were defeated afforded evidence that the interests represented in parliament, as it was then constituted, were growing impatient with the government as it was managed. The King, therefore, began to take steps to replace that parliament with one which he hoped would be more amenable to his wishes. He was already laying aside furtively from his own

privy purse a thousand pounds a month to supplement the funds the minister of the day was accustomed to take from the public treasury under the guise of secret service, and he brought pressure to bear in the many directions a king could still exert it if he had the mind. John Robinson had profited from a decade of experience and was now probably the most skilful manipulator of parliamentary arrangements that the eighteenth century had known. He and the King relieved North of most of the troublesome details incidental to the election, but the natural result of the event was to give the Minister nearly a hundred members pledged to support him personally. As for the rest, the new House was much like the old. The same interests found their accustomed places of representation. The Rockingham group carried one spectacular point against the ministry. Charles James Fox, who had finally adopted Burke's view of trying to force the King to accept a partizan administration and of acknowledging the independence of America as a preliminary to strengthening the war against France, was put forward as the opposition candidate in the city of Westminster. Since he had the support of a majority of the larger landlords in the capital, he had little trouble in polling a majority of the householders. From that time, he replaced Wilkes as the champion of the popular view from a populous constituency. But the Gordon riots and the division of the opposition on the question of parliamentary reform served, for the moment, to strengthen the position of the King, and North went hopelessly on. Presently he was trying again, all without avail, to get assistance from opponents who demanded the right to rule.

A majority of the members of parliament elected in 1780, like those elected in the years previous, were really representative of the groups that held the reins of power in Great Britain. These groups were rapidly coming to the conclusion that the increasing burdens of the war offered little chance of achieving successes commensurate with the cost. The defeat of Cornwallis confirmed them in this view. Accordingly, resolutions opposing the war received more and more support in the House of Commons. North was correspondingly more disconsolate. He had tried in vain, in 1778, a policy of conciliating the colonies by granting everything short of independence. Lord George Germain, the secretary of state responsible for the conduct of the war in the colonies, still refused to treat on the basis of granting independence. When North approached the King to suggest the substitute for Germain of a man more clearly aware

of the realities of the situation, George III replied that neither would he yield on the point of the independence of the colonies. When Germain resigned, and North could not induce Charles Jenkinson, Bute's old secretary and the heir of much of that nobleman's favor with the King, to accept the office, he finally determined, in March, 1782, to resign himself. This time the King's efforts to persuade him to hold on were in vain. The efforts of the King to patch up an administration to go on with the burden that North laid down were also futile in the end. He had to give up on the two points on which he had hitherto been adamant. He accepted a ministry practically dictated by Rockingham and the Chathamites, and he agreed to acknowledge American independence.

But the councils of the new ministers were as sharply divided after they took office as they had been while they were in opposition. They were able to unite in carrying certain of their economic reforms. The office of secretary of state for the colonies, created in 1768, was now abolished, as unlikely longer to serve a useful function. The Board of Trade and Plantations was also abolished, and such of its duties as remained were transferred to a committee of the Privy Council. North, in 1780, had procured the appointment of a commission to investigate the organization of the treasury, and action on that score was postponed to await the report. Other useless offices were abolished. Contractors were forbidden to sit in parliament. The amount that could be diverted from the treasury for use as secret service funds, and so for election purposes, was limited to five thousand pounds a year. Revenue officers were deprived of the suffrage, a reduction in the number of voters by some fifty thousand. The office of paymaster of the forces, in which Burke was the successor of Richard Rigby, was put on a new basis. The income of the official was fixed, and he lost his customary privilege of retaining the government funds for his own purposes, which had enriched Henry Fox in the Seven Years' War and had enabled Rigby to accumulate an even larger fortune in the war about to end. The new arrangement much curtailed the desirability of the office from the point of view of a needy statesman like Burke, and the reform is evidence of his genuine patriotism. In justification of previous agitation, the resolution passed in 1769 against Wilkes was expunged from the journal of the house. On all of these measures the ministers agreed, but on the question of the treaty of peace they were at odds.

Shelburne, the leader of the old Chathamite forces in the ministry, had acquiesced in the necessity of granting independence to the colonies, but he insisted that this act had not yet been consummated and could be used as a favor with which to trade in the process of the negotiation. If that point of view prevailed, Shelburne, who was secretary of state for home affairs and had charge of the colonies under the new arrangement, would have the responsibility of negotiating with the American representatives. Fox, who was secretary for foreign affairs, contended, on the other hand, that, since the independence of America was an accomplished fact in which the British had implicitly acquiesced, negotiations with the Americans was a part of the general routine of his office. Before long, both ministers had representatives at Paris holding interviews with Franklin and his associates, and those shrewd gentlemen naturally were inclined to like best the negotiators who offered the most liberal terms. The matter had reached a point where it involved the resignation of one of the British ministers, when action on it was delayed by the death, on July 1, 1782, of the Marquis of Rockingham.

That event opened the way for George III to raise again the constitutional question of whether the ministry was responsible to himself or to a party having the confidence of a majority of the members of parliament. He knew that Shelburne shared some of Chatham's views on the subject of government by party. Accordingly, he appealed to the ambition and vanity of the Chathamite leader by offering to him the post made vacant by the death of Rockingham. The Rockingham group themselves took counsel together and offered as their candidate for the place the Duke of Portland, a nobleman blessed with more wealth and dignity than actual ability. But the death of Rockingham, on whom much of Burke's prestige had depended, rapidly brought forward Fox as the active leader of the party. It was scarcely to be expected, however, that Shelburne would serve under Fox, had the private character of the latter made it expedient to give him a position of so much responsibility. Besides, as was well known, the King had developed a prejudice against him. So Portland was really put forward more as an arbiter and as an olive branch to Shelburne than as an actual leader. Soon after Shelburne accepted the offer of the King, the ministry began to disintegrate. The members of the Rockingham group gradually resigned their places, and the government depended for support on those who had long adhered to the constitutional

views of the King. But Shelburne was as unfamiliar with the potential forces in the British government as Chatham had been, and as little inclined to accept tutelage from the King. His Majesty had Robinson prepare for the Minister a detailed account of the state of the interests in control of parliament, but it did little good. Shelburne persisted in the old Chathamite shibboleths, in adherence to general principles of no very definite application and in an aversion to the current methods necessary in practical politics.

The procedure adopted in the negotiations with France and America are further evidence of Shelburne's uncertain political judgment. He let the need for a pacification that was apparent in Great Britain so fill his mind as to cloud an appreciation of the same need for peace that was felt by both France and America. Vergennes' promise of Gibraltar and Jamaica to Spain was, in fact, the chief difficulty in the way of a settlement. The victory of Rodney over De Grasse in the West Indies defeated any hope of taking Jamaica, and a successful relief expedition now decided the long siege of Gibraltar in favor of the British defenders. In searching for something with which to compensate Spain for this disappointment, the French Minister became less cordial in his support of the extensive claims of the Americans. John Jay and John Adams had joined Franklin as negotiators on the part of America. In the earlier stages of the negotiation, Shelburne had committed himself somewhat more favorably to American interests than might have been expected of any British minister, and he entrusted a share in the negotiations to Richard Oswald, who was almost naïve in his confidence in Franklin and who had himself an estate in America. So extensive had been the earlier claims of Franklin, to which Oswald listened, that when the American diplomat's colleagues persuaded him to come to terms with the British regardless of the wishes of Vergennes, it was in the nature of a compromise to make the Mississippi the western boundary of the new country. Vergennes had hoped to use a part of the region between the mountains and that river as compensation for the failure of Spain to obtain Gibraltar, a project upset by the agreement of the Americans with the British. Nor was that all. Fishermen of the new country were to have fishing rights on the banks off Newfoundland, though these rights were not very clearly defined and later became the subject of disputes. Finally, Shelburne was unable to induce the Americans to agree to do more than make a futile recommendation to the several states in behalf of

those inhabitants of the former colonies who had remained loyal to Great Britain. Many of these unfortunates were thus, as a reward for their patriotism, obliged to remove to Canada and there to begin life anew. Some were given pensions or other bounties from the crown. Many more were left to the not altogether tender mercies of their fellow-citizens in the new nation. By a cession of Minorca and of East Florida, Spain was finally induced to come to terms, and Shelburne was able to report to parliament the preliminaries of the peace in the early weeks of 1783. But he soon discovered that a negotiation had in the meantime been in progress at home which made his government powerless to proceed.

Of course there was no possibility that the terms of the treaty would be substantially changed, but both Fox and North could unite in criticizing the desertion of the loyalists and the failure to preserve an aggressive policy toward France. The vote was unfavorable to the ministers. In fact, Fox and North had been brought together by their associates and had agreed to unite in a program of opposition to the government of Shelburne and the King. North knew from bitter experience the inadequacy of a ministry with no head but the King and with every department acting independently, frequently without even consulting the cabinet as a body. The experience of the Rockingham group, when the King preferred Shelburne to Portland, made the nomination of the prime minister by his own colleagues one of the points on which they now insisted. Both North and his friends knew that the supporters who still followed his leadership would be largely dissipated should the next general election find him out of office. Fox and North and their several followers, therefore, agreed to enlist under the Duke of Portland and to challenge the leadership of the King. Their strength in parliament was enough to convince Shelburne at once that his task was hopeless. He had already been obliged to enlist as chancellor of the exchequer the services of William Pitt, second son of the late Earl Chatham, a young man twenty-three years of age. The young man gave evidence that he had inherited from his father at least an abundance of confidence in his own ability by refusing to accept less than a major appointment in the ministry when the Rockingham administration was organized. To him the King now turned, in desperation, as he turned to every other plausible person, in the six weeks of frantic effort he spent in trying to avoid another ministry imposed on him by parliament. Pitt canvassed the situation thoroughly with his

friends and declined the proffered appointment reluctantly, on the ground that there was no probability that he could win the necessary support in parliament. The King suggested a compromise on some peer not a member of any faction, but Fox and North were inexorable. In the end the King yielded, since there was no other course to pursue if his government was to go on.

George III seemed thus, in the spring of 1783, to have been defeated on the two points on which he had set his heart. He had begun his reign with a fixed determination, of which he had not lost sight to that hour, that he would himself be the head of the executive government of the kingdom. More than once, he had threatened to give up his throne itself rather than submit to the dismemberment of his dominions. By his insistence on what he regarded as his rights under the constitution, he defeated any chance he might have had of uniting the country in defence of the empire. Now he was himself obliged to take orders from ministers who could boast the support of parliament against him. There was, to be sure, the possibility of another day, but for the time he was in despair and naturally bitter against Fox and North. He remembered former ministries in his reign composed of factions hitherto hostile that agreed for the moment to act together. He was destined to be served by other similar combinations in the generation and more he had yet to live. But he was no doubt expressing his genuine and very human emotions at the time when he pronounced the partnership of Fox and North "the most unprincipled coalition the annals of this or any other nation can equal."

FOR FURTHER STUDY

J. T. Adams, *Revolutionary New England*, chs. xvii-xviii; C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution*, chs. iii-iv; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, ch. xii; G. B. Hertz, *The Old Colonial System*, chs. v-x; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. ch. viii; John Morley, *Burke*, chs. iv-v; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians (George III)*, ch. ii; G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, chs. i-iv; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part IV. ch. ix.

FOR WIDER READING

H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. ch. vii; E. S. Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778*; R. Coupland, *The Quebec Act*; H. E. Egerton, *The Causes and Character of the American Revolution*; J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Spirit of the American Revolution*; Edmund Fitz-

maurice, *The Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, I. xiv-xv; II. chs. i-vii; G. E. Howard, *The Preliminaries of the American Revolution*, chs. xiv-xviii; William Hunt, *The History of England 1760-1801*, chs. vii-xi; Henry Jephson, *The Platform, Its Rise and Progress*, I. chs. i-v; W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada*, chs. iv-vii; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, III. ch. xiii; IV. chs. xiv-xv; Reginald Lucas, *Lord North*, II. chs. xi-xvi; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, chs. ix-xiv; A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, chs. vi-xv; C. H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence*, chs. i-iv, xi-xvii; *The American Revolution*; Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, II. chs. xxiv-xxv.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 448, contains a map of the North American colonies and the West Indies, 1775-1783. Muir, ff. 55, 56a, illustrates the war in America. Shepherd, p. 194, shows the American colonies, 1763-1775; p. 195, the campaigns of the American Revolution, 1775-1781; p. 196, the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, II. 333, contains a map of the European world at the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. appendix, has a map of the West Indies in 1780. C. H. VanTyne, *The American Revolution*, pp. 26, 68, 228, 250, 270, 278, 290, contains maps illustrating various military phases of the American Revolution.

PART III

INDUSTRY, DEMOCRACY, AND THE COMMON-
WEALTH OF NATIONS

CHAPTER XXI

NEW FORCES TO THE RESCUE

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY INTERVENES

The political leaders of the eighteenth century were gradually becoming adepts in the art of dispersing propaganda among the comparatively small part of the population that took an intelligent interest in public affairs. They had learned by experience that, if clamor could be made to arouse actual excitement, it might intimidate those who had the responsibility of power and might thus result in action. The coalition between Fox and North naturally occasioned much criticism, which was incorporated in pamphlets, cartoons, newspaper paragraphs, and other media then in vogue. As was not infrequently the case in this period, this propaganda caused little excitement, except among those whose personal interests were involved. By the late summer of 1783, Pitt decided to make his first and only visit to the Continent. But for the unconcealed hostility of the King, the ministry seemed to be as firmly established in office as it was possible for an administration to be at that time. There was, it is true, a brief interval of embarrassment in providing for the Prince of Wales, who had just come of age and who, like most scions of his house, was at odds with his father and affected sympathy with views opposed to those of the King, cultivating the friendship of his father's political opponents. Since the ministers were in the Prince's favor, they were inclined to treat him more favorably than his father thought prudent. But this matter was compromised to the satisfaction of everybody except the Prince, who was destined never to be satisfied himself or to give much satisfaction to anybody else, and there seemed to be nothing else in the way of the success of the ministry.

The question of India, on which it actually fell before the end of a year, was not a new one. The measure passed in 1773 for the regulation of the government of India contained so many checks on the exercise of power by those responsible for action

that it was difficult to do anything effective. Hastings, the Governor General, was one of the most vigorous personalities of his age. His career in India, coming at a time when the war with France was renewed and British affairs in the Orient thereby rendered critical, covered a period which called for decisive leadership. He was handicapped by the opposition to his policies of three members of his council of five and by the failure of the governors of Bombay and Madras to act according to his suggestions. Early in his administration (1774), he took the unusual step of lending the assistance of English troops to the Vizier of Oude in a war on a rival group, the Rohillas. The success of this enterprise made possible the creation of an allied buffer district, which did much to protect Bengal on its north-western border, but the nature of the action indicated that the Governor General was more concerned about the ends he desired to accomplish than careful of the means he used. Later (1776) the Bombay district became involved in a war with the Mahrattas, and still later (1778) the Madras district was involved with Hyder Ali, the usurping sultan of Mysore, who counted on aid from the French. In none of these cases was Hastings to blame for beginning the trouble, but he exerted what power he had to defend the interests of the company and took Pondicherry and most of the other French and Dutch possessions in the country. These enterprises required large expenditures, larger sums, indeed, than Hastings could derive from normal sources. Among the methods he adopted to supplement his income was to demand a contribution of fifty thousand pounds additional from the native farmer of the land revenues of Benares. When that worthy, in a manner that Hastings thought embarrassing, declined to pay, he was penalized a sum ten times the amount of the original demand. Another case that became famous was the coöperation of Hastings with the Rajah of Oude in taking from the latter's mother, so that it might be applied to arrears he owed the company, the better part of property valued at two million pounds, which she had inherited from her husband. This adventure ultimately required the assistance of British troops and obviously had its unpleasant aspects.

The straits of the company and word of some of these doings combined to give North concern before his resignation in 1782. In 1780, on the motion of Henry Dundas, who now became an important personage in his time by reason of his control of the patronage and most of the parliamentary votes of Scotland, a special committee, with the mover as chairman and Burke one

of its most active members, was appointed to investigate Indian questions. This committee recommended, among other things, that the company recall Hastings. The directors of the company agreed to act on this request, but were prohibited from doing it by the proprietors. Meanwhile, in the interval that passed while times were becoming a little more settled politically, some of those who had accumulated fortunes by favorable contracts or other ventures in the American war, prominent among them being Richard Atkinson, were making investments in the eastern enterprise of the capital they had acquired in their earlier ventures elsewhere. In this same interval some of the opponents of Hastings in India—Philip Francis, a friend of Burke and the reputed author of the letters of Junius, was a prominent example—had returned to England and were laboring to spread an unfavorable impression of the Governor General. Hastings had engaged in a duel with Francis while he was a member of the council at Calcutta, and the latter received a bullet. All parties agreed that something must be done to repair the financial condition of the company, to subordinate it to the government at home, and to regulate its administration in India. But the company touched the largest vested interests of its day, and its regulation was a difficult question at best. It was made more difficult by the resentment felt by the older landlords at the growing tendency of returned nabobs to use their wealth to procure seats in parliament. It was now complicated still more by the personal feeling that Francis engendered and by the genuine sympathy which Burke, especially, began to encourage in himself for an oppressed Oriental people, who were in a sense the wards of his country. This sympathy was transformed into indignation, as the warm-hearted orator fed his emotions on the fancies of his own rich imagination.

The bills proposed by Fox when parliament assembled in the autumn of 1783 were designed to prevent certain familiar abuses in India and to transfer the management of the company's affairs from the directors and proprietors, who had acted in defiance of the government, to two commissions that were to be constituted by the proposed acts. One commission, the members of which were named in the bill to serve for a period of seven years, after which they were to be replaced by nominees of the crown, was to have the management of the territories that had been acquired by the company. The other commission was to be named by parliament from among the larger proprietors and was to have control of the more strictly commercial affairs of

the company. The opponents of the ministers naturally criticized these proposals as violations of the charter of the company. Similarly, in 1773, the opponents of the government, including Burke and Fox, had criticized North's measure of that year. If passed, the bill would naturally be further evidence of the power of parliament, and, when put into effect, it could scarcely help adding somewhat to the strength of the party in power. The defenders of the proposals alleged that the affairs of the company had reached a stage when less heroic measures would not suffice.

The proprietors became alarmed for the safety of their investments and at the prospect that their privileges might be restricted. They forgot the differences that had formerly divided them and united in a determination to do something to preserve what they regarded as their rights. They tried to stimulate in other commercial and financial companies the fears they felt. But desperate action was necessary if the day was to be saved, for the bills introduced by Fox passed the House of Commons by a vote of two to one. Atkinson came forward as a leader of the proprietors and was elected a director. He found a collaborer in Charles Jenkinson, who had access to the King and who was known as a student of commerce and of commercial treaties. The King's dislike of his ministers could be taken for granted. But immediate and resolute action was necessary, for the bills would soon be on their way through the House of Lords, and there was no reason to assume that their reception in that body would be unfavorable. Pitt had returned to attend parliament and was opposing the bills in exaggerated language, but what Atkinson and Jenkinson needed was action that would hinder their progress and votes to prevent their final passage. They took counsel with John Robinson, who showed them without difficulty that if the King would dismiss his ministers and dissolve parliament a new ministry under Pitt, supported by the interests involved in the company, by the old Chathamite group, and by the faction controlled by the King, could easily obtain a majority in the House of Commons. The evidence offered by Robinson convinced Pitt that he could now obtain the support in parliament of which he had despaired in the spring, and he agreed to enlist in the undertaking. The King used his personal influence, and authorized its use by others, to bring every possible pressure on peers to induce them to vote against his ministers. Since noblemen depended on the King for their hopes of favors in the future, only the more courageous and deter-

mined were likely to resist this pressure. The proposals were easily defeated in the upper house, and, after waiting a day for their resignations, the King dismissed his ministers.

According to the first scheme, the next step was to dissolve parliament. The House of Commons took many occasions to vote censorial resolutions on the new administration under Pitt. In later generations all parties would have united in calling for a dissolution. But that prospect was little relished by Fox and North, who knew that many of their supporters, who sat for constituencies where the election was in the hands of the government of the day, would lose their seats.¹ Not for decades had a parliament been elected hostile to the ministry in control of the government at the time of the election. Robinson's figures, which had constituted the basis of Pitt's action, were grounded on the assumption that the new parliament would be elected with the new ministers in office. Nevertheless, they hesitated to take at once a step so unusual. It partook somewhat of the Stuart method of dealing with parliaments that did not please the monarch, and more than once in the previous twenty years of opposition to George III his opponents had accused him of dallying with this, as they alleged, unconstitutional procedure. It was well known that a parliamentary election was simply a season of arranging interests, many of which were vested in a few hands, and the custom was to let parliaments run their allotted time and so save the expense of elections. Another reason why the new ministers were willing to delay an election that they could not long postpone was that they might have time to perfect their own arrangements. In many cases delay would gain the support of members who recognized that, under the new arrangements, the constituencies for which they sat would go to the administration. But the proprietors of the company were frightened and were unwilling to take chances. The expenses of the election fell largely on them, since the King had not yet finished paying the debts contracted in 1780, and they showed themselves more lavish than George III had ever been. Robinson himself, knowing that some of these expenditures were unnecessary, felt them to be improper. But Atkinson and his kind were not as familiar with the location of the seats of power as was the past master in the art of parliamentary manipula-

¹ The conventions by which later cabinets are governed would, of course, have permitted Fox and North to dissolve parliament before retiring from office. But that would have defeated the whole project on which the company and the King had embarked.

tion, and their minds were more uneasy as to the result. The outcome more than justified Robinson's estimate. It also demonstrated to the business magnates that they could use their wealth on occasion to obtain a portion of political power, a lesson they were not likely to forget themselves or to let ministers forget in the future.

Pitt had agreed with the representatives of the company on the substance of a bill while they were concerting action against the previous administration. This bill was now reintroduced and passed with some amendment. The actual management of the affairs of the company was left with the directors, but they were themselves placed under the supervision of a board of control nominated by the crown from the members of the Privy Council. The board had a veto on the action of the directors. In the long run, the board assumed many of the functions that Fox had assigned to his commissions. Dundas became its most influential member and later its chairman. The result was that a steady stream of needy Scots went to the Orient to seek the fortune it was not easy to make at home and to play a large part in building up the organization that developed the territorial dominion of a trading company into a unique empire.

Lord Cornwallis was sent out as governor general, with the bill so modified as to permit him to act contrary to the wishes of his council if he thought it necessary. When Hastings returned to England, the King received him with favor. He was scarcely in favor with parliament, though he was represented in that body by a member. He wished his record cleared of the accusations against him. His efforts in that direction resulted in his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors on charges growing out of the Rohilla war and the two occasions when he violated the proprieties in raising funds. The first charge failed in the House of Commons. Pitt and some of his colleagues voted for the other two, and the next seven years were spent in trying the case. By the end of that period much eloquence had been wasted, spleen vented, and money spent. He was finally acquitted, though at the cost of most of the fortune he had accumulated in India. In later times he has taken a place among those who counted most in building British power in the East. In the meantime, the new administration that the East India Company helped so materially to bring into office was busy with other things, and the King felt that he was once again on his throne.

CHANGE AND REFORM

Many important questions soon claimed the attention of the youthful Minister, who was destined to be so busy with practical politics for the rest of his days that his mind was never matured by reading or reflective observation. Though he lived in a generation that was leaving behind many of the conditions with which his father was familiar, the son, nevertheless, found his chief inspiration in the lessons he had learned at the paternal knee. As far as he may be said to have had a conscious purpose at all, it was to restore the country to the position of power and prestige it had attained under the leadership of the elder statesman. His first budget (1784), however, revealed the influence of the allies who had assisted him to power. The duties on tea were reduced from the current rate of 119% to 121½%, both as a method of preventing smuggling and as an act of material profit to the company of traders with the East. To replace the revenue thus lost, the Minister had recourse to excise taxes on windows, hats, silk, cotton manufactures, and like commodities. The last item rose to plague him in a little while. The investigation of the complicated and antiquated system of taxation and finance then in vogue, which North had instigated and which Shelburne had pushed aggressively, now resulted in a body of information which served as a basis for action. In 1787 Pitt carried through parliament a measure consolidating into one fund all internal revenues and those derived from the customs, so that thereafter the proposed expenditures for the year might be more easily adjusted to the income available and the budget more easily understood. Then Dr. Richard Price, who was by way of being a mathematician as well as a philosopher and divine, interested Pitt in the seemingly marvelous accumulation of money placed at compound interest. The additions that had accrued to the national debt as a result of the American war made the debt so burdensome as to seem almost unendurable. In 1786, therefore, the young Minister induced parliament to begin to put aside a million pounds a year at interest, in the hope that in a few decades the debt would be obliterated. Critics of the project pointed out the fallacy of the scheme at the time, but Pitt persisted, even after the country went to war again, in borrowing money at a high rate of interest and applying it to the fund at a lower rate, and refused to be convinced of his mistakes even to the end of his political career.

The young Minister felt that his past record had committed him on the subject of a reform of parliament. This was, we recall, one of the issues that had divided the followers of his father from those of Rockingham. Pitt himself sponsored a bill for reform in the administration of Fox and North, knowing that these two ministers differed on that subject. He now pledged to the cause all of his influence as a "man and a minister" and spent some of the enthusiasm natural in one of his years in an effort to enlist the support of his colleagues in the enterprise. Robinson gave assistance in drawing the bill he proposed, which contemplated the transfer of the members of some of the more "rotten" boroughs to the more populous counties and the unrepresented urban centers. The property rights of the patrons of the disfranchised boroughs were to be recognized and compensation granted. Even this tender consideration of the vested interests involved failed to enlist the support of the persons most interested or of the King. Fox had already reached the conclusion, which he announced as a part of his declaration in favor of reform, that representation was a right of the people, and that it was indefensible to remunerate those who held this right in contravention of the interests of the public. He voted for the proposal, nevertheless, as did others among his friends who favored reform. Not so, many of those on whom Pitt depended for his normal majorities. This proposal met the same fate as that for the abolition of the slave trade, a measure behind which there was a growing public conscience led by Pitt's personal friend, William Wilberforce. On this question also, Fox voted with Pitt and Wilberforce and against a majority of Pitt's normal supporters.

In imposing an excise on cotton goods and in the inquisitive methods provided for its collection, Pitt revealed that he was unaware of a growing power in the country that it was indiscreet longer to disregard. New textile machinery was coming into general use, especially in Lancashire, which employed men by the thousands. When the Minister treated with scant notice respectful petitions for an adjustment of their grievances, the manufacturers began to organize themselves and to enlist assistance from other prosperous manufacturing interests, notably the potters and the workers of iron. The power of the organization that resulted was displayed against a measure which Pitt proposed in 1785 to promote more harmonious relations with Ireland. The ferment aroused in that country in the course of the American war was not allayed by repeated grants of political

autonomy made in response to demands supported by a show of force. It had long been the policy of Great Britain to exclude the Irish from free participation in trade or manufacturing except in the item of linen. Pitt's proposal, made on the suggestion of the Lord Lieutenant, his personal friend, involved the admission of the Irish on the same terms with the British to certain branches of trade, including that in cottons. He was careful to make exceptions in the case of agricultural products and wool. He took care also to protect the interests of the East India Company, though the West India merchants felt that they had not received similar consideration. In consequence, the interests involved organized a widespread campaign of propaganda. Taking the lead in this propaganda was the recently instituted General Chamber of Manufacturers, with Wedgewood, the potter, at its head. The Irish were introducing a system of bounties for the manufacture of cotton, and it was suggested that this fact, added to less burdensome taxation and the cheaper labor that Ireland could offer, would result in the destruction of the cotton industry in England. The West India merchants supported the campaign, and Pitt was obliged both to abandon the excise on cotton goods and so to modify the Irish propositions that they were unlikely to serve the purpose for which they were intended. As a result, they were never adopted.

Another undertaking in which the support of the ministry was enlisted in this early period of his career was destined to bear fruit, though not in his time. Captain James Cook, the explorer, made his last voyage (1779) before Pitt entered parliament. On his first famous voyage (1768) to conduct a company of scientists, sent out by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus, he was accompanied by Joseph Banks, a young botanist and later long president of the society. On this voyage Cook charted the coast of New Zealand, the eastern coast of Australia, and a part of that of New Guinea. Now since the revolt of the American colonies there had been no British settlement to which to send felons to save them from the hard fate of the inhuman criminal code which prevailed in England. A few had been sent to the coast of Africa, a curious exchange in population for the African natives, who were systematically collected and sold into slavery. At the suggestion of Banks, who contrived to be a friend of Pitt and of most politicians with influence, a settlement of convicts was made under the leadership of Captain Arthur Phillip. The first transports sailed in the spring of 1787 and reached Botany Bay, Australia, in January, 1788,

preceding by only a few days a French expedition to the same quarter. The first settlement was called Sidney, in honor of Thomas Townshend, Lord Sidney, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Perhaps the changes of greatest importance taking place in England at this juncture were in matters concerning which neither Pitt nor his associates ever had much knowledge or understanding. The great universities were founded in the middle ages as centers for training men, frequently from the humbler social classes, as leaders in the Church, though the graduates sometimes achieved a certain prominence in the state also. These institutions had now entirely departed from their original character. To them resorted only those who looked forward to membership in the group dominant in society. As they lost their character as centers of learning, the universities became centers where these favored youths congregated and acquired, by association with each other and by sharing in the accumulating traditions of the places, the habits of life they were to perpetuate. The schools from which young men went to the universities developed a similar exclusiveness. In the industrial and commercial towns were other endowed schools where the scions of tradesmen were trained to go on with the work their forbears had begun. Nowhere was there any considerable evidence that the state felt a corporate responsibility for the education of the mass of its members. Only in the writings of economists like Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus were suggestions so revolutionary beginning to make their appearance. The efforts that were making to give a modicum of learning to those who were known as the "lower orders" were increasingly inspired by religious motives, perhaps in part as a result of the Wesleyan movement. Robert Raikes, a Gloucester printer, opened his first Sunday School in 1780. Soon Andrew Bell, and later Joseph Lancaster, would enlist in a work somewhat similar. Hitherto, the nearest to organized instruction had been under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the national Church and of various Dissenting chapels.

There were, nevertheless, many evidences that rural life was undergoing changes that profoundly affected its character. Robert Bakewell in Lancashire was demonstrating the feasibility of improving the breeds of sheep and cattle and was introducing methods effective for that purpose. Arthur Young had already made a failure as a practical farmer and had begun his more successful career in instructing others in the art at which he

had himself failed. He was the first secretary to the board of agriculture, when it was organized in 1793. Incessantly, he preached the doctrines of better methods of cultivation and of a rotation and diversification of crops. In the same generation a number of men of wealth were following the examples of Jethro Tull and "Turnip" Townshend and were demonstrating in practice that agricultural methods could be improved. Most notable among this group of successful farmers was Thomas William Coke of Norfolk, now in the prime of his long and useful life. From 1778 to 1821, at sheep-shearing time each year, he summoned a meeting of farmers for a conference on matters pertaining to agriculture. These conferences became so famous that men attended from distant foreign lands. No fewer than seven thousand persons attended the last meeting.

Improvement in agriculture made inevitable an improvement in the methods and facilities of transportation. It profited little for Bakewell to breed a variety of sheep with small bones and a maximum of meat for food, unless means could be devised for sending the meat to market. As yet, the sheep, cattle, and fowls that went to satisfy the appetites of the inhabitants of a city like London had all to be driven in on foot. In most parts of the kingdom freight had still to be conveyed in packs on the backs of men or horses, though some roads were beginning to be improved. A material step in this undertaking was the establishment of a system of turnpikes maintained by tolls. These were makeshifts at best, but they helped to put transportation on wheels to a greater extent than had been the case before.

There was need for haste in developing facilities for transportation. The population was already in a process of shifting, such as no country had ever witnessed before. It was not wholly because the growing industrial towns attracted from the rural districts men ambitious to achieve for themselves a better economic station. The rural districts themselves were undergoing a transformation that ejected the humbler people from their holdings almost by force and turned them adrift. This was especially true in districts where the village community and the open field system had been the typical form of agricultural organization. It profited little to turn livestock of an improved breed into a common pasture to mingle with those of a non-descript blood. Thus the open field system made the improvement of agricultural methods difficult if not impossible. Added to these reasons for abandoning the system of rural life familiar in England for centuries, was the pressure of the new types

of landlords, who, emulating the methods of men in commerce and industry, wished to make their investments in land more lucrative. Before George III came to the throne, experience had conventionalized the methods of transforming an old village community into enclosed units of a new type, most of them of considerable size and in the possession of men of wealth or of substantial farmers.

As though looking forward to the time when this difficult task of social reorganization would be undertaken, the local government in the counties had gradually drifted into the hands of the same substantial classes of landlords who sat in parliament. As the offices of sheriff and lord lieutenant lost some of their active functions, the justices of peace came forward as the important men in the shires. They served without pay and were usually nominated to the king by the lord lieutenant. They were, therefore, likely to be men of substance and not wholly out of sympathy with things as they existed. The justice of peace held his quarter sessions concurrently with the assizes of the king's justices, and to his court local offenders against the peace were brought for trial. Like the sheriff of old, the justice of peace was called on to attend to local matters as parliament saw fit to prescribe. Before him came the violators of the game laws and the other infractors of the conventions of rural life. For the less important cases, he held petty sessions between the quarterly meetings, when he acted without the assistance of a jury. The tone of rural life was thus in a large measure determined by the justice of peace and by the circle in which he moved. To the justice, who not infrequently shared in the profits of the change, the humbler members of an old village had to bring their complaints, if they felt aggrieved at the treatment they received in the process of its dissolution.

The dissolution of some villages was by agreement, but in most cases of which we have knowledge the new system was inaugurated by act of parliament. Some two thousand of these acts were passed in the period from the accession of George III to the end of the eighteenth century, enclosing approximately three million acres of land. The question was usually first brought to the attention of parliament by the old method of petition, and the petition had to represent the holders of a large part of the area involved. That was not a difficult matter, since the enclosure was likely to be initiated by the lord of the manor, who usually represented in his own person a sufficient area to comply with any reasonable requirement on that basis. Once before

parliament, unless some formidable rival intervened to object, the proposal was referred to a special committee, on which the petitioner himself might sit, and sometimes did, and was then passed as a matter of routine. As a further method of procedure after its passage, the act provided for the appointment of a commission, in which was vested the responsibility of reallocoting the land of the old village so that all parties concerned would receive some approximate compensation for their rights. The manorial courts of older times—called variously court leet, court baron, view of frank pledge, etc.—became functionless as a result of the enclosure. Those who had been wont to participate in them in adjusting the coöperative work of the village had now, in one proceeding, to present their claims to the commissioners, who sat as representatives of the state in the capacity of arbiters, and usually had to accept the award as final. Service on these commissions became a profession while the enclosure movement was in progress. An appeal to the court of quarter sessions usually brought little satisfaction, and only those substantial persons whose interests were likely to receive respectful consideration by the commissioners in the first place could afford the expense of an appeal to the courts of the king. The enclosure of the new tracts by fences or hedges became the common burden of those who received allotments. Sometimes, when the right of the Church to a tithe was compounded by the grant of a definite area of land, the others concerned accepted the responsibility of enclosing that area. The lord of the manor and those who received the larger allotments could afford to pay the expenses of enclosure and of the commission, since they might reasonably expect to profit by the new arrangement. But the cottagers and lesser tenants in general found themselves without the accustomed pastures for their cows and pigs, without sources of supply of fuel and timber, and without compensation for these losses, except an area of land too small in many cases to afford them a livelihood. Frequently they had not the means to enclose these small areas, as they were required to do under the terms of the act. Accordingly, they were reduced to the necessity of becoming laborers for wages on the estates of the larger proprietors, if they remained in their old surroundings at all. For a time, many of them found work helping to build the many fences and roads and to set the hedges made necessary by the enclosure. Later, they poured in steady streams into the growing industrial towns. For the time being, their migration from one community to another was made difficult by the old

law making each parish responsible for the care of its own indigent. Specific permission was required before removal could take place. Parish authorities that would otherwise have been glad to pass on a share of a burden likely to fall on them made less haste to consent to removals to distant places, since they had to face the prospect of later bearing the expenses of bringing back and caring for a family that found no supporting haven of refuge.

This shifting of population afforded materials ready at hand for poets, such as Goldsmith, who were capable of sentimentality. More than one village was deserted in his time to make way for the more efficient agriculture of the landlords of the new day. Not many of these landlords as yet foresaw the time when their successors would withdraw from cultivation large areas of the land in which they took pride and reserve them as fields for sport and as aids to social standing. The eighteenth-century landlords coveted the higher rents that would accrue from more efficient agriculture as well as the accompanying prestige. If hardships were incidentally inflicted on the lesser folk, who had rested on their age-long privileges and had not thriven, perhaps it was unavoidable. Burke, who saw clearly the merits of the existing order of society, in this case demonstrated his ability, as he did in so many others, to suggest a philosophy that would comfort, if it could not remedy or console. "The body of the people," he said, "must not find the natural principles of subordination by art rooted out of their minds. They must respect that property of which they cannot partake. They must labor to obtain what by labor can be obtained; and when they find, as they commonly do, the success disproportioned to the endeavor, they must be taught their consolation in the final proportions of eternal justice." Doubtless the more successful leaders of the evangelical movement reflected unconsciously the same philosophy when they directed the attention of those among whom they labored to hopes of bliss in a world to come rather than to the feasibility of remedying conditions in the one in which they were unfortunately for the time being obliged to live. At any rate, they did more than the more eminent political philosopher and orator to help a multitude of Englishmen of this age to bear the ills which the social changes in progress entailed upon them. As is not infrequently the case, the gainers by the process were for the most part those who already enjoyed established positions in society. Perhaps the economic strength of the nation at large was increased, though that is still a mooted

question and one not easy to answer with authority. The one thing certain was the change in rural society.

A CHIP FROM THE OLD BLOCK

It would be incorrect to attribute to William Pitt personal responsibility for the foreign policy adopted by Great Britain after he had established himself as chief minister. Any government partaking of the spirit of the time would at that juncture have made it a primary aim to restore to the country the power and prestige among the nations it had formerly boasted and had now admittedly lost. Much the more was this policy natural for a government under the leadership of Chatham's son, who could not forget that Britain's greatness in the past was associated with his father's name. However, it was soon apparent to a thoughtful observer that the losses suffered were not as serious as they seemed on a first impression. In the case of the American states, Great Britain had exchanged a chronic dispute, which her statesmen had not yet developed the genius to settle, for a more peaceful relationship, in which most of the advantages of the old arrangement were retained, with none of its responsibilities and only a few of its difficulties. Although the commercial treaty for which the settlement of 1783 provided was not negotiated until a later threat stimulated the government to action, the Privy Council permitted the trade interrupted by the war to be renewed in most of its aspects. America was still the best single customer for goods of British manufacture, and Great Britain purchased a large proportion of what the Americans had to sell. The duties paid in America on the goods imported from England constituted the most lucrative source of revenue from which the new federal government drew, when it was inaugurated. There were obvious reasons, therefore, why both countries should continue the intimate commercial relations that had existed since the foundation of the colonies. Commercially, the assistance lent by France to obtain the independence of the British colonies in America was an unprofitable investment.

From its very outset, Pitt's ministry gave evidence that one of its aims was to raise Great Britain again to its former place among the nations. In 1784, £2,400,000, a large sum in that period, was appropriated to strengthen the navy, and the naval personnel was maintained in greater force than had ever before

been the custom in time of peace. Feelers were put out to see whether the old King of Prussia was not willing to renew relations with the country that had in Chatham's time been the partner of his greatness, and whether the house of Hapsburg had not perchance tired of its unnatural alliance with France. These preliminary investigations accomplished little, since the impression was abroad that Great Britain had been reduced to the rank of a second-rate power. But a field for action soon appeared.

Joseph II of Austria, a man of decided views though of somewhat uncertain judgment, concluded that the conditions on which he held Belgium ought to be improved. He got rid of the old barrier fortresses between Belgium and Holland while Great Britain was engaged in the war with her colonies. He now (1784) repudiated as "unnatural" the arrangement whereby the River Scheldt was closed to navigation and Antwerp shut out from participation in ocean trade. Since this action might be expected to arouse opposition from the Dutch, Joseph claimed also the territory around Maestricht and sent a military force to take possession of some of the Dutch forts. By participating in the American war against Great Britain, the Dutch had largely dissolved the old friendship between the two countries. But there were still two factions among the Dutch burghers. One, favorable to the British, upheld the Prince of Orange (William V) as stadtholder; the other was inclined to abandon the Stadtholder and to cultivate a closer alliance with France. To give encouragement to this latter party, France now intervened as mediator to adjust the dispute with Joseph. The British government had at the Hague at this time a very active minister, James Harris, who exerted his utmost powers to prevent the French from extending their influence in Holland. The Stadtholder's wife was niece of the King of Prussia, and Harris and the British tried to interest Frederick in the situation. But that wary monarch was more concerned about another of Joseph's projects; namely, the exchange of the whole of Belgium for Bavaria, the elector of Bavaria to acquire the title of King of Burgundy and the Austrian ruler to receive territory nearer to the rest of his possessions. To prevent this scheme, Frederick was willing enough to coöperate with his fellow princes in the old empire, even including George III, elector of Hanover. For the moment, therefore, Harris failed in Holland, and France induced Joseph to leave the Scheldt closed and to withdraw his claims to Maestricht in consideration of a sum of money, which

the French helped the Dutch to pay in the hope of destroying permanently their friendship with England.

Thus, in 1785, France seemed to be on the point of cementing a maritime alliance against Great Britain and one long regarded as dangerous to the safety of the country. But Harris did not despair, and time proved to be on his side. Frederick II of Prussia died in the summer of 1786 and left his crown to his characterless nephew, Frederick William, perhaps the least capable of all the scions of his house who have occupied the throne. In February of the following year Vergennes died also. Two weeks after his death the French Minister of Finance was explaining to an assembly of notables that the government was in straits with no relief in sight. By this time Harris had rallied a Stadtholder's party in the Netherlands under Van der Spiegel, the Grand Pensionary of Zeeland. In May, 1787, this group took steps to rescue the government from the hands of the French party, and the King of Prussia was persuaded to send troops under the Duke of Brunswick to help regain the prestige lost by the Stadtholder. Harris had intervened in person to persuade the King to act. The British supplied Harris with ample funds. Pitt let it be known that if France wished to maintain a predominance in Holland she would have to fight, while his government busied itself increasing the forces of the nation both on sea and on land. In the end, the Stadtholder was restored to a position of nominal power under the Grand Pensionary and as an ally of Great Britain. The next year Prussia became the third member of the alliance. Thus, at a time when France was beginning to discover the embarrassments that had resulted from her past policies, the British were again on their way to their former position in Europe.

The next crisis that threatened war and gave the British Minister occasion to display the reviving power of his nation concerned Spain; by a curious coincidence, the same country that the elder Pitt's desire to fight enabled George III to dispense with his services. In January, 1790, a Spanish vessel captured a British ship in Nootka Sound off Vancouver Island, and the Spanish government laid claim to the island and to the continental territory in that region, though it was north of any settlements that the Spanish had made up to that time. The British forthwith demanded that the Spanish restore the ship and make reparation for its capture, declining, at the same time, to admit the validity of the Spanish claims to the territory. Neither side would yield. The British ministers made ready for

war, and the Prussian King agreed to live up to the terms of his alliance. War seemed inevitable until the Spanish ministers discovered that domestic conditions in France would prevent that country from fulfilling the terms of the "family compact." Both parties to the dispute tried to enlist the sympathy of the United States, then just embarking on its career as a nation. In the end, Spain had to yield, to make restitution to the injured party, and to give up claims to the territory north of the existing settlements. This episode was additional evidence that the prestige of Great Britain was sufficiently restored to make it impossible for her wishes to be ignored in the European chancelleries.

One reason why the King of Prussia had readily agreed to coöperate with Great Britain against Spain was that he had plans of his own in which he desired British assistance. He still looked with longing eyes on Poland, though his ally gave him little encouragement in that quarter. Catharine II of Russia was already looking with a similar eagerness toward Constantinople as the ultimate outlet for her empire. Even now, she and Joseph II were engaged in a joint war with the Turks, by which she hoped to make some progress toward this final goal while her ally extended the boundaries of his empire at the expense of the common enemy. France had a traditional policy of friendship with the Turks, and the original scheme had been that France should occupy Egypt as a bribe to induce her to be quiescent. But France now had troubles enough at home and needed not to be considered. Except for intrigues when the war involved Sweden and Russia and Denmark in the north, the British did not for a time intervene. But the restless King of Prussia had used his army with success in the case of Holland, and he was in search of a promising adventure in which to use it again. Since it seemed imprudent as yet to begin an attack on the portion of Poland that remained intact, he considered the feasibility of taking at least a part of Galicia from Austria. Though without British assistance, he finally allied himself with the Turks in order to be in a position to share in the settlement of the war. Then Joseph died, in 1790, and was succeeded by his brother, Leopold, who at once expressed to the British representative at his court a desire for peace and a willingness to withdraw from the conflict without territorial gains. Prussia agreed to a peace with Austria, stipulating that, should Turkey give Austria anything, Austria must also give Prussia something. Catharine was not so easy to manage. She

had captured and insisted on keeping the fortress of Oczakoff, while the King of Prussia felt obligated to help Turkey make peace with Russia on terms as favorable as those agreed upon with Austria. After some hesitation, the British government enlisted with Prussia to oblige Russia to give up the fortress. The ministry believed that a show of force would be sufficient, but a vote of parliament was necessary to provide the wherewithal for this demonstration. The debates resounded with arguments destined afterward to be repeated many times in discussions of the "Eastern Question." When Pitt moved the vote in the House of Commons, he discovered to his chagrin that, should he proceed with it, he would meet with defeat. He was, therefore, obliged to abandon the project, and the alliance with Prussia ceased to exist except in name. Prussia and Austria were soon allies. Leopold was already more interested in the safety of his sister, the Queen of France, than in other matters of state.

After the armament against Russia was abandoned, the Duke of Leeds, Pitt's secretary of state for foreign affairs, resigned (June, 1791) and was succeeded by William Grenville, Pitt's cousin, who had formerly been secretary for home affairs. Dundas was promoted to the position vacated by Grenville, a man of whom Pitt said "every act of his is as much mine as his." Thus, in the memorable days just ahead, the British government was largely under the direction of these three men. But, as yet, they were unaware of what was in store. To them the defeat of the Russian scheme and the loss of the Prussian alliance seemed not a very serious matter. Was not France, Great Britain's traditional enemy, prostrate? Had not Great Britain, within a decade after the loss of her American empire, retrieved her place as a power of first-rate rank? When Austria and Prussia united in a war against France, in the spring of 1792, the British felt secure in their neutrality, though forces were already at work which within a twelve-month brought their responsible statesmen into a different mood.

OLD ISSUES IN NEW GUISES

Pitt had not been long in office before he had to deal with questions which revealed the inadequacy of the doctrines of trade and empire familiar to his father. The newer views, now beginning to find supporters, were founded on essentially the same

motives as the old, but they called for certain departures from the accustomed national policy. The support given to these departures is evidence of a change in economic conditions rather than of an abandonment of the traditional economic doctrines. This change in conditions is apparent in the circumstances that attended the negotiation of a commercial treaty with France in 1786.

The treaty of peace that ended the American war called for the negotiation of such a treaty within a period of three years. This interval drew to a close before Pitt found occasion to take serious action to fulfil the agreement. The French then undertook to enforce their desire for compliance with the terms of the treaty by a threat of suspending trade, and the interests affected in England began to urge that something be done. Pitt was wary. The organized manufacturers had contributed much to thwart his Irish policy in 1785, and he did not want to risk the chance of a second humiliation from the same source. He was, in fact, disinclined to deal with that organization, on account of its former activity against him, but he decided that it would be discreet to ascertain the wishes of the manufacturers before embarking on an enterprise he could not much longer postpone. Accordingly, he reconstituted the Board of Trade (August, 1786), though not quite in its old form, with Charles Jenkinson as its chairman and most influential member. As an agent to conduct the actual negotiations, he persuaded William Eden, later Lord Auckland, who had been one of the ablest opponents of his Irish "propositions," to desert the party of Lord North, of which he had long been a trusted member, and to enlist under the ministerial banner. Although Pitt himself lent important assistance in the negotiation, the treaty that resulted was largely the work of Jenkinson and Eden. They made ready for the negotiation by collecting detailed information concerning the wishes of British manufacturers and traders. The General Chamber of Manufacturers lent assistance, despite the Minister's distrust of the organization, and Wedgewood was ever ready with counsel and information. Manufacturers on a large scale, of the newer type; that is, producers of cotton goods, hardware, and pottery, had improved their processes and extended their enterprises until they had reached a stage where they were beginning to feel a pressing need of wider markets. As regards many of their products, they had no fear of foreign competition. They were anxious to have these goods admitted from France at as low a rate of duty as could be obtained,

if their products could be admitted to France on the same terms. Manufacturers of woollens and some other textiles were not so confident of their ability to meet French competition and were unwilling to risk joining in the policy. The proposals of the British were carefully restricted to those commodities of which the producers were confident of their superiority over the French, and these producers disclosed no willingness whatever to give up a monopoly of the home market. But the French were not entirely stupid. Although the minister most active in representing that government in the negotiation was a physiocrat and therefore in theory not in sympathy with the older doctrines of mercantilism, it is unreasonable to assume that his doctrines much influenced the terms of the treaty. The French desired a market for their wines and brandies and such other surplus agricultural products as the British wanted, and the French government was in need of an increased customs revenue. The British representatives haggled to obtain for the concessions they made as favorable a market for manufactures as possible. How careful they were in the choice of goods in the production of which they thus invited foreign competition is evidenced by a multitude of samples of fabrics, with distinguishing descriptions, supplied by manufacturers to the government and still preserved among Pitt's papers.

The treaty, when completed, admitted British hardware, pottery, and many textiles to the French markets at rates low for the time, which were the same as those paid on similar French goods entering Great Britain. French wines and brandies were admitted to Great Britain in a similar manner. The national policy thus began to adjust itself to the demands of the manufacturing interests, but it was still as thoroughly a national policy as before. There was little talk of "free trade" and no disposition whatever to act on that maxim. British producers simply desired more customers for their goods, and the other interests having a voice in the government were willing for the nation to become a consumer of French wines and brandies in order to extend the market for manufactures. Fox and Burke and others, who were still thinking in terms of older conditions, might complain that the nation was departing from the beaten path of its hostility to France, but Pitt knew from recent experience that the manufacturers were too powerful to be wholly denied.

The temporary insanity of the King in the winter of 1788-89 precipitated a discussion of the several powers of the crown

and the legislative houses in a form different from any it had hitherto taken. The King's regular physicians felt that his recovery was doubtful, and Pitt, after taking counsel with the Prince of Wales, postponed the meeting of parliament, appointed to be held at an early date after the illness developed. Fox was absent traveling in Italy, and the Prince confided in Sheridan and sought advice from the somewhat unscrupulous Lord Chancellor, Edward Thurlow. Apparently, the Prince feared that an attempt would be made to limit his powers as regent, and, as a means of opposing such an attempt, he promised to retain Thurlow in office. Thereafter, Pitt found the Prince little disposed to accept his advice. There was a general understanding that should the Prince assume untrammelled the duties of his father, he would at once dismiss the ministers from office and replace them with men accustomed to act under the leadership of Fox. Fox returned to England in time to be present at the opening of parliament, but the ground of the Prince's action had largely been taken before that time. A new physician with experience in dealing with insanity, though of questionable reputation in his profession, encouraged the ministers to hope that the King might recover, and they played a dilatory game. As usually happens in an unprecedented situation, most men found arguments to support views that accorded with their interests. Pitt insisted that the two houses of parliament had an absolute right to choose a regent, though he suggested that it would probably be expedient to choose the Prince, with such limitations on his power as parliament might see fit to impose. Fox countered with the argument that, since the crown was hereditary and had been so fixed at the Revolution of 1689, the Prince had an inherent right to the regency. It was the function of parliament simply to declare by resolution that a condition existed calling for the Prince's services and to extend the invitation for him to assume the office. All agreed that there was no method by which parliament could enact legislation without the participation of the crown. To get around this difficulty, Pitt and his advisers adopted the fiction that the king acts in concert with parliament by the use of his Great Seal, and the Lord Chancellor was authorized by parliament to affix the seal to the measures necessary for the inauguration of the new arrangement. Burke, whose affairs had been in an embarrassed state since the death of Rockingham and who was already giving evidence of the irritable state of mind that marred his judgment in later years, denied that parliament need intervene at all. The

incapacity of the King placed the burden of action on the Prince, who ought, he said, to have summoned parliament to make known his wishes.

In truth, no former British government had ever faced a similar problem, and there was, therefore, no constitutional mode of action. The debates are illuminating, because they indicate that the doctrines urged in discussions of constitutional questions in the eighteenth century were usually determined more by the immediate interests of those taking part in the discussions than by any reference to more fundamental or general principles. Fox and Burke appeared as champions of the royal prerogative, now that the scepter seemed likely to fall into hands that were friendly to them. Pitt, who had come into power as a result of the defiance of parliament by the King, now championed the rights of parliament in a form as extreme as it was stated by seventeenth-century revolutionaries, seeing that his chief source of strength was in that body. Fox and Burke themselves were as far apart as the poles; they both explained their apparent apostacy from their earlier views by the argument that the Prince was a zealous supporter of the rights of parliament against the unconstitutional encroachments of his father. The depth of that zeal, time would reveal. Meantime, Burke drifted into arguments that were almost fanatical in his support of hereditary right, while Fox extricated himself from his dilemma as best he could with the Lockean defence, that as long as the "compact" of the Revolution settlement held, the hereditary rule must prevail; should the nation desire to make a change in the "compact," there was nothing that could prevent it.

Pitt had control of the government, never an inconsequential detail in deciding constitutional questions. With Thurlow authorized to act for the King, there was, theoretically, nothing to hinder parliament from doing anything it liked. But Pitt understood too well the forces with which he had to deal to undertake to deprive the Prince of the regency or of the right to appoint his own ministers. He adopted a policy far more astute and more likely in the end to serve his purposes. The Prince was invited to assume the regency, with four limitations placed on his powers. (1) He was denied the right to create peers. This limitation insured to Pitt and his friends a majority in the House of Lords for the time, since more than forty members of that body owed their elevation to Pitt, and these, with other friends of himself and the King, would hold at their mercy any ministers the Prince might appoint. (2) The regent was

denied the right to bestow pensions or to make any but the most unavoidable appointments to office. None knew better than a minister with experience how helpless a new administration would be in this predicament. (3) In the management of the royal estates, the Prince was limited to the renewal of leases and other routine matters of business. (4) The King himself was to be left entirely in charge of the Queen, who was to have the patronage of the household and was to be assisted by a council with power to examine the King's physicians and so to keep in touch with the progress of the royal patient. Hard as these terms were, the Prince felt obliged to accept them. Fortunately for the peace of the kingdom, the King recovered a reasonable degree of his mental health before the bill was finally passed. Affairs of moment on the Continent soon claimed the attention that otherwise might have been given to the interesting questions suggested by this controversy.

The stirring events soon taking place in France followed a course that was in many respects a striking parallel to the national revolt in England against an alien dynasty in the seventeenth century. There were many divergences in detail in this parallel, but the two movements were similar in the more essential matters. Under the leadership of the great French ministers and monarchs in the seventeenth century, that country extended its empire and enhanced its prestige, causing the more substantial elements in its population to develop a pride in their country as their prosperity increased. These able monarchs and ministers were succeeded, in later generations, by others, deficient in the personal qualities of leadership, whose adventures in statesmanship cost France most of her empire and most of her prestige and left her treasury bankrupt. Successful participation in the American war restored a part of the lost prestige, but it brought gain in little else, and it cost more than the inefficient government of the country could find funds to pay. Louis XVI himself had admirable qualities of personal character, which some of his predecessors lacked, but he had none of the characteristics of a leader, and he was cursed with a wife who added more to his difficulties by her extravagance and imprudent behavior than the alliance with her family added to his prestige in Europe. Taxes levied in the old manner could now be increased no more, and the capacity of the treasury to borrow without making some arrangement for repayment had almost reached its limit. An assembly of notables had nothing better to advise, in 1787, than a forgathering of the old States Gen-

eral, which had not met for generations, in order that the condition of the country might receive consideration. The nobility, the clergy, and the third estate, accordingly, met with the King at Versailles in the spring of 1789 to determine what ought to be done. The national feeling, which had long been incubating, for the first time found an adequate medium in which to express itself.

The situation in France in the eighteenth century differed from that in England in the seventeenth in the very important particular that the property accumulated by the Church in the middle ages was still intact under the control of that organization. The Church thus participated in the States General as one of the estates of the realm, though much of the revenue of the Church was already used to support persons who served few proper ecclesiastical functions. Moreover, the king, in accumulating in his person power over the kingdom, had not permitted the nobility to develop into a well-integrated group accustomed to take part as a body in the government. The comparative weight of the three estates that met in 1789 to take stock of the national assets is evident from the fact that the third estate; that is, the classes other than the clergy and nobility, sent a delegation equal in number to the combined representation of the other two estates. Had the King or his ministers possessed any instinct for leadership, the situation might not have got out of hand, but it was soon evident that nobody in the group that surrounded Louis XVI was competent to give light or leading. The third estate contained men who had a stake in the country and who were its creditors. After an interval of hesitation in which little was done, they took matters into their own hands, threw off by formal resolution the feudal garb in which they had been summoned to assemble, proclaimed themselves a "national assembly," and resolved to labor together at all hazards until they had framed a constitution for the nation.

This positive action stirred the King and his advisers to a realization of what was upon them, but it was then too late. The National Assembly spent much time formulating a declaration of the rights of men to liberty, security, property, and of other doctrinaire principles familiar in the current philosophy, but practical things were done as well. The lands of the Church were confiscated and turned to the account of the nation; the clergy were henceforth to be servants of the state, on which they depended for remuneration. A little later provisions were made for their election, a scheme it was scarcely reasonable to

expect the priests to relish or the pope to agree to. At a show of violence, the nobles acquiesced in the abolition of their privileges, including exemption from much taxation. A mob at Paris in the first summer of the movement (1789) tore down the Bastille, the old prison in which the more powerful French kings had incarcerated their subjects at will. Presently, a constitution began to take form, which entrusted the responsibility of government to a national legislature composed of men having a substantial amount of property, elected by their fellow-citizens who could qualify by giving evidence of a considerable though less amount. In other words, the day of a powerful and privileged landed Church and landed nobility had passed, to give place to the day of men with less but yet with substantial wealth and reputation. So radical a change could scarcely be accomplished without the accompaniment of much violence and much backing and filling on the part of the King and some of the nobles. But the new rulers did not stand much in awe of royalty. When the mob in Paris grew hungry, in 1789, it journeyed to Versailles and brought the King and Queen and the National Assembly to the larger city. But the devout King balked at the proposal to make the clergy mere civil servants. Many of the nobles fled the country and sought safety and help in other lands. The Queen began to send furtive requests for aid to the court of her native country. Indeed, the royal family mustered courage to flee in June, 1791, but had not the wit to carry the effort through. They were captured and brought back, and the King tried for a while to play the rôle of constitutional monarch, under the constitution that was proclaimed in September of the same year. The Queen's brother, as we know, now became so anxious about her situation that he made haste to free himself from difficulties in the Near East in order that he might consider what to do. He did not actually live to do anything effective, but his successor, jointly with the King of Prussia, was at war with France before the summer of 1792. The French Legislative Assembly declared the country to be in danger, and the Duke of Brunswick, in command of the armies of Austria and Prussia, reënforced this declaration by a threatening manifesto on July 27. Events now moved rapidly. The King was made a prisoner, and a republic was inaugurated. Since it was necessary to send all the forces that could be gathered to defend the frontier, the provisional government gave short shrift to persons suspected of being out of sympathy with the new régime.

And so, as earlier in England, an attempt to settle a matter of

the nation's revenues in coöperation with an incompetent but obstinate King became involved with an ecclesiastical dispute. Men of business, unacquainted with political affairs, did not have the audacity to ride the storm they had raised, and so they gave place to bolder and less scrupulous doctrinaires, who decapitated the King and imposed their own will on the nation by force. They gave place, in turn, to a military dictatorship. And before the end of the century Napoleon Bonaparte was playing in France the rôle of Oliver Cromwell on a vaster scale. The French nation, now self-conscious, adopted the policies of the older kings and demonstrated an ability for achievement that outrivalled by far the dreams of Louis XIV. The democratic doctrines of the small group, who had momentary control in the time of anarchy and disorder, were lost in the spirit of the nation, even as the case had been in England. Between the fate of the Levellers and the Jacobins there was not much to choose.

This spectacular departure from the traditional order in France attracted attention across the Channel. Those who thought first of France's part in the American war were inclined to rejoice at the discomfiture of an enemy. Many who had labored to find a theoretical defence of their sympathy with the Americans now openly rejoiced that France also was to be free. The young and poetically inspired felt the impulse of a new dawn and frankly exulted. For a time, no discordant note was heard. Many substantial persons, especially Dissenters, had, in 1788, revived organizations of earlier decades to celebrate the centennial of the Revolution of 1688. Some of these clubs held meetings in the fall of 1789 as well. Among them was the Revolution Society of London, which listened to a sermon by Dr. Richard Price, now grown old in years. The aged divine and philosopher interpreted the Revolution much after the manner of Locke. He exalted patriotism as a positive virtue and said that among other things the British had maintained in their revolution was "the right of liberty of conscience in religious matters; the right to resist power when abused; and the right to choose our own governors; to cashier them for misconduct; and to frame a government for ourselves." This sermon was published and received the honor of a reply which was destined to become the most famous political pamphlet in any language.

Edmund Burke had not been at ease in his mind since the regency debate. He gradually lost consequence in the group

he had formerly led. After the death of Rockingham, his was a setting, Fox's a rising star. In 1790 the Dissenters indulged in a campaign for the repeal of the Test Act and induced Fox to champion the cause, though most of their leaders had rather been on the side of Pitt. Burke kept to the side of the national Church, as did Pitt, after a stir was made. The two orators, life-long political friends, were gradually drifting apart. The House of Commons openly manifested its dislike for Burke's long speeches. He was brooding over the events taking place in France and gradually working himself into a frenzy of profound indignation. He later undertook to describe in retrospect his state of mind when he wrote his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. He was irritated at the criticism of Fox by a chance acquaintance, who was a Dissenter. He was still smarting under the treatment he had received from the Prince of Wales and his intimates on the occasion of the regency controversy. Then he read, late at night, a copy of Price's discourse, which contravened the views he had come to cherish with all the earnestness of his violent nature. The bulky pamphlet he wrote was concerned only incidentally with France; its essential parts were elaborations of the conclusions the author had reached in the debates on the regency. He denied that Price had represented the British constitution or the Revolution correctly. He insisted that English institutions were all heritages from the past. "We have," he said "an inheritable crown, an inheritable peerage; and a House of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties from a long line of ancestors." "From Magna Carta to the Declaration of Rights," he continued, "it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an *entailed inheritance*, derived to us from our forefathers, and transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any general or prior right." Based on these assumptions, he launched out on a defence of the established order, in all things and in all countries, full of extravagant rhetoric and passionate eloquence. The result is noteworthy for its emotional rather than its intellectual content. It has a permanent interest, because the intuitive genius of Burke made him an opponent of the prevailing doctrines of abstract rights in political study and so the precursor of the historical method. But the pamphlet did little to restore the author to the place in the esteem of his associates from which he had fallen. His old friends disagreed with his views, and even the wealthier

lords declined to take seriously his efforts to persuade them to break with Fox and Sheridan. The journalistic supporters of the government ridiculed the publication and described its principles as "those of the once happily exploded Filmer." In his despondency the author became a zealot in his efforts to arouse opposition to what he called the "new Whig" principles that were abroad in the world. Though unsought as an ally, he decided to join with the supporters of the King's government. He made the debate, in 1791, on the belated bill to provide a government for Quebec, to take the place of the act of 1774, the occasion of his open break with Fox. The latter had objected to a proposal to revive titles of nobility in the new country. Burke made this objection the text for a disquisition on the French situation, from which he could not be persuaded to desist. At its conclusion he announced that his friendship with Fox was at an end.

This incident came in the midst of Pitt's embarrassing defeat on the question of the Russian armament, which had disclosed the weakness of the support on which his government rested. Meanwhile, Burke's *Reflections* inspired more than the usual number of replies from contemporary pamphleteers. Mary Wollstonecraft, later to achieve fame by her association with men of note and posthumously as an apostle of the feminist movement, published a *Vindication of the Rights of Man* and then *The Rights of Women*, in which she replied to the emotional outbursts of Burke with counter sentiments on the other side of the question. James Mackintosh, a promising young man lately come from Scotland, in a more dignified tone and with arguments that reflected the political doctrines then in fashion, replied in his *Vindiciae Gallicae*. Thomas Paine returned from America puffed up to an exalted estimate of his own common sense by his successful intervention in the agitation there for independence. He was frankly a republican. Thinking in terms of the recent happenings across the Atlantic, he denied that the British had a constitution and challenged its eulogists to point it out to him. The American states had framed one that a practical man could understand. The French National Assembly was laboring, even while he wrote, to achieve a similar result. Nothing like either existed in Great Britain. He ridiculed the notion of hereditary governors and hereditary legislators. If a verbal attack on the existing form of government was sedition, Paine had little defence to offer. In fact, he made his defence impossible for even so persuasive an advocate as Thomas Erskine,

when, months later, though absent in Paris, he was brought to the bar and tried on the charge. He wrote from Paris to the Attorney-General who was to prosecute him: "Is it possible that you or I can believe, or that reason can make any other man believe, that the capacity of such a man as Mr. Guelph [the family name of the English King] or any of his profligate sons is necessary to the government of a nation?" Paine's pamphlet, *The Rights of Man*, was written in a simple language and in the same forthright, nervous style that had made his *Common Sense* so effective. It was unlikely that his revolutionary sentiments would make many disciples in Great Britain, though the work was widely read with a curious interest.

In the winter of 1791, the year in which the *Rights of Man* appeared, the question of a reform of parliament was revived by a class among whom political questions had not hitherto been systematically agitated. Unfavorable economic conditions, due in part to the interruption of trade by the troubles in France, made unemployment rife in the capital and in the more populous industrial towns. These centers thus became fertile fields for agitators. The apostle of the reform agitators among this class was Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker. He had read and pondered the pamphlets on reform published in the previous decades by Price, Cartwright, Sharp, and others and had witnessed the lapse of the earlier agitation among men of substance and influence. He now planned and inaugurated a scheme for organizing artisans and similar classes in support of a campaign for annual parliaments, a reformed representation, and manhood suffrage, the extreme platform of the earlier reformers. His method of procedure was also in imitation of the earlier movement. There were to be petitions to parliament supported by active expressions of opinion. The organization in and about London was known as the London Corresponding Society. This organization had counterparts in the larger unrepresented industrial towns. But this was not the only movement in favor of a reform of parliament that appeared at this juncture. In the spring of 1792 a group of young men in parliament, of whom Charles Grey was the most prominent, organized a society, which they called the Friends of the People, in an effort to rescue the cause from the disrepute into which it was too likely to fall if left entirely in the hands of its new friends. This group maintained that the example of France should inspire a voluntary reform of the British constitution, before the pressure of conditions forced changes more radical and less desirable.

The imperative necessity which Pitt felt of acquiring additional strength for his government, the natural fears aroused among men of his class by the events in France, and his uncertainty at what might flow from these new movements in England operated together to plunge him into a campaign to rally to himself as much as possible the support of the landed and other interests that had formerly opposed him. Newspapers receiving government subsidies no longer ridiculed Burke's *Reflections*, and the author was received at court. When Grey gave notice, in April, 1792, of a motion for the reform of parliament, Pitt took occasion to make an alarmist speech. He repudiated the views he had formerly held on the subject of reform, on the plea that circumstances now made agitation of the question inopportune, and accused Grey and his associates of sympathizing with and actually corresponding with those who held the views published by Paine. Fox had not joined Grey's club, and he had no relish for the proposed discussion, but he elected to cast in his lot with the younger generation and so to lay the foundation for a tradition that was subsequently to be powerful in British politics. Pitt and his intimates now began to labor in their own way, in coöperation with Burke, to wean the more conservative members of Fox's party from their magnetic leader and to rally around his own government all the influential persons who had considerable stakes in maintaining society as it was then organized. He and these new supporters he was soon able to count on became increasingly frightened at the prospects stimulated in their imaginations both by the actual uncertainties of the time and by the agitation that they labored to make more widespread, as events in France took a more violent turn. Thus an atmosphere was created for action, when revolutionary France, aroused to a sense of its power as a nation, began to adopt the ambitious policies of the older kings. The struggle thereby renewed was unlike any the world had ever witnessed before, in that a recently aroused nation strove against one long self-conscious in its national feeling. The stake was the same, the old objective of empire, but the struggle was on a new scale.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, I. ch. i; W. H. R. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture*, ch. xvi; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. ch. ix; A. Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India*, chs. xi-xii; John Morley,

Burke, chs. vii-viii; Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, ch. v; R. Prothero (Lord Ernle), *English Farming Past and Present*, chs. viii-xi; C. G. Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians* (George III), chs. iii-iv; Gilbert Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, ch. ii; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. i-iv; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part IV. ch. vi.

FOR WIDER READING

S. F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*, chs. ii-iv; Witt Bowden, *Industrial Society in England toward the End of the Eighteenth Century*; "The English Manufacturers and the Commercial Treaty of 1786," *American Historical Review*, XXV, 18-35; "The Influence of the Manufacturers on the Early Policy of William Pitt," *American Historical Review*, XXIX, 655-674; *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII. chs. x-xi; W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Dedistribution of Our Land*, chs. xiv-xvii; Edmund Fitzmaurice, *The Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, II. ch. viii; J. L. Hammond, *Charles James Fox*, chs. iii-iv; J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer*, chs. ii-v; William Hunt, *The History of England 1760-1801*, chs. xiv-xvi; W. T. Laprade, *England and the French Revolution*, chs. i-iii; *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson*, "Introduction"; W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, V; A. Lyall, *Warren Hastings*; J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, chs. vii-xxvii; E. S. Smith, *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks*, chs. ii, xiii; G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, chs. vi-viii.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Muir, f. 61a, contains a map of India in the time of Hastings; see also *Shepherd*, p. 137. The partitions of Poland are indicated in *Shepherd*, 138-139. *Shepherd*, pp. 146-149, contains maps illustrating conditions in France at the time of the Revolution. For a map illustrating the Russian armament crisis in 1791, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 61.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LAST PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

THE NATION AROUSED

From the early months of 1792, the British ministers, without intending it, were drifting into a war with France. Their fears were constantly growing, and it was becoming ever easier to act on their impulses to strengthen their position against any day of reckoning that might come. They indulged in a series of frantic efforts to assure themselves of the coöperation of as many as possible of those persons whose consequence entitled them to participate in the government. They also encouraged a campaign of propaganda for the inculcation of loyalty to the existing institutions of the established order, repressing at the same time every suggested motion that could be twisted into a threat of change. By the very success of these efforts, both the ministers and the growing multitude who shared their fears made themselves more fearful. A panic of patriotism soon possessed the land and held suspect any deviation from the channel in which the current of the prevailing spirit flowed, bringing injustices to individuals that would not have been tolerated in a calmer time. The forces that found expression in this flood of emotion were too many, too complex, and too paradoxical to be susceptible of an easy explanation. But they are the constituent elements of the mood that brought Great Britain into the war soon to begin and carried her through to its end, and they must have some consideration here.

Following Pitt's unexpected response to Grey's notice of a motion for the reform of parliament, came, on May 31, 1792, a proclamation against seditious writings, which the Minister submitted in advance of its issue to the Duke of Portland and tried in vain to induce that nobleman to endorse. This proclamation was used to inspire loyal addresses from the counties. Pitt's lieutenants, thereafter, redoubled their efforts to persuade prominent members of the opposition to join the ministerial party before the meeting of parliament appointed for the autumn. When

they failed in that undertaking, the meeting of parliament was postponed to the early days of January, 1793. But late in November, 1792, news reached England that gave the ministers far more concern than had the deposition of the French King and the inauguration of a republic in the previous September. A French army had occupied Belgium, and, on November 16, the *de facto* French government decreed that the Scheldt River, closed by treaty, should be open to navigation. The French were also threatening Maestricht, and, though the Dutch refused to make haste in their resentment despite the earnest solicitations of the British Ambassador at The Hague, the British ministers were none the less alarmed at the prospect. At the same time they were unable to deal directly with the French because of their refusal to recognize the existing government in France. The ministers were thus faced with a violation of a cherished item in British policy (the invasion of the Low Countries), with no ready means of a settlement by diplomacy, and with an ally that was reluctant to act at all. It seemed necessary to call parliament in session immediately to see what that body would support in the premises, but a postponement of the meeting to a definite date made the call difficult under the law. However, by calling out the militia on an allegation that an insurrection or rebellion existed which ought to be suppressed, that difficulty could be overcome, since, in that case, the national legislature would meet automatically to take steps for the peace and safety of the country.

Spies and informers, following the custom of their kind, were already finding ample evidence of threats of rebellion to justify almost any action, and the ministers did not scruple to allege that the troubled spirit of the time had lately shown itself in "acts of riot and insurrection." The militia was embodied in December, in the southern counties of England and in the vicinity of London. Confronted, a fortnight later, with the task of explaining the insurrection to parliament when it assembled, the ministers decided to locate it in Scotland, though representatives from that kingdom said privately that they left conditions there rather more quiet than usual. Nevertheless, so far had the spirit of panic developed, even thus early, that the timid were willing to coöperate with the government, on the general assumption that no such extraordinary program would have been adopted had there not been some reason for it which it was perhaps inexpedient to reveal. Only Fox and a small remnant of his friends demanded that the insurrection

be located so that effective means might be taken to suppress it. All classes were swept in a rising tide of patriotism, though the aristocratic followers of Fox would not as yet accept office under Pitt. Grenville pursued his unofficial negotiations with Chauvelin, the resident representative of the French, in a stiffly correct manner. A foolish decree of the National Convention, offering assistance to all peoples engaged in a struggle for liberty, helped him to make his case. Soon he was saying, in language that might have been used as appropriately generations later in a dispute with another country: "England never will consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure . . . the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all powers. This government, adhering to maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." Thus Great Britain challenged the new French nation on the old points at issue between the two countries. The French accepted the challenge.

The British ministers now made haste in their preparations for war, both in gathering armaments and in stirring the spirit of the people. Men of property or influence were encouraged to sign petitions and addresses. A daily newspaper, the *True Briton*, was launched, with the secret support of the government, to serve as an "authentic vehicle of the views of the ministers" and having for its motto "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" John Walter, with his "logographic" method of printing, had founded the *Times* of later fame five years earlier. In the stirring years just ahead, the task of collecting news and purveying propaganda was to transform the character of newspapers and make them vital factors in political life. Just now, however, the government was encouraging another experiment, which indicates a self-conscious effort to stir the enthusiasm of the nation of a kind none of its predecessors had indulged in. John Reeves, the historian of the English law, just returned from the bench of Newfoundland, became at the same time chairman and secretary, under an alias, of an organization whose name betrays

its character. It was called "An Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers," and directed its attention to the work of spreading panic among the humbler classes of people, a task in which it had little trouble in enlisting coöperation of the more prosperous. A variety of tracts were printed and distributed, servile in their loyalty and puerile in their arguments. Nothing but a fear so overshadowing as to becloud the judgment could have made possible the frantic methods that were employed. Before the execution of Louis XVI in January, 1793, a contemporary no doubt reflected the actual state of affairs when he wrote: "The spirits of our people are higher than you can imagine. There appears to be but one sentiment throughout the country—that of loyalty to the king—affection to the existing constitution—ardour to support it—and an earnest desire to go to war with France." Within a few weeks thereafter the war began.

From its beginning, it was certainly a war that enlisted the support of the British nation. But not all groups that supported it thought or felt in the same terms. The *Times* spoke for many men of affairs, and for others who upheld the traditional diplomacy, in an editorial published a little before the break came:

France is the only power whose maritime force has hitherto been a balance to that of Great Britain, and whose commerce has rivaled ours in the two worlds; whose intrigues have fomented and kept alive ruinous wars in India. Could England succeed in destroying the naval strength of her rival; could she turn the tide of that rich commerce, which has so often excited her jealousy, in favor of her own country; could she connect herself with the French establishments in India, the degree of commercial prosperity to which these kingdoms would then be elevated would exceed all calculations. It would not be the work of a few years only, but would require ages for France to recover to the political balance of Europe that preponderancy which she enjoyed previous to the Revolution. Such is the point of view under which government ought to consider the commercial interests. The indispensable necessity of extinguishing the widespreading fire, whose devouring flames will sooner or later extend to all Europe; and the well-grounded confidence of disembarassing the commerce of Great Britain from those impediments which have so often clogged its wheels; these reasons added to the prospect of annihilating the French marine ought to determine us to immediate war.

But this was only one view. Many took their cue from Burke and were anxious to enlist in a fight against the whirlwind that, as they felt, had swept France, fearing that otherwise it might envelop Britain also. To others, who thought in terms of the traditional foreign policy, the danger to the Low Countries

seemed to be the most serious threat. Taken altogether, there was ample material to kindle a fire of national feeling which soon put most people beyond the power to discriminate. Everything French fell under condemnation. Anybody who saw merits in things French was thereby rendered suspect. When Napoleon appeared, he became the archfiend of all that had come out of France to threaten the world with destruction.

When the war began, the ministers redoubled their efforts to win the active coöperation of the aristocratic members of the opposition and ultimately met with success, though their loyalty to Fox, who refused to be frightened or intimidated, delayed the coalition for a few months. Fox and the two-score persons in parliament who still accepted his leadership maintained a futile opposition for several years and then (1797) retired from active participation in the sessions. But his actions prior to that retirement would have procured for a person of a lesser station transportation to Australia or worse; and he suffered as near an approach to ostracism as was possible for a man of his family with his attractive social endowments.

The associations for the promotion of reform did not escape so easily, nor did isolated independent speakers of their own minds. More than one Dissenting preacher was accused by voluntary informers and given a harsh sentence for utterances that would scarcely have attracted attention in normal times. A convention of the reform societies that met at Edinburgh was dispersed by the authorities, and prominent participants in it were given long sentences to Botany Bay. A secret committee of parliament made a great ado over examining the papers of the London Corresponding Society, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended (1794) in consequence. Hardy and some of his coworkers were arrested in the same year and tried for treason. But to condemn as capital felons men who had done no more than advocate a reform of parliament was further than juries could be induced to go, even in that time of patriotic excitement. When scarcity of food and the lack of employment, a little later, brought together large audiences to listen to the harangues of the orators of the Corresponding Society, the crowds were dispersed, and laws were passed (1796) forbidding public meetings unless permission was first obtained from the authorities. The definition of treason was enlarged, so that it became possible to commit that offence by speaking or writing and without committing an overt act. Finally, all lecture rooms were ranked with brothels as disorderly houses, and laborers

were forbidden to unite in considerable numbers for any purpose whatever.

In the meanwhile, propapanda was manufactured in increasing volume. Newspapers, pamphlets, tracts, broadsides, cartoons—apparently no form was neglected that would serve. The King proclaimed fast days, when the clergymen of the national Church were supposed to preach sermons on such texts as "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." The custom of celebrating the "martyrdom" of Charles I was revived, as another occasion for patriotic sermonizing. Now and then a cynical divine, with a touch of humor, would select incongruous texts such as, "O give thanks unto the Lord, to Him who hath smote great kings" or "By this time he stinketh," but he was an exception. By far the larger number of the clergy were able to satisfy themselves that the existing constitution of the British government was as divinely inspired as they esteemed the Scriptures to be. A typical sermonizer exclaimed on one of these occasions: "We have, therefore, most sincerely to beg of God to continue us in the possession of a constitution, which in its principles at least, seems to be at the summit of political perfection." "The time would fail me," he went on, "to enumerate all the blessings which the lower orders of this kingdom possess and the numerous causes which they have to be quiet and to mind their own business."

There is no use to attempt a rational defence of such a state of mind. Reason was left out of consideration. The nation was white hot with patriotism. It was afraid. Of what, it did not quite know, save that it was of French origin. The country was aroused to defend itself both from French threats abroad and from any who might be inspired by French principles at home. Inevitably, this fright led men to see French interference and French designs where none existed, but these imagined dangers were none the less powerful motives for action because of their unreality. Once this patriotic fear of France was aroused, the national humor traveled its familiar road. This French danger must be so thoroughly eradicated that it could never rear its head again; in achieving this purpose, it would be the part of wisdom to annex any of the empire and trade of France on which it was possible to lay hands.

The ministers themselves began the war with their minds in a state of paradox. Their fright at the uncertain prospect of what might happen from the French invasion of Belgium on the Continent and from possible revolutionary agitation in Great

Britain was apparently genuine enough. Yet they were quite as honest in their confidence that the power of France was already broken by the Revolution, that the country was prostrate, that its colonies could be had for the taking, and that the war would be so short, because of the inability of the French to offer resistance, that there was danger it would not last until the colonies could be occupied. Before the fighting began, Great Britain made haste to agree with her allies, that had preceded her in the war, on terms for dividing the spoils. Only a few months sufficed to reveal somewhat of their miscalculation. Before the end of the century Great Britain was dealing with an attempt by France to intervene in one of her own possessions at her very doors. Ireland magnified her misunderstandings with her neighbor until she was willing to accept assistance from France.

THE UNION WITH IRELAND

Since Henry II, the first of the English kings to invade Ireland, bequeathed this largely unsubdued dominion to his unfortunate son, it had been a troubled land. In nothing had British kings and statesmen failed so uniformly as in dealing with the sister island to the west. The miscalculations and failures of the past were now to culminate in an act that was to prove in some respects the most serious mistake of all. Yet the union of the two kingdoms seemed almost necessary to Pitt and to those who labored with him to bring it to pass, and there were many reasons for assuming that it would prove a happy solution of a difficult problem. The union might have justified these hopes had it been carried with the insight of capable statesmanship and administered in later years with tolerant understanding. But that is to intimate that the success of the measure depended on the adoption of methods that would probably not have been sufficient to carry it all at the time and on its subsequent administration by other statesmen than those who actually held the reins of power in Great Britain—a fruitless speculation.

The earlier English conquerors established themselves on the eastern coast around Dublin and sought, sometimes by force, sometimes by diplomacy, sometimes by intermarriage, to bring into subjection the native Gaelic chieftains who ruled in a society that was still largely tribal in character. The Church, we know, had a longer continuous history in Ireland than in England, but

the feudal organization of society awaited the coming of the English invaders. Castles were built, as the conquered districts were expanded, and land was granted in the manner customary in the time to such Irish chieftains as would accept the overlordship of the English king. But the larger part of the island remained unconquered, and the chiefs of the more powerful septs or clans did not long reconcile themselves to the restraining terms of the new régime. At times, when some were friendly with the rulers in the Pale, as the district occupied by the invaders was called, others revolted and tried to regain their old independence and a superiority over their fellows. An Irish priest, writing toward the end of the period in which the English kings were trying to subdue Ireland as a feudal appanage, described in apt language the general character of conditions in that time:

We are never agreed together,
But as one ox bound and one free from the yoke;
No right humility to be found.
All trying for the headship of Ireland
At the time when her enemies were doing their work.
No settlement to be made of any quarrel,
The share of the wheat-ear for the man that was the strongest;
It is long that this has been the hurt of Ireland;
It is thus the battle ended with the Gael.

A parliament emerged in Ireland as in England, but it was naturally summoned according to the will of the English king and was composed of members loyal to him. By a measure passed in 1494 (Poynings' Law), when Sir Edward Poynings, as lord deputy of Henry VII, ruled the country, no act of the Irish parliament was henceforth to be valid unless it had been approved in advance by the English Privy Council. Henry VIII endeavored with some success, by peaceful negotiations and intrigue, to transform the Irish chieftains into landlords of the English type, so that conformity to English laws would be possible. But his breach with Rome occasioned difficulties. He proceeded with the confiscation of the Irish as well as the English monasteries and attempted to establish a national Church in a land where the foundations of a nation, in the sense that it was beginning to exist in England, had not yet been laid. Following the example of their coreligionists in other countries in that period, the Irish sought help from Spain. Henry's imperial daughter, Elizabeth, undertook, on a larger scale than had any of her predecessors, to allay by military conquest the danger

to her throne from Ireland. Her successor, James of Scotland, in the interval when his subjects were establishing plantations in Virginia, established another in the northern counties of the province of Ulster in Ireland. Land to the extent of some three million acres was granted to emigrants from England and Scotland. Those sent by the London Company settled largely in County Derry, which became Londonderry. The Scots were accompanied or soon followed by Presbyterian ministers, and the colony thereby acquired a character that persists to the present time and adds difficulties to the Irish problem of to-day.

Wentworth (Strafford) carried forward under Charles I the work begun under that King's father. He tried to make Ireland productive of the revenues so much needed by his royal master in his struggle with his English subjects. He encouraged the manufacture of linens and imported Flemish weavers to teach the Irish improved processes. As regards the land, he pursued a policy of substituting English for Irish lords, where the latter refused to acquiesce in the English system. The time of England's Civil War was Ireland's opportunity, but it was terribly punished by Cromwell, who was intolerant of Papists and who confiscated the lands of all who could not show that they had been loyal to Protestantism and the parliamentary cause. Almost eleven million acres were confiscated in all, of which a little more than a million were later restored to Catholic landlords. Much of the rest went to those who had provided funds for suppressing the rebellion. What remained went to Englishmen in favor with Cromwell's supporters and officers. The restoration of Charles II to the throne involved no interference with the settlement in Ireland. Many of those who helped to bring that gay monarch back as titular head of the nation had profited by the conquest of Ireland. James II was inclined to favor his coreligionists in the hope of winning their favor. After he abandoned his English throne, he returned with a French army to seek support from his erstwhile Irish subjects. Having defeated James, William of Orange sought to make an end of the Irish danger by a series of penal laws. Catholic priests were limited in number to eleven hundred, and bishops who might ordain successors were banished from the island. Only registered priests could lawfully celebrate mass. Catholics were forbidden to bear arms and were made ineligible to participate in the government, either as voters or office-holders. They were forbidden to teach schools or to attend schools or colleges of their own faith either at home or abroad. A Catholic wife who turned

Protestant could demand a legal separation and an allowance. Protestant heirs of Catholic families were to be favored in the distribution of the inheritance. The native Irish population that adhered to the ancient religion was made entirely subject to the English ministers. The Roman Catholic Church was driven to cover, in the vain hope that the next generation would grow up reconciled to this harsh régime. Even the Presbyterians in the northern region of the island were excluded by the Test Act from a share in the government of the country.

The bulk of the Irish people were thus reduced to a state in which they chiefly labored to produce rents for British landlords. Many of these landlords did not reside on their estates and were represented in their relations with their tenants by stewards whose success was measured by the amount of the rent they could extract and remit to their employers. The Irish paid tithes to support a Church which they did not want and under the auspices of which they refused to worship. They were governed by English officials sent over to coöperate with landlords and borough magnates who were also of English origin. The result was that the priests, who managed somehow to exist in spite of the law, were drawn closer to their parishioners by the dangers and privations they shared in common and became their leaders in politics as in other matters. An exaggerated, though not wholly inaccurate, picture of social conditions in Ireland is reflected by the bitter irony of Swift, who made his own the cause of the people among whom he was a reluctant exile and over whose spiritual welfare he was an unwilling shepherd. "It is a melancholy object," he wrote from Dublin in 1729, "to those who walk through this great town or travel in the country when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin doors, crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants, who as they grow up either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes." With sardonic humor, he suggested the possibility of using the superfluous infants for food. The older would in time be taken care of. "It is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting by cold and famine, and filth and vermin as fast as can reasonably be expected." The destruction of the babies would tend

to remedy existing conditions, since "it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly overrun, being the principal breeders of this nation as well as our most dangerous enemies; and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants [the landlords], who have chosen rather to leave their country than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an episcopal curate."

Prevented by the penal laws from leasing land for a longer period than thirty-one years, the Irish Catholics turned from agriculture to raising cattle. But when they accumulated wealth in this enterprise they could not invest it in their native soil. Save in the one item of the linen industry, their efforts to extend their manufactures beyond what was needed to supply their own needs was inhibited by the laws imposed by Great Britain, which placed Ireland in essentially the same commercial relations with that country as the American colonies. Representatives of the English ruling class in Ireland began at an early date to resent these conditions. William Molyneux published in 1698 his famous pamphlet, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, in which the American rebels, three quarters of a century later, found justification for some of their contentions. The controversy was ended for a time, as regards Ireland, by an act passed in 1719, which asserted the absolute right of the British parliament to make laws binding in Ireland.

In the course of the American war, as had been the case before and as was to be the case more than once again, the Irish sought to find an opportunity for relief in Britain's troubles. In the early decades of the reign of George III, a party appeared in the Irish parliament, led by such orators as Henry Flood and the more famous Henry Grattan, which voiced dissatisfaction at the subserviency of a majority of the members of that legislature to the British government. This party was, of course, wholly within the Anglican minority in the population, since this element alone could participate in governmental affairs. A proposal to tax absentee landlords to meet the growing expenses of the Irish government, which were greatly increased by pensions granted by the King to British subjects, aroused so much opposition among the classes affected in England that North found it inexpedient to proceed with the bill. Following the example of the Americans, members of the Irish opposition began to object to taxation by a parliament in which they were not

represented. The American war itself deprived the Irish of a market for much of their surplus, while the necessity of sending troops to America caused the British government to withdraw garrisons from Ireland. These garrisons were replaced by a numerous body of "Volunteers," recruited from the Protestant population, but moved by the prevailing economic distress in Ireland. Before the end of North's administration, these Volunteers were used as a threat to procure for Irish merchants the right to participate in trade with British colonies and the Levant and to place trade in wool, woollens, glass, and glass manufactures on an equal basis as between England and Ireland. The Irish parliament, at the same time, relieved Protestant Dissenters from the sacramental test. In the Rockingham administration (1782) Poynings' Law was repealed, and the Irish were relieved from dependence on the British parliament. Politically, Ireland was then bound to England only through the King, whose British ministers appointed the Irish executive. Of Pitt's unsuccessful efforts in 1785 to free the Irish from some of the remaining commercial restrictions, we know. In Ireland, however, such power as parliament had was exercised by the small group of Protestant Anglicans, who alone could take part in its proceedings. As a matter of fact, even more than the British parliament, the Irish legislature, consisting of some three hundred members, was in control of a small group of magnates, who were all powerful in most of the constituencies.

The failure of the commercial "propositions" in 1785 and the growing discontent among the rival groups into which the Irish population was divided aroused the Irish and made them susceptible to influences arising from the agitation for reform in England and from the national uprising in France. In 1791 Theobald Wolfe Tone organized the Society of the United Irishmen in an effort to unite Protestant Dissenters with Catholics to demand jointly a share in the government. But this demand raised the question of the supremacy of the national Church in England, a question from which English statesmen shied for prudential reasons. Nevertheless, amid the excitement of 1793, Pitt acquiesced in an extension of the parliamentary suffrage to Catholics with certain property qualifications and relieved them of some of their disabilities. The penal code had been modified somewhat in the previous year, and the college of Maynooth was now established as a Catholic institution of higher learning for training the priesthood. These concessions were carried against the opposition of some of the more influential members of the local

oligarchy, on which the Protestant Anglican ascendancy in Ireland depended.

When, in 1794, the old Rockingham party finally dissolved, and some of its aristocratic members under the Duke of Portland joined Pitt's ministry, Earl Fitzwilliam, Rockingham's nephew and heir, was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. Fitzwilliam inherited Rockingham's friendship with Burke, and not only was Burke a native of Ireland himself, but his wife also, before her marriage, had been a Catholic. In consequence, his views on Ireland were as tolerant as his opinions on France were prejudiced. The new Lord Lieutenant felt that he was authorized to introduce a more liberal régime in Ireland, and he began to take steps to enlist the support of the reform party in the Irish parliament before he went over to take up his duties. Pitt and his colleagues had a different understanding of the matter, which was reënforced by the persuasion of the leaders of the oligarchy that managed the Irish parliament in the British interest. Fitzwilliam was thus obliged to resign his office before he assumed its duties, and the Catholics felt that a program of justice, already promised to them, was thereby defeated. The succeeding Lord Lieutenant, Camden, had an impossible task and was not blessed with any superabundant ability. Soon Catholic organizations in the south were pitted against Protestants in the north, before long to be organized as Orangemen, in memory of the last Protestant Prince who conquered Ireland. The British troops sent to suppress disorder vied with the mobs in a savagery that was bad enough, without the elaboration it has since received from the partizans on both sides.

Meantime, Tone and other Irish patriots went to France to seek assistance. After interminable delays, the French Directory sent Bonaparte, then rising to influence, to Egypt and had remaining only a small contingent with which to invade Ireland. These troops arrived in several groups and so were repulsed without difficulty. The revolt in Ireland, that was planned to support the French invasion, was suppressed by Lord Cornwallis, who had recently returned from India and was now sent over both to command the army and to replace Camden as lord lieutenant. Wolfe Tone, who accompanied the last French contingent, was captured and, to escape hanging, committed suicide and thereby found a place on a growing list of Irish martyrs to British rule, who were making the task of British statesmen more difficult as they increased in number. This rebellion of 1798 was used by Pitt and his associates to induce their supporters in Ireland

to agree to a union between the two kingdoms. It was unlikely that a Protestant Irish parliament would ever willingly admit their Catholic fellow-countrymen to participate in a body which they might easily come to dominate. This difficulty would not arise in the same degree with a minority of Irish members in the combined British parliament. Cornwallis and his Chief Secretary, Robert Stuart, Viscount Castlereagh, used the methods necessary to carry the bill through the Irish parliament after its passage in England. The owners of the boroughs were remunerated for their losses to the amount of a million and a quarter pounds, which became a part of the Irish national debt. Pensions, peerages, offices, and bribes of any convenient sort were used. "The political jobbery in this country gets the better of me," wrote Cornwallis. "It has ever been the wish of my life to avoid this dirty business, and I am now involved in its beyond all bearing. . . . I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without an union the British empire must be dissolved." As in so many cases, the urgency of the end, that seemed vital to the safety of the country, had to justify the methods that were necessary for its accomplishment.

Robert Emmet, a few years later, sacrificed his promising life in another fruitless revolt against British rule in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell was beginning his agitation before the French war was ended, but the union consummated in 1801 lasted more than a century. The Irish were allotted in the enlarged House of Lords thirty-two members, four bishops and twenty-eight lay lords, elected by the whole body of Irish peers for life. Irish representatives in the House of Commons numbered an hundred. The two national Churches were amalgamated into one establishment, and the combined country was called by the clumsy name, "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." In order to reconcile the Irish Catholics to the measure, Cornwallis and his lieutenants, with the acquiescence of Pitt, promised that members of their faith would be made eligible to sit in parliament, that Catholic priests in Ireland would receive payment from the royal treasury, and that the tithe for the support of the Anglican Church would be commuted. After the union was consummated, the makers of these promises discovered that George III had developed conscientious scruples, in which he was probably encouraged by sympathizers with the Anglican oligarchy formerly supreme in Ireland. Partly because the King's half-insane obstinacy on this issue could not be

moved, and partly, perhaps, because Napoleon, who had now established himself in France, was making proposals for peace which could not be ignored, Pitt elected to resign office and to leave to ministers not committed to Irish Catholic emancipation the burden of government. Thereby, another instance of alleged bad faith was added to the list of grievances that made the relations between Ireland and England difficult almost beyond solution.

WAR TO THE END

The war that Pitt and those associated with him in the conduct of the British government entered so confidently in 1793 was unlike any war the world had ever experienced before. The group that then dominated the British government was small, including Pitt, at its head, the chief financial minister; his cousin, Lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs; his elder brother, Lord Chatham, first lord of the admiralty; and his intimate friend, Henry Dundas, secretary of state for home affairs. Chatham was replaced at the admiralty in 1794 by George John, second Earl Spencer, who came into office with the Duke of Portland and lent a much needed efficiency to the naval administration. With that exception, control of the government from the outbreak of the war to the end of the eighteenth century was in the hands of that small group. The futilities and failures of the war from a British point of view in that period were largely due to their inability to understand its novel character. To them, it seemed to be a renewal of the old struggle with France for empire—which was indeed the case, complicated by the French revolutionary doctrines, which they feared might become contagious and even infect Great Britain. In their judgment, these revolutionary doctrines, which they sometimes condemned as “democratic,” had undermined the power of the French. If the existing institutional life of Great Britain could be preserved intact, they felt that the trial of strength with revolutionary France would result favorably for the British. They never understood that the national consciousness just come to life in France had given birth to an army that was different from any that a previous French king had had, different, indeed, from any the world had hitherto known on a similar scale, except the army Oliver Cromwell had organized and led. This army, which took shape before Napoleon emerged as its commander, was the product of a determination by the

French to defend their country from invasion. Deprived at a critical juncture of the leadership of most of the older army officers, who were of noble blood, their places were taken by others, who had largely to make their own way. Men were soon supplied to fill the army quotas by conscription, on the assumption that the nation had a right in a time of need to the services of its citizens. By these circumstances attending its mobilization, the new army, thus constituted and led, was freed from many of the traditional tactics and methods of warfare that had formerly hindered military enterprises. The whole mass was inspired by the fervent patriotic emotion that stirred the new-born nation and marched to the thrilling air of Rouget de Lisle's hymn, *La Marsellaise*. When the army found a leader who, in addition to real military genius, had an instinct for dramatizing his successes and the ability to explain and conceal his failures in such a way as to eliminate much of the discouragement of defeat, it was invincible until it had spent its strength.

The British had never had an army on this scale, and had had none akin to it in spirit since Monk negotiated the restoration of Charles II and subordinated the military to the civil power. The events attending that negotiation and the later disputes with James II over the control of the army and militia created in England a strong prejudice against a large army. The result is seen in the policy prevalent in the eighteenth century of paying subsidies to Continental powers that enlisted on the side of the British and in the frequent employment of the subjects of the lesser German princes, the Hessians in the American war, for example. The navy became the real national arm, on which the British depended for safety and power and in which they took pride. Being an insular power, as long as Great Britain's chief Continental rivals depended on armies which, though of greater size, had the same general character as her own, the traditional instruments for defence were adequate. But the situation had now undergone a radical change, and Pitt and his associates tried in vain to use successfully the old agencies and methods against this new French power. On the sea, they were no less successful than had been most of their predecessors who led Britain in her long duel with France; in diplomacy and on land, their operations were in large part failures.

To oppose the national army of France, the British had a military organization which, for one thing, had no direction from

a central board or staff. It depended on the navy for transport, and had no machinery for coördinating the recruiting of personnel, the provision of supplies, and the planning and conduct of campaigns. The officers were still men of family or influence, whose primary interest was in having a dependable means for supporting their station in society. Commissions were granted to those with sufficient wealth or influence to enlist the requisite quota of men. Bounties were offered, though crimping was widely practiced. Before the war was over, quotas were allotted to parishes, in a manner that, on the surface, amounted almost to conscription, but money payments were accepted in lieu of the men not recruited, these funds going to swell the sums available for recruiting by other methods. With an army thus assembled, organized, and led, there is little wonder that most of its earlier efforts against the French ended in failure. The enlisted men in the navy were recruited by much the same processes, though many were taken over, usually much against their will, from the merchant ships. The rate of pay in that service had changed little since the days of Charles II. It was to procure a remedy for that condition, rather than from any lack of patriotism that some of the naval personnel in the home ports mutinied in 1797.

While using thus ineffectively these inadequate agencies of national force, Pitt and his associates adopted the same methods of diplomacy and warfare as their predecessors. They paid subsidies to keep the armies of Continental allies in the field, while using the British troops, a comparatively small body in the early years of the war, to make sallies on places like Dunkirk, to give fruitless assistance to promised uprisings of French royalists, or to coöperate with the fleet in the capture of French colonies. But some of her allies in the first coalition put as little heart into the real fighting as did Great Britain herself. Prussia and Austria were both more interested in the third and final partition of Poland, soon to be consummated, and Prussia especially was inclined to take Great Britain's money, while using her forces in the Polish enterprise. In consequence, Great Britain withdrew the subsidies, and Prussia withdrew from the war in the spring of 1795. Tuscany dropped out earlier in the same year. Spain did likewise a little later, and joined France on the other side before the end of the next year. In the meantime, Holland had been overrun and obliged to make peace after ceding to Great Britain rights in her colonies. When Napoleon's campaigns obliged Austria to sign the Treaty of

Campio Formio in the autumn of 1797, Great Britain was left alone of the powers that had composed the first coalition.

It was as clear then, as it was throughout the rest of the war, that Great Britain was the strongest enemy against which France had to contend. Even then French statesmen were considering three plans of solving this British problem. They might invade England; they might attack and seek to weaken or destroy the overseas empire; or they might destroy British trade and so render the nation powerless. The decision for the moment was to attack the empire, and Napoleon set sail in 1798 for Egypt to lay the foundation for the destruction of British dominion in the Orient, while a lesser expedition lent ineffective assistance to the Irish rebels. Admiral John Jervis had defeated the Spanish fleet at the battle of Cape St. Vincent in February, 1797. At the battle of Camperdown, Admiral Adam Duncan, in October of the same year, defeated a Dutch fleet that was designed to help in the Irish uprising. Then (August 1, 1798), at the battle of the Nile, or Aboukir Bay, Nelson destroyed the fleet that supported Bonaparte in Egypt and left the French army there isolated.

Great Britain soon found allies in Russia and Turkey and began to build the second coalition. Austria was ready again to accept subsidies in the spring of 1799, and Prussia in the fall of the next year. But, in the meantime, Bonaparte had returned from Egypt and had assumed the office of first consul. By February, 1801, he was able to dictate to Austria and Prussia the peace of Lunéville, which left France the only first-rate power on the Continent. The struggle with Great Britain was still a stalemate. Nelson, in defiance of the orders of his superior officer, destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen in April, 1801, to prevent it from joining the forces of France on the sea. The British had taken most of the French colonies and some of those of the powers allied with France and seemed to be as powerful on the water as their enemies were on land. Napoleon desired peace to consolidate his strength. British manufacturers were anxious to have freer access to Continental markets. The refusal of George III to acquiesce in the emancipation of the Irish Catholics enabled Pitt to retire from office, so that others would have the unpleasant task of making a peace which, at best, could be but a truce. Henry Addington, later Viscount Sidmouth, on whom the burden fell, was a man of mediocre ability, too complaisant with the King and too unfamiliar with the state of affairs in the world at large to provide the leadership

the occasion demanded. His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Robert Banks Jenkinson, son of Charles Jenkinson, soon to be Baron Hawkesbury and later Earl of Liverpool, was no better than a tactful, routine politician. The result was that Napoleon left England largely out of consideration in making the settlement on the Continent. The Peace of Amiens, as finally signed in March, 1802, is evidence that Pitt had failed, even in carrying out his father's plan of opposition to France. The elder statesman had been careful, while acquiring the colonies of the enemy, to maintain a position on the Continent so strong that his captures would not have to be returned when time came to make peace. Of the younger statesman's conquests, Addington kept only Ceylon and Trinidad. The island of Malta was to be restored, three months after the ratification of the treaty, to the Knights of St. John. Both the British and French armies were to be withdrawn from Egypt, which was to go back to Turkey.

Napoleon declined for the time to negotiate a commercial treaty, and the British manufacturers discovered that the peace had profited them little. He proceeded at will with his plans on the Continent, paying little attention to Addington and Hawkesbury and increasing the strength of his own position. He dallied for a while with the project of an American empire. France had recovered Louisiana from Spain by the treaty. But Napoleon's venture in Hayti proved costlier than the immediate returns could repay, and, when the war with Great Britain was renewed, in 1803, he sold Louisiana to the United States. As a reply to the wilful policy of Napoleon on the Continent and to an attack he seemed about to make on Egypt, the British refused to evacuate Malta, enabling him to allege a violation of the treaty and to repeat the time-worn accusation, "perfidious Albion." In the meantime, the old supporters of Pitt became more aggressive in their opposition to Addington. George Canning, a loyal disciple of Pitt and himself a man of parts, was already busy creating the legend of his chief, as the "pilot who weathered the storm," that was destined to flourish as the years passed and to make his memory scarcely second to that of his father in the esteem of his countrymen. When the war was renewed, there was a demand that Pitt again accept office. George III was still enjoying the half-sanity that had characterized him for a decade and refused to have Fox as a minister, thus depriving Pitt of the much needed help of Grenville, who had been associated with Fox since 1801. The administration

had little strength aside from Pitt, and he was already prematurely worn out.

Nevertheless, he set about his old task of building up his third and last coalition against France. Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, meditated for a while an invasion of England and assembled for the purpose nearly one hundred thousand troops to await the time when his naval power should control the sea in that region. He was fated to wait in vain. Nelson crushed the French fleet in October, 1805, at the battle of Trafalgar Bay. It was his last battle, but it was decisive. His funeral was a triumphal procession to Saint Paul's Cathedral. People were glad to forget his occasional disregard of the commands of his superiors and of the current social conventions in gratitude for the services he rendered the nation. The most imposing square in London is not unfittingly named in honor of his last battle and contains a monument to him as its central ornament. This success was not repeated on land. Before Pitt died, in January, 1806, he learned of the defeat of Austria at Austerlitz, which meant the dissolution of the third coalition. Fox, whom the King admitted to office now that Pitt was dead, did not last out the year, though he lived long enough to witness the passage of an act abolishing the slave trade (1806). Within a month after the death of Fox, Napoleon had crushed and overrun Prussia at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, in preparation for the new method of attack on Great Britain he was about to adopt. In July, 1807, he made a treaty at Tilsit with Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, which brought that power also to his assistance. In the preceding November he had issued from the conquered Prussian capital his Berlin Decree, which was an attempt to exclude Great Britain entirely from trade with the Continent, in the hope that her industry and commerce would thereby be stifled. The British retorted a few months later with an Order in Council forbidding trade with France. A commercial war was thus begun on a scale never tried before.

Neutral countries were naturally the worst sufferers. The growing trade of the United States had for a decade suffered losses at the hands of both powers. That country had tried first nonimportation and more recently an embargo in an effort to protect itself. It objected also to the British practice of searching its ships for British seamen. Since the seapower of Great Britain was the stronger, and Napoleon had, accordingly, less responsibility for any promises he might make, he

more nearly acceded to the American demands than did the British. The result was a war between Great Britain and the United States that lasted from 1812 to 1814. A number of isolated British vessels were captured by the Americans, and there were a few memorable exploits, such as Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Jackson's defence of New Orleans after the treaty was signed. But in most of its aspects this war was an enterprise in which neither participant had much reason for taking pride. The treaty that ended it took little cognizance of the questions at issue when it began.

While this incidental war was in progress, the last effort of the French to conquer Great Britain was falling under its own weight. In order to bring the entire Continent into the system, it was necessary for Napoleon to conquer Spain and Portugal. Great Britain had by this time realized the futility of pouring out wealth for the subsidizing of ineffective allies and of dissipating her own army in fruitless enterprises. When Spanish nationality began to stir in revolt against Napoleon's methods of conquest, Sheridan, usually an opponent of the war, urged the government of the day to lend help. "Hitherto," he said, "Bonaparte has had to contend against princes without dignity and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent to his success. He has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with a spirit to resist him." Canning, who happened at the time to be secretary of state for foreign affairs and who was blessed with more imagination than most of his colleagues, voiced the reply of the ministers: "We shall proceed on the general principle that any nation of Europe that starts up with a determination to oppose a power which . . . is the common enemy of all nations becomes instantly our essential ally." That is, Great Britain was done with the policy of enlisting the assistance of other countries by engagements to pay subsidies. In the future she would reserve her assistance for those powers that might become interested in the war on their own account. She was also beginning to develop an army of her own and was seeking a place where its power might be most effectively used. There was to be a fourth coalition, but it was based, as far as Great Britain was concerned, on the principle of giving help where it was sought.

But there were more reasons than the rising spirit against Napoleon why Spain was a tempting country for the British to encourage. The Spanish colonies were the best customers for

British manufactures outside of the bounds of the Continental System. Nevertheless, the British ministers were not unanimous in their disposition to support the expedition they sent to the Iberian peninsula under the command of Arthur Wellesley, who by this enterprise was to win the renowned title, Duke of Wellington. As he demonstrated his superior ability by the successes which he achieved, he was able to command additional support both from the British and the Spanish. His activity embarrassed Napoleon at a time when the Continental System was already beginning to break up. Russia suffered for lack of British goods and was deprived of the British markets for some of her products. Soon the flower of the French army was on its way to Russia in a terrible winter campaign, which was as effective as the army of the Tsar. For some years active spirits had been at work in Prussia kindling a national feeling that was now ready to flame forth in the "War of Liberation." Even in Austria, where the proud Hapsburgs had given a young princess to Napoleon for wife and so had become his ally, the Emperor had found a minister in Prince Metternich, who was making ready against a time when he could cast the weight of his country in the scale against France. Thus, as Wellington pushed up through Spain, other powers were engaging the French armies to the eastward. A few weeks after the battle of Leipzig, in October, 1813, which was a disastrous defeat for Napoleon on that front, Wellington crossed the Pyrenees into France. By the following April Napoleon was ready to abdicate, and Louis XVIII had entered Paris. The policy of conquering the sea on land had failed. Napoleon fell before the rising tide of national feeling in other countries, just as the aroused spirit of France had been the source of his own power. He fell in part, too, because a growing strength of another sort enabled Great Britain to keep up the fight against him.

STRENGTH THAT GAVE VICTORY

There are many reasons why the British nation proved stronger than the French in this long struggle. One of the more obvious explanations is the predominant seapower of Great Britain, which was not seriously challenged on the water after Trafalgar. The ability to destroy or defeat in battle any fleets France and her allies might afford was only a small part of the advantage that accrued to the British as a result of their mari-

time power. The seas were the highways on which traveled the rapidly growing commerce that made possible the large subsidies paid for Continental armies. Predominance on the seas gave the British access to all the open markets of the world and saved the country from bankruptcy in the threatening years of the Continental System. The same power saved British territory from invasion and so from the actual destruction of war, which interrupted the normal processes of production in large areas on the Continent. Furthermore, seapower required comparatively a less outlay in manhood than did the military undertakings of the French and even those of the countries that were from time to time allies of Great Britain. The number of troops that engaged in the war from Great Britain, in proportion to the total population, was at no time as large as was the case with both France and the more important British allies. In consequence, the war tended to hinder the growth of industry on the Continent, while it hastened in Great Britain economic changes long in progress, which enabled that nation not only to bear the unprecedented expenses of the struggle but also to emerge at its end richer, more populous, and more powerful than at its beginning.

The constant pressure of the demands of trade had operated for generations in England to stimulate the discovery or the invention of improved methods and implements of production. Societies were organized, prizes offered, and other conscious efforts made to hasten needed inventions. This pressure for increased production was felt by the makers of all commodities that appealed to the wants of men and thus offered a chance of large profits to traders. The inventions, which were now reaching a state of perfection making it profitable to utilize them on a large scale, were the results of coöperative labors of many hands extending over a long period of time. As a rule, neither the discovery nor the putting into use of an invention was an occurrence of startling suddenness. Most of the pioneers in these new enterprises met with the conservative skepticism of the successful, who in every age distrust novelty, and frequently with stubborn and violent opposition from those who feared that the new methods would deprive them of their accustomed means of a livelihood. But the large demands entailed by a trade that was steadily growing before the war began, the unprecedented need for supplies caused by the war itself, and the interruption of production in places where some of these demands might have been met, opened a way for profitable expansion of British indus-

try that was unique. The more spectacular changes in method of manufacture that took place immediately were in the production of cotton goods and iron. The woolen industry, long-established and conservative, retained many of its old methods, though it, too, was influenced by the changes.

The acts of spinning and weaving are essentially the same to-day as they were when first discovered by some primitive unknown before man began to make a conscious record of his doings. Weaving is the familiar process of making a fabric by interlacing at right angles two or more series of flexible materials of which the longitudinal threads or slivers are called the warp and the transverse the weft or woof. Spinning, the discovery of which must have antedated weaving on an extensive scale, is merely the drawing out in orderly arrangement and the twisting into a tensile thread of some pliable and prehensile fiber. The earliest implement for spinning seems to have been a spindle that was twirled with the fingers. Long before the eighteenth century the spindle was mounted on a simple apparatus and belted to a larger wheel, which was rotated by the hand or foot of the spinner. In the cases of the hand wheel, examples of which can still be seen in most older American localities, the cotton or wool was first prepared in slivers or rolls by a pair of simple cards operated by hand. The spinner turned with one hand the large wheel which revolved the spindle and twisted into thread the roll fed to the point of the spindle by the other hand. The spindle served also as a bobbin on which to wind the thread as it was made. The early loom was almost as simple. It consisted of an arrangement to move the alternate threads of the warp back and forth in order to allow the weft to be passed through as it unwound from a bobbin. There were, of course, many other processes, such as fulling and dyeing, that gave an enhanced value to fabrics in the esteem of purchasers.

The first mechanical improvement which hastened the production of textile fabrics was John Kay's flying shuttle, invented in 1733, which enabled the operator of a loom, by simply pulling a cord, to pass the bobbin back and forth through the web and so place the weft. Like the inventions that were to come later, this contrivance found disfavor with the weavers, but by 1760 it was in general use for weaving cotton and had enabled the weavers to use yarn in larger quantities than could be supplied by the prevailing methods of spinning. The growing demand for cloth encouraged many persons to labor at the task of contriving a better apparatus for spinning. John Wyatt and Lewis

Paul, working together, made some headway on this problem in the decade after Kay patented his shuttle, and they introduced the principles on which the successful machines were later to be built. Edward Cave, founder of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, devised a machine and for a time conducted an establishment at Northampton, in which fifty hands operated two hundred and fifty spindles, but the business was later discontinued. Then, about the year 1769, muslins began to be manufactured in England from yarns spun in India, and the Society of the Fine Arts offered a prize for the invention of a spinning machine. James Hargreaves soon succeeded in devising an arrangement by which a single person could operate a number of spindles and called his machine a Jenny, it is said in honor of his wife. Perhaps the greatest single contributor to the solution of the problem, however, was Richard Arkwright, who patented his water frame in 1769. His personal contribution to the invention is a disputed matter; he certainly had the ability to exploit the ideas of other men. The throstle, as Arkwright perfected it, involved the passing of the cotton fiber between a series of pairs of revolving rolls, each successive pair having a somewhat higher rate of speed than that before, and thus drawing the fiber into a sliver, which was twisted by a rapidly revolving flyer and wound on a bobbin that revolved more slowly. The process of carding was thus eliminated, and the product of the first operation was called rovings. By repeating this process, the rovings could be converted into thread that would serve for weft, but not for warp. By the end of another decade Samuel Crompton had invented his mule, which combined some of the principles of the two earlier machines into a new one, capable of producing yarn finer than that which had come from India. The difficulty now was to find raw cotton in quantities sufficiently large. This handicap was overcome when Eli Whitney, an American, devised in his cotton gin an expeditious method of ridding short-staple cotton of its seeds, thereby making possible its production on a large scale.

Several years before Whitney perfected his gin, Edmund Cartwright invented a successful power loom. By 1813 two thousand four hundred looms of this type, as later improved by John Horrocks and others, were in use. As yet, however, the old hand loom was still the dominant machine in this field, since it was cheaper to operate. Moreover, the commercial interests had large sums invested in hand looms, and so were slow to discard them. The weaver furnished room for the loom in his own house, and he

could supplement his income from his craft by work on the garden plat about his cottage. In cotton spinning, the new machines soon took the field, and the amount of cotton manufactured in the kingdom, chiefly in and around Manchester, increased at a startling rate. The quantity of raw cotton imported into England increased from approximately four million pounds, at the beginning of the American Revolution, to about a hundred million pounds at the close of the war with Napoleon.

The invention and use of these machines called for an ever increasing quantity of iron, and so this period witnessed important changes in the methods of manufacturing that commodity. England had long ago reached the point where wood was not available for burning the charcoal needed for smelting iron by the old direct process. Experiments had been under way since the early years of the seventeenth century looking to the use of coal for smelting. Abraham Darby, who took over the management of the furnaces belonging to his family at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire in 1730, ultimately succeeded in perfecting a furnace that used coke with a blast apparatus, operated first by water and later by steam. Others improved on what he had done. The new process first produced cast iron; that is, iron with a high percentage of carbon, which had to be eliminated to make malleable iron and eliminated in part to make steel. In 1783 Peter Onions patented a process for this purpose, which was in turn improved a little later by Henry Cort. Cort also improved and made workable rolls for turning out the finished iron or steel in the form of bars or sheet iron.

Meanwhile, James Watt had been steadily improving the old steam engines of the condensing type, so that now (the date of the patent was 1769), in addition to serving their earlier function of operating pumps, they could turn the wheels of the new spinning machines. As Watt improved the engine of Thomas Newcomen, so later inventors, adopting a principle which Watt thought impracticable, since he lacked iron of the right type for the boilers and tools to make the cylinders, built a noncondensing engine, which was far more efficient than the condensing engines designed by Watt. No small part in making possible these inventions was played by the invention, in 1794, of a slide rest for the turning lathe, with which far more accurate work could be done than had been possible before. This was only one of a list of tools, much too long to be enumerated here and too technical to be described in language easy for a layman to understand.





This phenomenal growth in industry called for new means of transportation. Since the time of the Romans, the roads in England had been indescribably bad. By 1759 James Brindley, a self-educated engineer, had built a canal for the Duke of Bridgewater from his coal mines at Worsley to Manchester. Subsequently he supervised the construction of over three hundred and sixty-five miles of canals, including one from Manchester to Liverpool. The turnpike companies did something to improve the conditions of the roads. Before the end of the eighteenth century Thomas Telford and John London McAdam began to build roads of crushed stone, which helped to make communication easier. In the same period Richard Trevithick was making experiments, not wholly unsuccessful, looking to the use of the noncondensing type of engine for locomotion. George Stephenson patented his locomotive in 1815, and in a few years it was in successful operation. A few years earlier Robert Fulton, in America, applied steam successfully to water navigation.

The introduction of these new machines and processes influenced profoundly the national life of Great Britain. The population was steadily increasing, and, a matter of more importance, it was also steadily shifting from rural to urban districts and from the southern to the more central parts of the country. A new social stratification was under way. The spinning machines were too expensive to be owned by the operator and required other power than the human hand. Before the steam engine reached its improved stage, new mills were built along streams that afforded the necessary power. After the use of steam became general, some of these older mills were deserted, and the industry moved to the towns. Those who owned the mills became the employers of those who operated them, and the system of capitalism began to be general in industry. Not that the system of capitalism awaited the coming of the more expensive machines. It had been growing in the woolen industry for generations. The demand for larger quantities of goods for the trade led the merchants to furnish the raw material and to pay spinners and weavers for their work, sometimes, in fact, to furnish the machine to the laborer in his home. The increase in this "domestic" or "putting-out" system of manufacture gradually broke down the old apprenticeship in the craft, and the new capitalists were willing to employ anybody who could practice the trade, regardless of whether he had served his allotted time. The organized weavers applied to parliament for a law to protect their privileges against this

infraction, but the commercial influence was too strong, and the old legislation was repealed by the end of the Napoleonic Wars. There were still many weavers who worked their own looms and who purchased the yarn and resold the cloth, but a larger number were employees of the capitalists long before the factory became the rule in the weaving industry.

The war facilitated this rapid development in industry, in that it diminished competition from the Continental countries and in that it tended to increase the demand for goods. Many of Napoleon's troops went to battle in clothing made from fabrics produced in Great Britain. It was these new industries and the resulting trade that enabled the British to bear the financial burdens of the war. The statesmen simply had the task of marshaling the spirit and the resources of the nation in the common cause. The discontinuance in 1798 of the *Anti-Jacobin*, which had been conducted by Canning and some of his friends, is indicative of a new phase in the national mood. The emphasis henceforth was on the danger from Napoleon rather than from the radicalism of the earlier revolutionaries. After the renewal of the war, in 1803, no terms were too strong for anathemas on the French Emperor. He was accused of every imaginable villainy against both men and women. One proposed war song, not so violent as others, urged that :

Britons rouse; with speed advance;
Seize the musket, grasp the lance;
See the Hell-born sons of France!

Now murder, lust, and rapine reign;
Hark! the shriek o'er infants slain!
See the desolated plain!

Now's the day, and now's the hour,
See the front of battle lower!
See cursed Buonaparte's power!

And so on to the final huzza that "Britons ever will be free." The people of the countryside were affrighted at the possible accomplishments of French spies. Specific accounts were circulated of the terrible things that would happen should Napoleon succeed with an invasion. In short, the nation was held to its task by suppressing every disposition to question the necessity for the exertion that was required, partly by force and partly by stimulating dire fears of what might happen should the war not be pushed to a successful conclusion.

But those who were responsible for the conduct of the government were not always agreed among themselves. The death of Pitt and Fox left vacancies that were not filled. They were the last of a school of statesmen who thrived in a time when you could meet most of the men who counted in the government of the kingdom at Brooks's or White's, the two social clubs patronized by members of the governing class. Since most of those who played a prominent part were either landlords or commercial magnates or their intimates, the issues of the moment could usually be clothed in the philosophical terminology of the day and debated as general principles, however the specific actions taken might depart from the questions debated. But the growing importance of the men who were becoming wealthy in industry and those who more recently had grown rich in trade made necessary more specific and pertinent discussions of the action proposed to be taken. Parliaments in the future would contain men as eloquent as Pitt or Fox, and vastly better informed than either of them on matters with which they had to deal. But these leaders in the future would not be able to master parliament as Pitt and Fox had done, because parliament was now filling up with men having a real interest in practical affairs and with little disposition to be moved by declamations on personal or theoretical questions. The mantle of these two parliamentary giants fell in the next decade on the shoulders of the pedantic Hakwesbury, the brilliant if erratic Canning, the plodding, able Castlereagh, and the abler Spencer Perceval, whose life was ended by an assassin all too soon for his country's good in May, 1812. There were some who held over from Pitt's day, such as Grenville; Eldon, the perennial Lord Chancellor, who began as a conservative and waxed in that attitude as his age increased; the pious William Wilberforce, a representative of the financial power of industry, who expended so much of his humanitarianism on the African slaves that he had little or none left for the children who suffered from hard conditions at home; and, finally, Sheridan, now little better than a sot.

George III, until he became blind and permanently insane in 1811, continued to thwart Catholic emancipation and so to forbid a settlement of the Irish question while there was yet time. When his son became regent, he demonstrated anew his lack of the qualities Burke had attributed to him by acting with all of the obstinacy and little of the ability of his father. In fact, aside from a few brave spirits, like William Cobbett, who now started his *Weekly Register* and began to gather and print the

debates of parliament, and Francis Place and Sir Francis Burdett, who aroused the electors in Westminster, the country was apparently settled in its fear of change and interested in little but carrying on the war and building up the strength of the nation. The groups in parliament were organized according to personal allegiance rather than according to any party issues. All wished to carry on the war; the differences were as to the methods to be employed. To Castlereagh belongs much of the credit for finally finding Wellington and giving him support sufficient to enable him to carry on. The ministers frankly told the great General that, if they had known in advance how expensive his expedition was to be, they would never have embarked upon it, but they ultimately settled down to see it through. "We cannot find the men, and we cannot find the specie," they wrote him once in response to an urgent request for reënforcements and money. "We must choose between steady exertion on a moderate scale for a long contest, or a single great effort; and, after the experience of the last fifteen years, we prefer the steady exertion." In the end, as we have seen, this policy won. Castlereagh and Wellington now faced the task of making peace.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, I. chs. ii-iii; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. xiii-xv; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII. ch. x; Robert Dunlop, *Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, chs. ii-v; Stephen Gwynn, *The History of Ireland*, chs. xxxii-xxxvii; J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer*, ch. iv; A. D. Innes, *The History of England and the British Empire*, III. chs. x-xi; C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians (George III)*, ch. vi; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. v-viii; A. P. Usher, *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England*, chs. xii-xiii.

FOR WIDER READING

John Ashton, *The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 Vols.; E. Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, I. chs. viii-xiii; Witt Bowden, *The Rise of the Great Manufacturers in Great Britain*; G. C. Broderick and J. K. Fotheringham, *The History of England 1801-1837*, chs. i-vi; P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, chs. v-viii; *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII. chs. xv, xx; IX. chs. ii, iii, viii, xiii, xv; J. S. Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*, 2 Vols.; S. J. Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry*, chs. i-v; G. W. Daniels, *The Early English Cotton Industry*, chs. iii-vi; M. R. P. Dorman, *A History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth*

Century, I; II. chs. xxi-xxix; J. W. Fortescue, *British Statesmen in the Great War*; W. F. Galpin, *The Grain Supply of England During the Napoleonic Period*; A. S. Green, *Irish Nationality*, chs. vi-xii; J. L. Hammond, *Charles James Fox*; William Hunt, *The History of England, 1760-1801*, chs. xvii-xx; W. T. Laprade, *England and the French Revolution*, chs. iv-vii; J. K. Laughton, *Nelson*; W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 4 Vols.; *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, VI-VIII; A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and the Empire*, 2 Vols.; *Sea Power and Its Relation to the War of 1812*, 2 Vols.; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, I. chs. i-viii; H. W. Meikle, *Scotland in the French Revolution*; W. O. Morris, *Wellington*, chs. ii-ix; Alice E. Murray, *A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations Between Ireland and England*, chs. i-xv; C. Oman, *The History of the Peninsular War; Wellington's Army*; J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*; G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, Book I. chs. ii-v; Book II. chs. i-iii; E. R. Turner, *Ireland and England*, chs. i-vi; G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, chs. ix-xiv; Spencer Wilkinson, *The French Army Before Napoleon*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For military and naval campaigns and treaty adjustments in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, see *Shepherd*, pp. 150-156; *Muir*, ff. 11, 26b; *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, Nos. 81-99. A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, III. appendix, contains a map of the war area in the Netherlands, 1790-1815; III. 450, one illustrating the Battle of the Nile; IV. 14, the Spanish Peninsula; IV. 60, Waterloo; IV. 415, Egypt; IV. 564, Trafalgar. C. Grant Robertson, *England Under the Hanoverians*, pp. 337, 338, contains maps contrasting the distribution of population in England in 1701 and 1801; p. 435 contains a map illustrating the Peninsular War. The distribution of population in England in 1701 may be seen in *Muir*, f. 44a, where it is shown in contrast with conditions in 1911 (f. 44b). A simpler map in *Shepherd*, p. 162, illustrates the changing distribution of the population due to the growth of industry in the period from 1750 to the present day.

CHAPTER XXIII

AFTERMATH OF WAR

PEACE AFTER WAR

The character of the peace of 1814-15 was largely determined by the circumstances of its negotiation immediately after the war, by men who had risen to power in the midst of the war, whose chief successes were achieved in the conduct of the war, and whose thoughts and emotions reflected experiences gained in the atmosphere of the war. This influence of the war mood in peace negotiations was not a new phenomenon, and certainly not one that could have been avoided. Nations act only through constituted authorities, whether in war or peace. Those who had been engaged in making war now simply turned their hands to making peace. They brought to the new task, without meaning to do it, the same fears, ambitions, resolutions, and limitations that had characterized them in the old. Looking back at their work, it is easy to see now how little they understood the questions with which they undertook to deal. But they could use only such capacities as they possessed, and they had grown up in a school not likely to inculcate in them an understanding of the forces they had been trying, as it proved, in vain to destroy. Moreover, on former occasions when the diplomats forgathered to settle the affairs of the European world, the problems were much simpler than those that now had to be faced. In the former times the ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary were responsible to influential ministers or directly to their kings. Great Britain, it is true, had, throughout the eighteenth century, been an exception to that rule, and there was sometimes an uncertainty in that country until parliament acted. Not so in the other countries. But British interests were largely on the sea or in foreign plantations, as long as the Continental coast opposite the English littoral was not absorbed by some threatening power. The British having been appeased, other matters could be compromised to suit the prevailing bal-

EUROPE

1815

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500



WILLIAMS & CO. N. Y.

ances of power, after which the diplomats could return to their normal tasks of waiting, watching, and intriguing until some ambitious or fearful prince precipitated another war. The diplomats that met at Vienna in 1814 had to deal with a more complex situation. But, while they were aware of additional complications, they lacked insight as to their nature.

Hostilities ceased, following the preliminary treaty signed at Paris in May, 1814, after the abdication of Napoleon. The representatives of the powers involved assembled at Vienna in the following September to complete the settlement of peace. Talleyrand, the old servant of the Republic and the Empire, was at hand to represent the restored French monarchy. By January, 1815, Great Britain, Austria, and France, temporarily joined in an alliance, were threatening the other members of the congress, who were objecting to the principles of settlement on which they had mutually agreed. Napoleon took advantage of this division among the negotiators to return from Elba to France, where he was again acclaimed emperor and was soon at the head of a strong French army. Wellington was ordered to Brussels and took practical command of the allied forces. Following a campaign that ended with the battle of Waterloo, a hundred days after he landed in France, Napoleon surrendered to the British and was later isolated on the island of St. Helena. There he spent the rest of his days in impotent quarrels with his tactless custodian and, to occupy his leisure moments, in compiling memoirs based on recollections that suited his purpose, in an effort, destined to attain a measure of success, to retrieve for his family what he had lost for himself. The negotiations at Vienna suffered little interruption. France was penalized for the additional trouble and expense, and the allies were drawn together somewhat by their scare and so found a compromise of their differences less difficult than it had seemed to be before.

The ends for which Castlereagh, and later Wellington, strove at Vienna were formulated almost wholly in terms of traditional British policy and of fears generated by the war. Perhaps the thing uppermost in their minds was their weariness of the war and their resolution to provide some assurance against its repetition. The long hard years of fighting left little relish for military ambition among the British ruling class. Wellington, who monopolized most of the glory of its later years and whose mind naturally retained to the end of his life a military bias, was glad to don again the costume of a civilian. Despite Wellington's influence in public life, the army at home was soon so small that,

when the Duke of York died in 1827, the great General reported that a military funeral was out of the question, since there were not enough troops in England to bury a field marshal. A large navy was essential, but a large army was expensive and unnecessary if peace could be kept. The war just ended had cost Great Britain more than three times as much as all the other wars in the eighteenth century combined. Though more than three fifths of the cost had been paid by taxes while the war was in progress, the additional national debt due to the war was more than double all the other war debts taken together that had been contracted since the inauguration of that convenient financial device. These were eloquent reasons why the men who bore the burdens of taxation in Great Britain were anxious to avoid further wars. Of the genuineness of that desire there is no doubt.

Since France was the arch-enemy against which the British had fought all of their important wars for a century, the desire for peace made the provision of a sure defence against that power a cardinal point in the policy of their statesmen. Nobody suggested that France had probably shot her bolt for a time and that the next danger would probably be from another quarter. Had it been made, that suggestion would not have been taken seriously by men who had spent a generation subduing the youthful exuberance of the French nation. Some evil spirit must have animated France, they felt, to make her a perpetual threat to the peace of the world. Consequently, France herself must be crushed and her animating spirit broken. So they felt and said. Just what this animating spirit was, none of the statesmen so hostile to it and fearful of it understood, or made much effort to find out. They called it by the convenient name "Jacobinism" and resolved that it must be destroyed. By a process easy to understand in this generation, Jacobinism soon became a bad name given to any departure from the existing social or political order. Statesmen who opposed Jacobinism became, in consequence, correspondingly devoted to things as they were and hostile to change.

The most promising agency for crushing this revolutionary spirit and for keeping the peace of the world seemed to be an association of the great powers of Europe, including Great Britain, acting in concert. Pitt and the Tsar Alexander discussed such an arrangement in general terms in the negotiations attending the organization of the coalition against Napoleon after the renewal of the war in 1804. Pitt, of whose cabinet Castlereagh

was then a member, wrote in response to a previous suggestion of the Tsar:

It seems necessary at the period of a general pacification to form a treaty, to which all the principal powers of Europe should be parties, by which their respective rights and possessions, as they shall then have been established, shall be fixed and recognized. And they should all bind themselves mutually to protect and support each other against any attempt to infringe them. It should reestablish a general and comprehensive system of public law in Europe and provide as far as possible for repressing future attempts to disturb the future tranquillity; and above all for restraining any projects of aggrandizement and ambition similar to those which have produced all the calamities inflicted on Europe since the disastrous era of the French Revolution.

Castlereagh suggested to his colleagues at Vienna something in the nature of a league of this type to enforce peace. The Tsar was quick to take up the suggestion, and he formulated a proposal that the ruling powers of Europe pledge themselves to act according to the benevolent principles of the Christian religion. To please Alexander, this pious resolution was duly signed by all the rulers except the British Prince Regent. He expressed his approval of the measure, while confessing his lack of authority to commit his kingdom by his personal signature. A more important item was the sixth article of the treaty itself, which contained the substance of Castlereagh's proposal. It provided that, in order to "faciliate and to secure the execution of the present treaty and to consolidate the connexions which at present so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of these periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia thus undertook to constitute themselves the permanent guarantors of the peace of Europe. During the period when Napoleon dominated the Continent, Great Britain had lost contact with the Continental intrigues, and she now found herself without the staff of trained diplomatists who had been wont to provide information and advice in former times. Castlereagh hoped that the new arrangement might in a measure supply the British lack of skilled diplomatists and that many dangerous schemes

might be thwarted by informal conferences between the statesmen really responsible for action, an indication of greater good will than understanding.

To render France less dangerous in the future, Castlereagh desired a buffer state on the French border, and this was finally effected by combining Belgium and Holland under the rule of the Prince of Orange. As another guaranty of peace, he proposed the traditional scheme of strengthening Austria and Prussia, so as to create what was now called an "equilibrium" of power. This project demanded skilful diplomacy, for Castlereagh feared the ambitions of Russia in the East only less than he did those of France in the West. In some respects, the Tsar Alexander understood the realities of the situation better than any of his colleagues. Without previous consultation with his allies, he had arranged for the restored Bourbons in France to have a constitution and parliament, and he showed in other ways his appreciation of the limitations of absolutist power. But he was also zealous in taking care of his own interests, and one of the projects he had at heart was to make himself the constitutional head of the kingdom of Warsaw, into which Napoleon had incorporated most of what was formerly Poland. Neither Austria nor Prussia relished this project, wishing to retain for themselves the portions they had formerly annexed. It was as little pleasing to Castlereagh, who, as we have said, preferred to strengthen the central powers. But, should the ambitions of Alexander in Poland be thwarted, he would probably seek compensation in southeastern Europe, which neither Great Britain nor Austria wanted to encourage. In the end, Alexander got most, though not all, of what he wanted in Poland, and Austria found consolation in taking most of the northern part of the Italian peninsula. The old Bourbon King was restored in Naples, though not without difficulty, since the British had been busy for some years intriguing with the people in Sicily and Naples to induce them to rebel against the French and to establish a somewhat liberal constitution. Nominally, the diplomats at the congress acted on the principle of restoring elsewhere, as in France, the legitimate sovereigns; that is, the families that had ruled before the war began. On that theory, the Spanish Bourbons were restored to their throne. But the necessity that compensations be found when adjustments were necessary caused the principle of legitimacy to be honored almost more in its breach than in its observance. Great Britain had promised, before the end of the war, to help Sweden obtain

Norway, and it was finally necessary to send a naval force to compel the union.

On one point the British would tolerate no discussion. Their supremacy on the seas was to be taken for granted. The question of maritime rights must simply be left alone. Great Britain was willing to restore the colonies she had captured, except those strategically located, if thereby she could procure concessions likely to make the peace more secure. The places ultimately retained were Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Heligoland, Mauritius, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, Trinidad, St. Lucia, and Tobago. France was eliminated almost entirely from America and retained only a few trading posts in India. From the time of the Nootka Sound dispute until Wellington went to the assistance of Spain, British statesmen had dallied intermittently with incipient revolts in the Spanish colonies in America. Meanwhile, British commercial interests had come to dominate the trade in those regions, and it was now an important item of policy that this trade should not be disturbed. The British were little interested in the success or failure of the revolt, as long as Spain did not seek again to interrupt the commerce. There was another less selfish matter upon which the British parliament insisted, sometimes in a way that was embarrassing to Castlereagh. The British had abolished the slave trade as far as it pertained to themselves. They now demanded that the rest of Europe do likewise. France and Spain had the greatest stake in the question, so Castlereagh obtained the support of the eastern countries, who saw in this question a chance for diplomatic trading without any sacrifice on their part. Napoleon, on his return, abolished the trade and settled the question for France. Spain finally agreed to a resolution that the trade should cease and consented to abolish it at the end of five years.

Thus the great powers, having suppressed Napoleon, undertook to reestablish Europe. The settlement reflected the character of the men who made it. The abolition of the slave trade was almost the only point regarding which national emotion was a determining factor. On other matters, Castlereagh was left largely to his own devices. But he had labored so long at the task of averting dangers both at home and abroad, that his boldest constructive suggestions looked toward defence. He was incapable of understanding the forces at work underneath the surface, either in Great Britain or on the Continent. He aspired only to make the world a safer and a more peaceful

place. He could offer little help on other questions. He had slight interest in the internal government of France or of the other European states, so long as they were stable and peaceably inclined. He announced in the beginning of the negotiations that, while he preferred the Bourbons in France and felt that they were the only alternative rulers to Napoleon, his country was not prepared to intervene to restore the old house and was ready to make peace with any stable government that the French might set up. On that point, he had more vision than some of his fellow diplomats. Indeed, there was a strong sentiment in Great Britain, after the negotiations began and before the abdication of Napoleon, for dethroning and punishing the defeated Emperor. With this sentiment Castlereagh did not sympathize. Perhaps it was unfortunate that the Tsar, who brought some imagination to his task, granting, as was alleged at the time, that he was not entirely disinterested or even wholly sane, was on the opposite side from Castlereagh on many important questions. This fact gave Metternich a chance to take the lead both in the peace negotiations and in the diplomacy of the period afterward.

Of all the important statesmen who participated in the Congress, Metternich understood least the forces that were at work in Europe. The Prussian, Stein, who had probably taught Alexander somewhat in the period when he was an exile in Russia, could have taught him much. He might also have learned something from another Prussian, Hardenberg, who was not wholly unaware of the national stirrings that accompanied the War of the Liberation. Had there been somebody present to speak adequately for the Spain that made Wellington's campaign possible, some of the mistakes made might have been avoided. But Castlereagh distrusted the activities that had inspired Great Britain for the war, and he was more likely to still popular clamor than to appeal to it while he was seeking to make peace. Metternich himself had no personal knowledge of or experience with an aroused national feeling. Having no understanding of its nature, though dimly aware of its terrible power, he now made it the chief aim of his life to stamp out this mysterious force wherever it made its appearance. On that account, Prussia was grouped in a confederation of the old German states, in which Austria under Metternich became the dominating power, intolerant of any suggestion of improvement or change. His King had suffered the humiliation of becoming Napoleon's ally and of giving him a daughter for wife, a fate which Metternich never forgot and was resolved not to risk

again. He soon became obsessed with the idea that things must be maintained as they were and that the settlement made at Vienna must be kept intact.

The first congress of the leagued powers, which soon came to be called the Holy Alliance, met at Aix la Chapelle in the fall of 1818, to relieve France of the burden of the army of occupation that had been maintained since Waterloo. Wellington now advised that the army might be withdrawn "without danger to France herself and to the peace of Europe." British banking houses lent the credit that enabled the defeated country to liquidate the remaining sums owed to the allies for the "Hundred Days," and by the end of the year France was free of foreign troops and had been accepted as the fifth member of the Holy Alliance. The quadruple alliance of 1815 thus became the "Moral Pentarchy" of 1818. But Castlereagh was beginning to discover that he had been too hasty in pledging Great Britain to act in concert with the great Continental powers. His chief, Liverpool, reminded him that the sentiments of parliament would have to be taken into consideration before embarking on projects for settling the internal governments of other countries. Nevertheless, the four allies of 1815 pledged themselves secretly again in 1818 to take counsel together "on the most effective means of arresting the fatal effects of a new revolutionary convulsion with which France may be threatened." The Tsar, by this time, was enthusiastic in his support of a general concert of Europe to guarantee the existing system. Metternich saw the advantages to be gained by this guaranty. For one thing, it would curb the ambitions of Alexander himself. Prussia also had endangered interests for which she desired protection. But the British hesitated. They discouraged now the thought of holding regular meetings at stipulated times and suggested the alternative of meetings called to consider special questions as they arose. When the French government demonstrated its ability and disposition to maintain peace, there would be no need for further meetings at all. Castlereagh began to ponder the wisdom of taking part in a system that might limit the power of a sovereign state and ultimately run the risk of placing Europe under the control of a huge Continental police organization. The war had emphasized rather than lessened the confidence of the British in their own national interests and power, and they were in no mood to subject themselves to anything resembling restriction from without. Liberty, not restraint by force, was the shibboleth of the strong. If the British claimed

this independence of action for themselves, they could not deny it to other peoples. So, as time went on, Castlereagh insisted emphatically that his government would not undertake to intervene to settle "internal eccentricities" in France or in any other country. He was the more committed to this view after the repressive measures adopted by Metternich and the Prussians to suppress discussion, which followed the revolutionary agitation in the latter country in 1819.

The system of the allies, which became increasingly the system of Metternich, soon had to face even more difficult problems. The Bourbon rulers in both Naples and Spain were so entirely devoid of statesmanship and tact that their peoples rose in revolt. Early in 1820 they proclaimed constitutions that borrowed much from the precedents of the earlier experiments in France. The allies assembled at Troppau in October to consider the question of intervention in Naples. Great Britain was represented only by a spectator. The congress decided to announce and to embark on a policy of intervening to restore the established governments in countries where they were overthrown by revolution. The British government refused to join in this policy. Great Britain made the point that she would tolerate no interference by foreigners in her own government, and, therefore, it would be unwise to adopt a policy of interfering with the governments of other countries. The French Revolution was an exceptional case, because of its "overbearing and conquering character." Though the British adhered to this view at an adjourned meeting of the congress held at Laibach, in 1821, Austria was given a mandate to intervene in Naples, and the British made no objection.

The case of Spain was different. The Bourbon monarch had been restored in that country as a result of British intervention, though the restoration was in a sense unintentional. More important, from a British point of view, was the trade with the Spanish colonies in America, now practically successful in their struggles for independence. To complicate matters further, a revolt which threatened to reach serious proportions broke out against Turkey in Greece, and an influential element in Great Britain manifested a sentimental interest in its success. On the other hand, British statesmen had a traditional friendship for Turkey and a fear of Russia in that quarter that normally shaped the national policy. The Tsar, because of his hostility to the Turks and of his relations with the Greek Church, might be tempted to intervene. Before the next and the last of the con-

gresses of the European powers met at Verona, in 1822, Castlereagh, after preparing a memorandum of the policy he meant to support, collapsed and committed suicide. He was succeeded in the conduct of British foreign relations by the more brilliant Canning, who carried out essentially similar policies in a more vivacious and telling manner. To quote the most recent writer on the subject:¹ "his differences with the Castlereagh policy were rather of shade and of emphasis than in fundamentals, and of method and exception rather than of principle."

As regards Spain, finding that intervention was unavoidable, the British succeeded in making it a matter between France and Spain separately and not a joint action by the powers. This had the appearance of a revival of the old family compact, and Canning began to take steps, as he said, to insure that if Spain was to be united to France, it would be a Spain without the Indies. The United States had already recognized the independence of the Spanish American states, and Canning suggested to the American minister at London the possibility of joint action between England and the United States. Moreover, the expansion of Russia on the Pacific coast of North America began to touch territory claimed by both Great Britain and the United States, a further matter in which the two English-speaking nations had a common interest. British consuls were appointed and sent to strategic points in South America, and Canning told the French Minister bluntly that he meant to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies and that intervention by France to regain them for Spain would not be tolerated. This step was effective in itself, as far as the intervention of France was concerned. But, in the meantime, President Monroe of the United States had offered Canning support in a manner not altogether pleasing to him and different in some respects from what had been desired. The President's message to Congress in December, 1823, announced that the United States would not interfere with the existing colonies of European powers in America, but stipulated that the American continents should not henceforth be considered fields for colonization by European powers. Furthermore, any intervention by European powers to oppress the states whose independence the United States had recognized would be regarded as a manifestation of an "unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The extension of the "political system of the allied powers" to any part of the American continents would endanger the peace and

¹ Harold Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning*, p. 48.

happiness of the United States. By this pronunciamento the American President closed the door to the British as well as to other European powers and threatened to build up an American system that bade fair to rival the Continental System of the old world. Canning made it one of his aims in the next few years to oppose this project. He succeeded in letting it be known to the new South American states that the British opposition to French intervention, which that country was ready to support by armed force, had been a more effective protection for them than the declaration by Monroe, which, the American statesman had carefully said, involved no necessary willingness to lend active support. He sent a representative to attend a congress of the South American states at Panama at the very time when he was refusing to participate in European congresses. In the end, he succeeded fairly well in advertising himself and his country as the effective protectors of the new states in their time of need.

In the Near East, too, he adopted a policy of opportunist action without engaging in a European concert. After the death of Alexander, he succeeded in enlisting the coöperation of both Russia and France in a scheme to intervene for settling the questions between the Greek rebels and the Turks. The war had produced unusual examples of savagery on both sides. The Turks finally obtained the assistance of Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian ruler, who threatened to exterminate the inhabitants of the peninsula of Morea and to transport Moslem settlers to replace them. The agreement that Canning negotiated with France and Russia proposed to enforce a settlement of their difficulties on the Greeks and the Turks "without taking any part in the hostilities between them." In the end, a British naval officer, with these none too clear instructions, found himself with a combined British, French, and Russian fleet at the port of Navarino. A dispute among some boats' crews precipitated a battle that did not end until the entire Turkish fleet had been destroyed (1820).

Before this scarcely authorized battle took place, Canning died and left the conduct of British foreign relations to the Duke of Wellington, whose immense prestige had been used to good effect by both of his abler predecessors. The Duke was brave enough in battle, but he was afraid of change both at home and abroad. The result was a break-down of Canning's combination. Russia was soon at war with Turkey, and by 1829 her general was making peace at Adrianople. Greece

became an independent kingdom under a Bavarian prince. In other respects, Russian power in the Balkans was strengthened. But the settlement was not concluded until after Wellington had been replaced by a man more capable of dealing with foreign questions. A British frigate took the new King to his adopted country in January, 1833. Metternich still reigned on the Continent and was as fearful as ever of departing from the order he had helped to establish. But the concert of Europe was not able ultimately to survive the blows inflicted on it, first by Castlereagh and later by Canning. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that, through those ministers, the British nation spoke according to its new mood, a mood of which it gradually became conscious as it emerged from the shadows into which it had fallen in the course of the struggle with Napoleon. In this mood it was jealous of its sovereign independence.

BRITAIN IN A CHANGING MOOD

A superficial outline of the state of mind generated among the ruling classes in Great Britain by the fear of the French spirit and by the war against Napoleon is easy to trace and not difficult to understand. In what seemed to be a welter of destruction that threatened to overwhelm the world and all the cherished institutions that in their experience made life enjoyable or even tolerable, they clove together in a joint determination to protect the measure of good they enjoyed against the destructive changes they feared. Unconsciously, they tended to enlarge on the merits of the existing order and to manufacture imaginary horrors in order to make the danger of change seem more terrible. These very real fears, frequently amounting to panic, inevitably begat repression and frequent injustices to individuals. The braver spirits who were repressed fought back, sometimes in a rebellious mood. So much is easily discernible. It is a more difficult matter to disentangle the modes in which this spirit of rebellion found expression and the sophistries in which the timid clothed their fears and to combine them in a *tout ensemble* representing accurately and adequately the prevailing spirit of the time. It is well to bear in mind that this generation, which seems, in some of its aspects, so wholly given over to fears and repression, in others, witnessed a remarkable response to humanitarian and philanthropic impulses which resulted in substantial achievements. As is usually the case, it is not easy

to say how far the individuals who took the lead in these achievements were moved by a spirit prevalent in their time and how much they contributed themselves to create the social pressure that made their achievements possible. At any rate, there were notable men to take the lead, and their achievements were noteworthy.

A distinction that explains some of the apparent paradoxes, which abound more in this than in most generations, is that the changes most feared were organic or constitutional in character, while those actually achieved were in the less permanent fields of social organization, not yet enmeshed in so large a body of traditional doctrines. To reform parliament meant to shift power permanently into different hands and to introduce different forces into the government. The plans of the more radical reformers involved a reshaping of the House of Commons so as to make it representative of men as human beings instead of men as possessors of one or another variety of property or privilege. The more conservative reformers made no such revolutionary proposals, but, once the process began of placing emphasis on the man instead of on his accumulated interests, there seemed to be no logical stopping-place. Any doctrine based on the rights of man was foreign to the whole spirit of the British representative system in the eighteenth century. It was not merely a desire on the part of those who were entrenched in a position of power to preserve their privileges. They felt a genuine responsibility for the safety and government of the country, and they knew from observation and practical experience that the bulk of the British population at that time lacked the education and the habit of participating in group action essential for the success of anything approximating popular government. The fears of the traditional ruling class at the prospect of an immediate, radical change in the character of parliament were, thus, not wholly groundless. Having no experience with anything else to guide them, they took refuge in panegyrics on the arrangement with which they were familiar and became increasingly hesitant at the prospect of a change.

The reforms actually achieved were due in part to a growing spirit of humanitarianism and philanthropy, now inculcated systematically by influential communicants of the established Church as well as by Dissenters. In part also, they were the result of the pressure of the economic changes that followed the introduction of the new processes in industry. But many

individuals apparently moved by impulses traceable to neither of these sources lent a hand in the work. Most persons who felt the need of a parliamentary reform supported the changes that were made in the narrower field. On the other hand, many who were enthusiasts on some of the lesser questions felt that it was almost treason to change the basis of parliamentary representation in the least degree. William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Foxwell Buxton, Granville Sharp, Charles Simeon, and their kind were later representatives within the national Church of the spirit which the Wesleys earlier exhibited. They felt a call to missionary activity and responded to appeals for sympathy with human suffering, provided the remedy proposed did not involve a departure from the established social order. Thomas Clarkson felt that the abolition of the slave trade was a more divine work than any he could perform as a routine clergyman, and he devoted his life and his means to the cause which Wilberforce in the House of Commons supported with the ardor of a zealot. In the end, they aroused a feeling of horror at the traffic, which made it detestable, though, in the same society, conditions nearer at hand that seem to a later generation quite as abhorrent were tolerated with few qualms of conscience. The slave trade was abolished despite its long establishment as a vested interest. Its abolition in 1806 was a triumph of sentiment over material profit and over the fears of the ultra-timid. Burke, who supported the movement in its earlier phase, in his later days of hysteria pronounced it a "shred of Jacobinism."

This same generation saw the criminal code divested of some of its severities. There were more than two hundred offences for which capital punishment might be imposed, though, thanks to the leniency of juries and the courts, no large proportion of the guilty actually suffered the penalty. The work on crimes and punishments by the Italian philosopher, Beccaria, was published in English translation in 1764 and attracted the interest of many. Nevertheless, the multiplication of capital offences went on. Of the two hundred and twenty-three such offences on the statute book in 1819, it was said that two thirds had been placed there since 1714, and one third of them in the reign of George III. Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh took the lead in advocating reform and were supported by Buxton and Wilberforce. Romilly was able to procure the abolition of the penalty for pocket-picking as early as 1808, and for several other offences in succeeding years, but not until 1819, after Romilly's

death by his own hand, was Mackintosh able to procure removal of thirty capital felonies from the list. In 1827 the criminal law was simplified and the death penalty confined to a comparatively narrow range. Another anomaly in the prosecution of felons was not remedied until 1836, though there was a growing sentiment against it. Persons accused of felony previous to that time were denied the right to see a copy of the indictment, to have a list of the witnesses to appear against them, or to have their counsel address the jury, though the prosecuting counsel might do so. Many humane lawyers now advocated that felonies be placed on the same basis in these particulars as treason and misdemeanors.

There were some appeals to humanity, however, to which the timid members of parliament were yet afraid to listen. For decades responsible persons had urged the regulation, if not the prohibition, of the employment of children of tender years in sweeping the soot from the chimneys of the great houses of the well-to-do. The nature of the work required that the child begin while small enough to climb the flues. He was not likely to grow rapidly in size as he grew in age afterward. The use of these "sweeps" came into vogue in the eighteenth century, as the use of coal for fuel became common. As early as 1788 a committee of gentlemen, assembled by the efforts of a humane master sweep, petitioned parliament for remedial action, after an investigation which they felt were better "suppressed than made public in a country renowned for its humanity." The final result was an act, with no machinery for its enforcement, requiring that a sweep be washed of his soot and dirt at least once a week and sent to church and that he be treated in other respects with "as much humanity and care as the nature of the employment of a chimney sweeper will admit of." Mechanical devices for cleaning chimneys were available, and could be used in all cases except in complicated flues in the houses of the classes able to afford the expense of changes. In 1817-1818 and 1819 Henry Grey Bennet, with the assistance of Wilberforce and the rest of the philanthropic group, who did not hesitate to make the conditions public, was able to persuade the House of Commons to pass remedial bills. The House of Lords, in which sat many of the owners of the houses with the more troublesome flues, defended its refusal to accept the measure with the arguments that the conditions complained of did not exist or were exaggerated, that if they did exist they were necessary, that if they were abolished greater evils would follow, and that in any case reforms

of this sort should be left "entirely to the moral feelings of perhaps the most moral people on the face of the earth." The practice was not finally abolished until after the middle of the century.

In another field of employment, the children found defenders among the class that had profited from their labors, and a start was made on the long journey toward a better day. The manufacturers proved less hardhearted than London aristocrats. The introduction of machinery in the cotton industry made possible the employment of very young children as operatives. The parish authorities in the crowded districts of London and Liverpool had the burden of supporting many foundlings and orphans. A practice developed of sending these children to work as apprentices in the mills in Lancashire, thus relieving the parish of the burden of their support and at the same time supplying the mills with cheap labor. The death rate among these children was fearfully high, and the conditions amid which they lived were frightful, though perhaps no worse than had been the case before the practice began. A series of epidemics in the mills led the city of Manchester to set up a board of health to have supervision of the matter. Finally, in 1802, Sir Robert Peel, who had grown rich from the industry and whose mills had been among the worst offenders, informed parliament that he had been too busy to visit the factories frequently, but that when he did visit them he was "struck with the uniform appearance of bad health and in many cases, stunted growth of the children; the hours of labor were regulated by the interest of the overseer, whose remuneration depending on the quantity of work done, he was often induced to make the poor children work excessive hours." The result was the passage of an act "for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices," to be enforced by the justices of peace, which provided for whitewashing and better ventilating the mills and forbade children to work before six in the morning or after nine at night or for more than twelve hours a day exclusive of meals. Peel later endeavored to extend the provisions of this act to children other than apprentices. But many manufacturers brought evidence to support their opposition to this measure, alleging that conditions in the mills did not justify it. The bill which they opposed was introduced in 1815 and finally passed in 1819 and is by its very terms indicative of the weight that should be attributed to the arguments of its opponents. It prohibited entirely the labor of children under the age of nine

and forbade the employment of persons under sixteen for longer than twelve hours a day exclusive of meal-times. But the enforcement of this act, as of the other, was left to the justices of peace, and it is, consequently, more important as indicating the humanitarian spirit in parliament than it was as an actual remedy for prevailing grievances. Labor of children under worse conditions, already widely prevalent in coal mines, awaited another generation for ameliorating legislation, since its cruelties were not brought earlier to the attention of those in power in a way to stir their emotions.

This humanitarian movement stopped short of encouraging the workers to combine for the purpose of bettering their own conditions. When, in 1799, the millwrights around London petitioned that their journeymen, who had organized to procure an advance in wages, be prohibited therefrom by law, it was William Wilberforce himself who suggested to Pitt and the House that the act against such combinations should be made general. Accordingly, a general act was rushed through parliament empowering a single magistrate, who might be one of the employers, to impose its penalties on any workman who combined with another workman to procure an advance in wages. The petitions against this act were so numerous in the following year, and the opportunities for injustice it offered so apparent, that it was amended to require the coöperation of two magistrates. The amended measures contained also a scheme to settle a wage dispute by arbitration, a magistrate being appointed as the third member of the arbitral committee. Not until 1824 did Joseph Hume, with the very efficient assistance of Francis Place, procure the repeal of these laws by stealing a march on the manufacturers. Even so, they were in part reënacted in the following year, though with a provision permitting collective bargaining; however, as the courts ruled, the use of the means necessary to make it effective was forbidden. But this question did not arouse the sympathy or stir the indignation of Wilberforce and his kind. Furthermore, to permit workmen to organize was to run the risk of having them challenge some of the decisions of established society. The apostle of the abolition of the slave trade was a genuinely pious man, but, as he put it himself, "he could readily conceive how the lower orders, that valuable portion of the community whose labour was so essential to the social system under which we live, might be tempted by the delusive and wicked principles instilled into their minds to direct their strength to the destruction of their government and to the

overthrow of every civil and religious establishment." His benevolent character made him sympathetic with any effort of the government to substitute humanity for cruelty, but he was afraid that the existence of the constitution might be endangered should the sufferers be encouraged to unite for enforcing a remedy for the evils from which they suffered.

This same spirit, carried almost to sentimentalism, is seen in the organization of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, founded in 1824 largely by the influence of Richard Martin (Humanity Martin), who, assisted by Thomas Erskine, the advocate, procured in 1822 the passage of an act of parliament forbidding "wilful and wanton cruelty." In fact, this act began its slow course through parliament a score of years earlier as a measure to suppress bull-baiting. It was defeated when first introduced by the fears of members intimidated by the prevailing war panic. As one speaker put it, to interfere with this ancient sport would impair among the ignorant and illiterate the "respect for antiquity," which was one of the best safeguards against innovation.

Similar arguments were used by many influential members of the ruling class to defend their opposition to the education of the less fortunate members of society. Sunday Schools and charity schools, of which Bell became the apostle in the national Church and Lancaster among the Dissenters, long based their appeals for support primarily on the ground that they taught their pupils how to read the Scriptures. In the panic of 1793 even the limited work they were doing was held suspect. A bishop of the established Church announced that there was "much ground for suspicion that sedition and atheism are the real objects of some of these institutions rather than religion." Hannah More, who helped Wilberforce to give the evangelical movement a considerable vogue in fashionable circles and who wrote in 1793 some of the tracts distributed by the Society for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers, embarked herself on an educational venture in the form of Sunday Schools. Children of farmers were taught "writing and cyphering," a form of knowledge of which they might have need, but, as for the children of day-laborers, she said: "I allow no writing nor any reading but the Bible, catechism, and such little tracts as may enable them to understand the Church service." In spite of this precaution, the devout lady was soon accused of Jacobinism and her schools under a cloud. Voluntary agencies went on ineffectively with

the work of providing a fragmentary education. In 1807 Samuel Whitbread tried to enlist the support of parliament for a scheme to compel the parochial authorities to provide two years of education for the children of the parish. The Churches in Scotland had served that country much better than had the authorities in England and Wales, so that it could now justly be alleged that Scotsmen were filling a disproportionate number of the positions in society requiring education, for want of competent candidates from the southern counties of the island. As a remedy for that condition, it was suggested that the poor be taught to read. But it was not yet to be. One of the most educated men in the House of Commons defended his opposition to the proposal with the argument that even this limited amount of education would prejudice both the morals and the happiness of the poor, their morals because it would make them "discontented, refractory, and insolent," their happiness because it would enable them to "read seditious, licentious, and anti-Christian literature." Henry Brougham joined Whitbread in agitating the question in parliament, and they procured the appointment in 1816 of a committee to investigate the question. Based on this investigation, Brougham brought forward in 1820 a bill for the education of the poor. But the inability of the national Church and the Dissenters to compromise their differences and the inertia of the ruling class were as yet insurmountable; perhaps it will be long before they are wholly surmounted.

In other fields of education, signs of progress were soon apparent. In 1823, with the support of Brougham and Place, Dr. George Birkbeck came to London from Glasgow, where he had engaged in a similar work, to take charge of the London Mechanics Institute, just founded to promote the instruction of craftsmen. Brougham and others founded a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Finally, an institution of higher learning was established in London, though this enterprise soon faced a troublesome dispute concerning its relations with the established Church. As a consequence, a rival institution was started to teach Anglican Christianity along with other branches of useful knowledge. Meanwhile, influential leaders opposed the Mechanics Institute on the ground that "men who come together professedly to discuss the mystery of their own craft may digress into the mystery of politics or the more serious mysteries of religion." Another fearful authority felt that "a scheme more completely adapted for the destruction of the

empire could not have been invented by the author of evil himself."

The philanthropic and sentimental spirit, which led to the abolition of the slave trade and to the prevention of cruelty to animals, found illiberal expression in more fields than in the opposition to education. Wilberforce reveals both the weakness and strength of the movement in his *A Practical View of Christianity*, first published in 1797. He criticized the nominal Christians of his time for their failure to practice the Christian life. He charged them with making the mistake of thinking that it was their primary function to encourage virtue, amiability, usefulness, and similar characteristics, whereas the one business of the Christian life was "to secure our admission to Heaven." He urged men responsible for the nomination of the clergy to prefer those with a passion for this "vital religion," not only because it was the only true variety, but, as well, because those zealous in religious labors "are perhaps without exception, friendly to our ecclesiastical and civil establishments, and consequently their instructions and influence tend directly, as well as indirectly, to the maintenance of the cause of order and good government." Men of this type, therefore, found a genuine satisfaction in the suppression of the doctrinaire political pamphlets of Paine. When the same author published his *Age of Reason*, a characteristic essay supporting the familiar doctrines of Deism, accompanied by a crude attempt at Biblical criticism, Wilberforce and his associates were zealous in prosecuting the poor publisher of a cheap edition of the pamphlet, disregarding of his penitence and the distressful condition of his family. They were also zealous in promoting a strict observance of the Sabbath, which had gradually been relaxed since the troublesome period of the seventeenth century. Wilberforce's friend, Pitt, followed to the end the practice of holding his cabinet Sunday morning at the regular hour for worship, but Spencer Perceval, who became the head of the ministry in 1809, was devout enough to make a change. Even before that time, Wilberforce induced the Speaker of the House of Commons to hold his levees on Saturday instead of Sunday evenings. He had also induced parliament to withdraw its sanction of Sunday drilling of soldiers, and he now persuaded Percival to forego summoning parliament itself on Mondays, so that the members would have less temptation to travel on Sundays.

On the other hand, there is evidence that forces were at work to produce an increasing measure of tolerance in the minds of

the members of the ruling class. In the midst of his patriotic panic in 1799, Pitt actually drafted a bill to repeal the Toleration Act. Even Wilberforce intervened to persuade him not to introduce it. But by 1828 the long and persistent agitation for the repeal of the Test Act had made such headway that, under the leadership of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons and of Fox's nephew, Lord Holland, in the House of Lords, it was finally repealed. In the following year the Irish Catholics were granted a right to hold office, though, to counterbalance the concession, the same act provided that Irish voters must have a qualifying income of ten pounds, thus disfranchising about a third of the voting population. In the period from 1821-1825, largely under the leadership of William Huskisson, who reflected the current views of the merchants and manufacturers, the old navigation laws were reshaped so as to provide for trade with other countries on a basis of reciprocity. Tariffs in general were reduced, to enable British manufacturers the more readily to obtain materials for their industries and a market for their products. A member of the Board of Trade, in supporting these changes, announced in parliament that nothing could be more "absurd or mischievous than that we should endeavor to produce everything necessary for our own consumption and to render ourselves independent of the world."

Those who engaged in agriculture, however, were not yet in a mood to encourage foreign competition. The enclosure movement had gone on throughout the war period and longer, and much land was thereby brought into cultivation to provide food for the growing population. When the approach of peace threatened the landlords with ruin, they passed through parliament in 1815 a law called the Corn Law, which was the culminating act for the protection of agriculture. The importation of wheat was entirely prohibited as long as it sold for no more than eighty shillings the quarter. Since the landlords were decidedly the most powerful group in the national legislature, the best Huskisson could do in 1828 was to induce them to consent to a sliding scale, whereby importation was prohibited when the price was fifty-two shillings and permitted, with a duty that was gradually lowered as the price increased, until it was nothing when the price reached seventy-two shillings. The price of grain, which was the staple article of food, was thus kept artificially high in Great Britain to the profit of the farmers and landlords at the expense of the other classes.

One concession, however, the landlords now found it prudent

to make, to allay agrarian discontent, which tended to become chronic in a time of economic crisis. By a series of statutes, passed subsequent to the restoration of the monarchy in the seventeenth century, the right of sport was confined to persons holding land of one hundred pounds value and upward, and the selling of game was forbidden. The result was widespread poaching, made profitable by the ease with which game could be sold to rich, landless customers. Efforts to suppress it proved unavailing. The laws passed for the purpose were supported by the argument that, if denied these exclusive privileges, the proprietors would cease to reside on the estates. Spring guns and ruthless man traps were set to catch offenders. In the years from 1827 to 1830 offences against these laws amounted to one seventh of all the criminal prosecutions in the country, and that at a time when economic conditions were such that the poor in rural communities had frequently to choose between poaching and starvation. The monopoly of the landlords in sport was abolished in 1831 by an act providing for a system of licensing for shooting and for dealers in game, a settlement that perhaps favored more the landless men who were waxing wealthy than it did those who had been addicted to poaching. Even so, it was another step in the abolition of the privileges of a class that had now for many generations been wont to rule.

POETS OF PATRIOTISM AND REVOLT

The generation after the outbreak of the French Revolution produced in Great Britain a number of poets capable of feeling and reflecting its changing moods. Robert Burns, the peasant bard of Scotland, had done most of his best work before he felt any influence from France. In spite of momentary enthusiasms for the new movement on the other side of the Channel, he probably reflected more his personal experience with common men than a French impulse, when he asserted that "A man's a man for a' that." A normal aspiration for his own class would lead him in a hopeful moment to exclaim:

It's coming yet for a' that,
That man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brithers be for a' that.

When, in the last full year of his life, he came to write a patriotic ballad, he probably implied no disloyalty to his country when he said:

But while we sing, 'God save the King,'
We'll ne'er forget the people.

Himself one of the people, it was not in his nature to forget them, and he needed no inspiration from France to make him aware of that sentiment. He died in 1796.

The spirit of the generation is better revealed by three poets who were young men when the French nation became forcefully and violently aware of itself. William Wordsworth was born in 1770; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 1772; Robert Southey, in 1774. Wordsworth had finer sensibilities than the other two and a gift for discovering an apter phrase. All three went through a period of sophomore enthusiasm for the events which they so little understood, that were then daily occurrences in France. Wordsworth traveled in that country and later remembered that it was "bliss in that dawn to be alive." All three, afterward, felt that they had experienced something in the nature of a disillusionment. What probably happened was that their first enthusiasm for the French movement was based on a subconscious feeling that France was then entering on a belated heritage that England had long possessed. With characteristically youthful good will, they welcomed her to a state they felt to be native in their own country. The disillusionment came, not because of the massacres and violence, but because it soon became clear, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, that the new France was a more threatening enemy to Great Britain than the old. The atmosphere in which they lived obliged them either to share the contemporary fervor of patriotism or else to proclaim themselves disloyal to their country. They all preferred to become avowed patriots, though their patriotism found expression in different tones and through different media. They sought other outlets for their enthusiasm. Southey and Coleridge, in 1794, invented a utopian scheme, Pantisocracy, under which, on a new continent, nature and reason were to take a fresh start, uncorrupted by the influences that hindered them in England and France. When money was not forthcoming for translating this dream into a practical experiment, Coleridge, under the influence of Wordsworth, wrote his *Ancient Mariner*, a mystical rhymed romance, akin to the medieval in the use of the supernatural. Later, he became a philosopher rather than a poet and provided in essays, which his long addiction to the drug habit prevented him from elaborating into treatises, historical defences of the existing order in a form more rational than was contained in the flashes of Burke's genius.

Wordsworth found consolation, in part, in contemplating the beautiful in nature and in human sentiment, a feeling closely akin to patriotism, in that it involved appreciation of obscured merits in the native scene. Later, he returned to the political moods of the time and made them memorable in some of his best lines. In one of *The Lucy Poems*, written while he was in Germany, in 1799, he discovered, he said, for the first time, "what love" he bore England.

'Tis past, that melancholy dream!
Nor will I quit thy shore
A second time; for still I seem
To love thee more and more.

In the interval of peace after the treaty of Amiens, like many another of his countrymen, he reflected on the two great rival powers of the time. He differed from most of the others in having the ability to give his emotions facile expression. Meditating on England, he exclaimed:

Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom, better none.

He enumerated seventeenth century characters like Harrington, Marvel, Sydney, and the younger Vane, and eulogized them as "moralists" who could "act and comprehend."

They knew how genuine glory was put on;
Taught us how rightfully a nation shone
In splendour; what strength was that would not bend
But in magnanimous meekness.

Then he turned to Britain's enemy:

France, 'tis strange,
Hath brought forth no such souls as we had then.
Perpetual emptiness! unceasing change!
No single volume permanent, no code,
No master spirit, no determined road;
But equally a want of books and men.

More than once he invoked the characters of the seventeenth century as exemplary Britons:

In our halls is hung
Armory of the invincible knights of old:
We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spoke—the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Which last is simply chauvinism translated into the felicitous language of a sonnet.

Like most patriots of the more enthusiastic sort, the poet had moods in which he bemoaned, even in England, the want of "plain living and high thinking." The "wealthiest man" was esteemed the best. Pure religion, homely virtues, and similar "good old causes" had lost their appeal. And so he turned again to the seventeenth century, the time of the youth of the English nation, to find inspiration for the struggle with France, another nation now in the height of youthful vigor.

Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour;
England hath need of thee; she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men:
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.

He felt the preoccupation of his generation with the material undertakings incidental to the industrialization of society then in process before his eyes, and he cried out in protest:

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

Yet, when he looked out on the capital from Westminster Bridge in the morning, he was moved to exult:

Earth has not anything to show more fair.

And so, when the time approached for the war to reopen in 1803, he was in no doubt that Greece, India, Africa, Egypt, all must turn to England in spite of her faults, since,

worse, more ignorant in love or hate,
Far, far more abject is thine enemy:
Therefore the wise pray for thee, though the freight
Of thy offences be a heavy weight:
Oh, grief! that earth's best hopes rest all with thee.

When Nelson died in the hour of victory, a sacrifice to the national cause, the poet exalted him in the *Character of the Happy Warrior* "whom every man in arms should wish to be."

With Wordsworth sounding these notes, we are not surprised that the less discriminating Southey, who became the Poet Laureate to George III (1813) and later to George IV, early in 1814 burst forth into:

Glory to God! Deliverance for mankind!
Joy—for all nations joy! but most for thee
Who hast so nobly filled the part assigned,
O England! O my glorious native land!
For thou in evil days did'st stand
Against leagued Europe all in arms arrayed,
Single and undismayed,
Thy hope in heaven and in thine own right hand.

This exultant mood was quite naturally accompanied by a demand that Napoleon be deposed and a denunciation of:

Woe, woe to England! woe and endless shame,
If this heroic land,
False to her feelings and unspotted fame,
Hold out the olive to the Tyrant's hand!
Woe to the world if Buonaparte's throne
Be suffered still to stand!

For having permitted the rule of Napoleon, he adjudged France "disgraced" to "all succeeding times."

Rapine, and blood, and fire have marked thy way,
All loathesomeness, all unutterable crimes.
A curse is on thee, France; from far and wide
It hath gone up to Heaven; all lands have cried
For Vengeance upon thy detested head;
All nations curse thee, France!

France could avert this fate, justly deserved, only by taking "vengeance" for herself and "for mankind" for the "villain's own peculiar, private guilt" for which, otherwise, the whole nation must suffer. Thus did able men use the talent they had to voice the passions of the hour.

Sir Walter Scott wrote in a scarcely less restrained fervor of patriotism. In the ebullient, poetic tears he shed over the graves of Nelson, Pitt, and Fox, who died within a few months of each other and were buried in Westminster Abbey and Saint Paul's, those fanes of notable British dead, he reached the climax of his eulogy of the last-named by proclaiming that he "a Briton died," an implication that he had not always so lived. A poet in this mood naturally condemned "unwept, unhonored, and unsung" "to the vile dust from which he sprung" any man who did not thrill at the sight of his native land. Already a learned antiquarian, when the appearance of a more talented rival led Scott to desert the field of poetry, he spent the rest of his days and did his best work in reviving in his novels and tales the chivalric heroes of earlier times, whom

he clothed in garments of romance, which endowed them with many virtues they little exemplified in the flesh. In thus magnifying the achievements and adorning the characters of the British ruling classes of the olden times and thereby making them a more vivid part of the national heritage, the poet and novelist probably did not consciously intend to emphasize the satisfaction which the privileged persons of his own day felt when they regarded themselves as heirs of the heroes of old, or to restrict to narrower limits the content of patriotism. He was simply translating into the language of his generation, for the delectation of his contemporaries, the legends and incidents he had gathered by laborious delving into the past of his country. He was no more to blame than they, if the effect of his work, on them as on him, was to inculcate a backward rather than a forward look, a disposition to fear change as likely to eliminate from a rich social life some of its picturesqueness rather than an inclination to recognize and grapple with the difficult conditions that could not much longer be ignored. He but did his day's work and left the result to fate.

There were many persons, even among the cultured, who felt the rising tide of this new spirit. For them the old world of feudal romances and chivalry was out of date. They found a voice, though not altogether a typical one, in George Gordon, Lord Byron, whose life and work were alike attuned to a chord of revolt. He was a rebel against most of the cherished conventions of his time, though, like other indiscriminate rebels, he had few suggestions to make that were pertinently constructive. The thorough impatience of this undisciplined young man with the existing order is easier to understand if we bear in mind the spent enthusiasm of many sensible spirits, who in one short generation had witnessed in a still unsettled world transitions that were amazingly kaleidoscopic. William Hazlitt illustrates the point. "For my part," he wrote, "I started life with the French Revolution, and I have lived alas! to see the end of it. But I did not foresee the result. My sun arose with the first dawn of liberty, and I did not think how soon both must set. The new impulse to ardour given to men's minds imparted a congenial warmth and glow to mine; we were strong to run a race together, and I little dreamed that long before mine was set, the sun of liberty would turn to blood or set once more in the night of despotism. Since then, I confess, I have no longer felt myself young, for with that my hopes fell." But the blood of youth still surged in the veins of men like Byron, and

the fires of their hopes were not yet burnt out. For them a battle was still on.

Yet freedom! Yet thy banner, torn but flying,
Streams like a thunderstorm against the wind.

He was capable of being specific both in action and words. In his first speech in the House of Lords, in 1812, he revealed his attitude. "I have been in some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey, but never under the most despotic of infidel tyrants did I behold such squalid wretchedness as I have seen since my return in the very heart of a Christian country." He felt and said that his colleagues in the upper house of the national legislature were more interested in multiplying severe penalties to maintain their privileges of sport than they were in the sufferings of the people. The despotism, which he denounced in general in all ages, he denounced specifically as it seemed to him to be exemplified in Castlereagh and George III: Residing in Italy, he lamented, as Wordsworth had done while Napoleon was still on his throne, the lapse of the former greatness of Venice. But that republic was merely an example and a type.

Venice is crushed, and Holland deigns to own
A scepter, and endures the purple robe;
If the free Switzer yet bestrides alone
His chinless mountains, 'tis but for a time,
For tyranny of late is cunning grown,
And in its own good season tramples down
The sparkles of our ashes.

In another stanza, he suggested that only the union of Italy could "make the Alps impassable" and set the country free. The rebellion of the Greeks attracted him, both as he shared the prevailing love of the ancient traditions and culture of that people and as the revolt was directed against the current European system. So to the cause of the Greeks he gave the last effort of a life all too full of ill-directed passions.

Percy Bysshe Shelley, Byron's contemporary and also a rebel, pitched his songs in a key that was not entirely different, though his rich gifts made him an individual apart. Southey saw in the younger poet "just what I was in 1794." But Southey, in this judgment as in his verse, showed a lack of insight. Shelley warred against the notion,

. . . that among
Mankind the many to the few belong,
By God and Nature and Necessity.

A natural and widespread assumption of literary critics attributes much of the anarchical emotion and behavior of the poet to the influence of his second father-in-law, William Godwin, who had married Mary Wollstonecraft. Godwin's arid political treatise in three volumes, *Political Justice*, elaborated the doctrine of the perfectibility of human nature into a philosophy that was a compound of anarchy and the rising utilitarianism. But Godwin, faced with the prospect of putting into actual practice his theory of society, elected to protect, by marriage to her mother, the name of the girl with whom Shelley afterward eloped. The sensitive Shelley might have sung in rebellious tones had he never known Godwin. Like Byron, he represented both in his character and in his poems a rising tone of militant protest against a régime that was hastening toward change. His sonnet to *England in 1819* illustrates the bitterness of his mood.

An old, mad, blind, despised and dying king,—
Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
Through public scorn, mud from a muddy spring,—
Rulers who neither see nor feel nor know,
But leechlike to their fainting country cling,
Till they drop, blind in blood, without a blow,—
A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field,—
An army, which liberticide and prey
Make us a two-edged sword to all who wield,—
Golden and sanguine laws which tempt and slay,—
Religion Christless, Godless, a book sealed,
A Senate—Time's worst statute unrepealed,
Are graves from which a glorious phantom may
Burst to illumine our tempestuous day.

Thus did men of feeling fertilize an emotional soil already stirred by the more violent force of practical conditions.

THE FERMENT OF DEMOCRACY

If the ministers who had waged the war to a successful conclusion were thereby incapacitated in temperament for making a peace likely to be permanent, they lacked much more the insight qualifying them to deal successfully with domestic conditions in Great Britain. The very industrial development that had helped to make the nation strong enough to prevail against France piled up also a mass of discontent that could not long be suppressed. Nevertheless, suppression seemed to be the only method of dealing with it that the ministers of the day

considered. While the war was in progress, their fears of France made them see in almost every manifestation of domestic discontent treason to the cause of the nation. Now that the war was ended, their fears of internal mobs became, if any different, greater, because of their disposition to magnify the dangers in their own minds as a defence for their past actions. In fact, conditions in the country were expressed in popular agitation on a scale more extensive than had been known in the past. But when conditions thus led to discontent, the government, following the precedents set by Pitt in earlier years, resorted to repression. The "Two Acts" of 1796 were elaborated into "Four Acts" in 1817 and "Six Acts" in 1819.

The grievances for which an increasing number of people were beginning to seek a political remedy were largely economic and social in character. In part, they were caused by the inevitable readjustments incidental to the transition from war to peace, and, in part, by the rapid economic and social changes within Great Britain that were hastened, though not caused, by the war. The demand for grain to feed the army and a rapidly growing population promoted the enclosure of land while the war was in progress and made the cultivation of these large areas of land profitable for a time. Rents increased, and many of the laborers, turned adrift by the enclosures, found employment on the land itself. Rising prices, due in part to demands arising from the war and in part to scarcity intensified by occasional poor crops, made some adjustment in wages necessary. The policy adopted received its first application at the hands of the justices of the peace in Berkshire in 1795. The assembled magistrates, fearful that if wages were once increased it would be difficult to bring them again to a lower level, instead of following the precedents set in earlier reigns and fixing minimum wages for laborers, inaugurated a system of outdoor relief from parish funds sufficient to maintain the ratio between wages and the price of bread at its former figure. The effect of this scheme, which was adopted in a majority of the counties, was to deprive the laborers of any hope of a larger income and hence to incline them to exert themselves less in their own behalf and to depend instead on the parish to supply their needs. In this same period the rapidly growing textile, iron, and steel industries adjusted themselves to meet the demands of the war. The growth of the manufacturing towns involved a large shift of population and its concentration in the urban industrial area. Finally, the war itself called for a burden of taxation so overwhelming

that it could scarcely have been borne but for this expansion in productive enterprises and the unity of the nation in support of its causes.

The end of the war meant a curtailed demand for the commodities which the government had been purchasing in large quantities. It meant also an addition to the laboring population of the kingdom of more than a half million men discharged from the army and navy. The situation was intensified by a further disappointment of large hopes. Apparently, nobody in a position of authority understood that for more than two decades the European world had engaged in a dance unprecedented in its destructiveness and that the time had now come to begin to pay the piper. There was a widespread expectation that the coming of peace would bring plenty and prosperity. Optimistic manufacturers accumulated large stores of goods with which to supply the waiting markets of the world. The landlords, entrenched in parliament, as we know, fortified themselves with the Corn Laws. When it was manifest that neither in America nor in the war-worn countries were means available to pay for the goods that had been prepared and, in some cases, sent, the economic collapse that resulted was almost a disaster.

The interruption of trade, incidental to the commercial war with Napoleon, brought hardships upon British manufacturers which, coupled with a poor harvest in 1811, caused distress among the laborers who were deprived of work. Consequently, in many places, they destroyed the new machines and otherwise engaged in disorders on a scale that caused the outburst, for no very good reason, to be called the Luddite¹ movement. Cartwright and Wyvill saw in this discontent a situation favorable to the revival of the petitions for the reform of parliament. The Hampden Club was organized in 1812 at the instigation of Cartwright to advocate the old program of a reformed representation, annual parliaments, and an extension of the suffrage to all who paid direct taxes.

The movement about this time enlisted a new and effective, if a somewhat uncertain and incoherent, supporter in William Cobbett. In 1802 Cobbett started his weekly *Political Register* in the interest of the established order, but a few years later he turned reformer. He interested himself in collecting and publishing as many as possible of the available speeches delivered

¹ The name Luddite is said to have been derived from one Ludd, an imbecile, who in a fit of exasperation destroyed a couple of stocking frames in 1779.

in parliament from the earliest times, an undertaking in which he was succeeded by Thomas Curson Hansard, his printer, who continued the work for a long time afterward and whose name became permanently associated with the published debates of parliament. Since newspapers and periodicals were taxed three pence or more per issue, Cobbett had to sell his weekly for a shilling and reached, therefore, only a limited public, even after he turned reformer. This tax limited the circulation of the London dailies to not more than a few thousand at most. In the same year that Cobbett established his *Register*, Francis Horner and Francis Jeffrey associated with themselves other Scots of the younger generation, who were interested in promoting a moderate reform, and founded the *Edinburgh Review*, which at once became an influential organ among the more liberal members of the ruling class. Indeed, so influential did it seem that the opponents of change started, as an antidote, the *Quarterly Review*, with which Scott was associated.

In the midst of the economic crisis in the autumn of 1816, Cobbett decided to omit the advertisements and news from his weekly in order to avoid the tax and to sell it for two pence. The circulation soon increased from seven hundred fifty to more than forty thousand copies per week. The editor filled his little sheet with arguments in favor of a radical reform of parliament, though he was careful to advise the workers to refrain from the destruction of machinery and the use of violence. Associated with Cobbett in the work of stirring the laborers to seek a remedy for their conditions in this political panacea was an orator, Henry Hunt, who had extraordinary gifts as a demagogue. Large meetings were assembled without difficulty to listen to the plausible though all too easy suggestions of these agitators and their associates. Robert Owen had already demonstrated by actual experience that cotton mills could be run at a profit and at the same time afford more wholesome living conditions and higher wages than were then prevalent, and he advocated improvements in that direction. But he soon met with disfavor because of his attitude toward the established Church, and he spent the rest of his days promoting ineffective utopian schemes. Cobbett, too, after the passage of the repressive acts of 1817, found it prudent to go again into exile in America, and his publication was suppressed. The meetings to petition for a reform of parliament, which now began to incorporate a prayer for the repeal of the Corn Laws as well, were forbidden also.

Meanwhile, a man of a different type was helping to lay in the capital of the nation a more practical foundation for the reform of parliament by giving an actual demonstration of the feasibility of a popular election. The city of Westminster was the most populous constituency in the kingdom in which members of parliament were chosen by the inhabitant householders. For a number of elections prior to 1780 the two members were returned through the influence of wealthy magnates in the city. In the general election of 1780, in the midst of the struggle of the Rockingham and Chathamite groups with the King, Fox stood as a candidate for the city and, by dint of large exertions in his behalf, was elected. His personal magnetism made a powerful appeal to the voters, with whom he soon became a favorite. Pitt tried in vain, making a large expenditure for the purpose, to defeat Fox personally in 1784, and to defeat one of his friends in 1788. Then, tiring of a costly and futile undertaking, Pitt's supporters agreed with the friends of Fox that thereafter each party should have one member from the city, thus making a farce of the elections. The combined strength of the ruling class could easily influence a majority of the electors, unorganized and leaderless as they were. After the death of Pitt and Fox, a leader appeared in the person of Francis Place, a tailor, who had habitually sought to inform himself concerning public affairs. He was a member of Hardy's Corresponding Society and so in favor of the familiar radical reform of parliament. But he was also a hard-headed, practical, and, therefore, successful member of his craft, and he gradually withdrew from the early society, when he saw that the severe repressive measures of the government made it impossible to do effective work. He had also participated in a variety of organizations of laborers and knew familiarly that side of the life of the city. Later, he became an intimate friend of Jeremy Bentham, the political philosopher, and of James Mill, the economist and historian. Largely through the active leadership of Place, Sir Francis Burdett, a man of considerable wealth, who was also in favor of a reform of parliament, was elected a member of that body in 1807 and retained the seat for the next thirty years. Place thus demonstrated that urban householders in England could be organized and led to support a man whose views appealed to them. This object lesson was worth more than pages of rhetoric. Place himself kept behind the scenes. He was a high type of political boss, with a gift for organization, but he was much less careful of his own interests than normal men of that type.

Under his leadership, Westminster became a bulwark in the cause of reform. While he had little respect for Cartwright personally, now grown old and garrulous in the cause, his program was essentially the same as that of the earlier societies that had garnered information from James Burgh. In fact, many of the leading participants in the towns, where societies were now organized, petitions signed, and meetings held, were men who had been affiliated with the earlier movement. It had never come to an end; it had merely been submerged for a time in the panic of war.

The industrial depression of 1816, which caused so much loss and discontent, was followed the next year by improved conditions, which were interpreted as the belated prosperity that peace was to bring. The repressive measures passed in 1817 were allowed to lapse. But a period of speculation now ensued which soon resulted in a crisis worse than that of 1816. By April, 1819, the cotton mills were idle, while cargoes of raw material poured in to the over-optimistic manufacturers. Cobbett returned from America in that year, but not before Hunt and Cartwright had been busy holding meetings among the laborers in the industrial towns, the largest being at Manchester and Birmingham. At Manchester, on August 16, the magistrates, after permitting a large assemblage of men and women from the city and the regions round about to hear Hunt and others expound the necessity for a reform of parliament and a repeal of the Corn Laws, decided to arrest the orators while in the midst of their speeches. The crowd was numbered by the thousands, and the justices seem to have become frightened. Finding it difficult to reach the speakers for the press of the mob, they ordered the militia to open a way and to disperse the assembly. Free use was made of the saber, and some ten or twelve persons were killed and several hundred wounded. The procedure of the magistrates is much easier to understand than it is to justify. Some of the more conservative supporters of the government said privately at the time that it was indefensible. Liverpool, the Prime Minister, and Sidmouth, his Home Secretary, had apparently learned little in two decades of experience. The Prince Regent was made to express his "high approbation" of the services of the militia. Hunt was arrested, convicted of a misdemeanor, and imprisoned. As a justification of the policy adopted, the legal officers of the government produced an opinion to the effect that, "Every meeting for radical reform was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the

existing constitution and government by bringing it into hatred and contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of government, including the king at its head and bound by his coronation oath to support it." Indignation meetings were held to protest against the "Massacre of Peterloo," as it was called, since the meeting had been held in St. Peter's Field. Even the surviving members of the old Foxite party joined in. Lord Fitzwilliam, Rockingham's nephew, presided at a meeting in Yorkshire and was dismissed from his post as lord lieutenant of the county in consequence. Place addressed a vigorous letter to the electors of Westminster. To interrupt this agitation and to safeguard the country from further violence, acts, six in number, were passed late in 1819 suspending the Habeas Corpus, forbidding public meetings, limiting the freedom of the press, and so on to the end of the customary list.

The Manchester massacre furnished a cause regarding which the more moderate advocates of reform in parliament and the radical agitators outside could feel and act in common. By so much, it brought nearer a change in the constitution of the national legislature. Another *cause célèbre* soon afforded another meeting point and tended at the same time to lessen the prestige of the monarchy. In 1820 George III, long both mad and blind, finally died, and George IV succeeded in his own right to the throne he had for seven years occupied as Prince Regent. After indulging earlier in a marriage with a Catholic woman, which, had he acknowledged it publicly, would have disqualified him from the succession, George, in order to obtain payment of his debts, agreed later (1795) to marry a German princess. She proved in the end to be almost a worthy mate for a most unworthy man. He did not live with her after the birth of their only daughter (1796), the Princess Charlotte. Meanwhile, neither one of them had been much more sinned against than sinning. When the husband ascended the throne, the wife returned to claim her position as queen. He forbade that her name be inserted in the Prayer Book, so that the clergy in the ritual would invoke a Divine blessing on her by name. Then he demanded that his ministers carry through parliament a bill granting him a divorce. Witnesses were examined to establish a basis for action. Henry Brougham and other opposition orators undertook the defence of a helpless woman against her royal, reprobate husband. His character was so notorious, and the measure for which he pressed seemed so unjust, that she became

almost a heroine. She accepted the services of radicals like Cobbett as well as those of the more aristocratic members of the opposition. The clamor became so loud outside, and opposition within the House of Lords so strong, that the ministers ultimately dropped the measure. The unhappy woman tried to force her way into Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the King's coronation and died a year later. After the trial had served its political purpose, the feeling of even her supporters was aptly expressed by a quatrain occasioned by an inadvertent rhetorical request, in the language of the Scripture, made by one of the speakers in her behalf that the verdict be "Go and sin no more."

Gracious Queen, we thee implore
Go away and sin no more.
Should that effort be too great
Go away—at any rate.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, chs. ix-x; *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, I. ch. iv; II. chs. i-ii; W. H. R. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture*, ch. xvii; W. A. Dunning, *The British Empire and the United States*, ch. i; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. chs. ii-iii; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. i-iv; J. F. Rees, *A Social and Industrial History of England 1815-1918*, chs. ii-iii; G. H. Perris, *The Industrial History of Modern England*, chs. i-iii; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. ix-xiii; "Poetry and Rebellion" in *Clio, a Muse, and Other Essays*.

FOR WIDER READING

H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, II. ch. xiv; G. C. Broderick and G. K. Fotheringham, *The History of England 1801-1837*, chs. vii-xii; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X. chs. iv-x; XI. chs. i-iii, vi; *Cambridge Modern History*, IX. chs. xix-xxi; X. chs. i, xviii, xix, xxii; G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of William Cobbett*, chs. i-xxii; R. Coupland, *Wilberforce*, chs. i-xi; Edward Dowden, *The French Revolution and English Literature*; M. R. P. Dorman, *A History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century*, II, chs. xxx-xl; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Social Life in England 1750-1850*, ch. v; J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer*, chs. vii-ix; *The Town Labourer*; *The Skilled Labourer*, chs. v-xii; Henry Jephson, *The Platform*, I. chs. viii-xiii; W. L. Mathieson, *England in Transition*; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, I. chs. ix-xiii; R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present*, ch. xv; Harold Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning*; Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, chs. ii-v; Spencer Walpole, *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War*, I; II; III. ch. ix; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, ch. ii; C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Muir, f. 12, has a map of Europe in 1815. *Shepherd*, p. 157, indicates treaty adjustments in 1814-1815. *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, Nos. 100, 101, show European colonies and dependencies throughout the world in 1815; No. 102 is a map of Europe after the Congress of Vienna. A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. appendix, contains a map of Europe in 1815.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TRIUMPH OF INDUSTRY

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

The act for the reform of parliament passed in 1832 was in the nature of a revolution. It meant placing the government of Great Britain on a different basis, and it involved the destruction on a large scale of vested rights that amounted to confiscation of property without any sign of remuneration. Pitt, the only responsible minister who had ever previously introduced a bill to reform parliament, had quite naturally assumed that it would be unjust to deprive their possessors of these privileges without compensation. But so thoroughly had the agitators for reform done their work that there was now a widely prevalent feeling that the very existence of property of this character was a crime against the nation. The revolution was constitutional, both because it marked the beginning of a radical change in the methods and machinery of the national government and because the comparatively small ruling class then in power proved able in the end to make the change itself, and did not await the inevitable time when it must have yielded to violent compulsion. This notable achievement was due to a conjunction of personalities and circumstances without which it could not have been accomplished.

The reform bill was carried by the concerted action of a number of groups that on other questions had many differences of opinion. In fact, a large measure of compromise and diplomacy was necessary to unite them in support of the bill that actually became a law, and by no means all who supported it were impelled by the same motives or looked forward to the same results from the measure. The coalition of interests that united all but a small minority in the nation in the struggle with France slowly disintegrated after the peace. Liverpool, nominally the head of the government from 1812 to 1827, held his position rather as a tactful diplomat than as a leader with an impressive personality. Most of the achievements in his time

were associated with the names of other men: Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Huskisson, for example. It was his function to smooth the way for their labors. After the death of Canning, who survived Liverpool and remained at the head of the government less than a year, and the failure of the group associated with him to develop other leaders among themselves, the Duke of Wellington, always more ready than wise to serve his king and country, undertook to carry on the government with what support he could command from all groups. Like the elder Pitt, he had little patience with party government and not much understanding of the forces that moved British political groups to action. As a soldier, he had learned how to be a practical opportunist, and he was better qualified to command than to manage men. Consequently, within less than two years he had dissipated much of the support he had when he became prime minister in 1828.

Huskisson and Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, another of his Canningite supporters, resigned in May, 1828, when Wellington refused to assign to one of the industrial towns the members of a parliamentary borough that was disfranchised for flagrant corruption. The Duke was unquestionably sincere in his support of the existing organization of both Church and state, and yet he negotiated the passage through the House of Lords of the bill to repeal the Test Act, although it had been proposed and pushed through the House of Commons by his political opponents. When organized Catholic Ireland, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell and the priests of the Church, made it clear to him that Catholic emancipation could no longer be postponed with safety, he disregarded the fact that a majority of his supporters were those most fearful in their attitude on that question. He drove an administration, that was more thoroughly united in opposition to Catholic emancipation than on any question, to acquiesce, in 1829, in the passage of this measure to which they were opposed. At the same time, he further alienated those who had formerly supported Canning by neglecting to carry forward that minister's policies in the Near East. Instead, he gave Russia a chance to go to war with Turkey and thereby to enhance her prestige in the Balkans. He thus came to 1830 with practically no group warm in his support, having, by his acquiescence in Catholic emancipation, alienated even the clergy of the established Church and most of the conservative landlords. In that year George IV died and was succeeded by his less obstinate and narrow, if not

much abler, brother, William IV. In the new parliament, elected after the accession of the King, Wellington's government was in a minority, and the Duke resigned his office.

The ministry which Earl Grey, the old Charles Grey of the Friends of the People in 1792, assembled in 1830 had little to give it coherence, except a common feeling that the time had come when something in the nature of a reform of parliament could no longer be avoided. It was largely a ministry of peers and sons of peers, some of them having large personal interests in the system they were planning to destroy. Naturally, they had little relish for the task. Some of them were moved to undertake it by their loyalty to the tradition that the small group of Foxites had kept alive even in the most panicky days of the war. Fox's nephew, Lord Holland, was one of this group. Grey himself had never wholly lost interest in the question of reform, though he had long since lost much of his earlier crusading spirit. It was now nearly forty years since he enlisted in the movement, and in the interval he had fallen heir to a considerable estate and had accumulated a large family. He still favored a greater departure from the old régime than did most of his associates. The argument that moved him to do so, and which enabled him to enlist their support under his leadership, was the fear that if parliament was not radically reformed by its friends it stood in immediate danger of a still more radical change at the hands of those whom he regarded as its enemies. By initiating action themselves, the interests then in control of the government could conserve their privileged position in a large measure and at the same time go far toward meeting the wishes of the radical reformers. This feeling, in part consciously expressed and in part subconscious when more superficial reasons were alleged openly, enabled Grey's administration to carry a measure that was almost audacious from the point of view of those who had lived a generation before, however moderate it seems in the light of what has happened in later times.

Two powerful forces, hitherto largely excluded from a share in power, were now demanding a right to take part in the government, and their demands did much to nerve Grey and his associates for their task. In the rapid expansion of industry, that was now again under way, many men sprung from the less well-to-do classes were achieving fortunes. They were also becoming keenly conscious that the acquisition of economic importance brought no corresponding share of political power, unless they elected to follow the example of the earlier com-

mercial magnates and established themselves among the landed families by purchase or intermarriage. But these processes required a generation for their consummation. Manufacturers, however, were already aware that the policies of the government might vitally affect the prosperity of their business, as witness the Corn Laws. They felt that their interests would not receive just consideration until they had a voice in parliament, and their enterprises seemed to be sufficiently large and important to merit consideration on their own account. They were too impatient for action to adopt the slow method of establishing interests in boroughs or counties, and the practices they used to make a profit in business inclined them to feel that it was wasteful to divert from industry large investments of capital for playing a political game, in which they were interested only as far as they desired action on practical points at issue. They were ready, therefore, to join with their employees in an effort to overturn what Cobbett, Hunt, and other radicals had taught that generation to call "Old Corruption" and to place the lower house of the national legislature on a different basis. In the early days of 1830 Thomas Attwood, a banker, founded the Birmingham Political Union to promote "by every just and legal means such a reform in the Commons House of Parliament as may ensure a real and effectual representation of the lower and middle classes of the people in that House." Similar organizations soon sprang up in most of the industrial towns. Industrial laborers and their employers, and other members of the social classes to which the employers belonged, found in the reform of parliament a common cause in which they could engage, actuated by at least one common motive, the repeal of the Corn Laws. Attwood himself had a financial panacea, which he hoped that a reformed parliament would adopt. Others in both groups had other schemes on which agreement would have been impossible. But a reform of parliament was necessary before any of these groups could hope to command a hearing at all.

The work of Cobbett, Hunt, and their kind was facilitated by the fluctuating economic conditions, made almost chronic by the shifting of population, due to the introduction of the factory system of manufacturing; by the frequent scarcity and consequent high price of food, due to dependence on the domestic harvest; and by imprudent speculation natural in a changing economic fabric, when many persons were accumulating fortunes in the normal course of business and many inexperienced in the

management of capital found themselves in possession of large amounts. In these times of crisis, the weavers at the hand looms manifested a disposition to take vengeance on the new machines, which they blamed for their lack of employment. Agricultural laborers out of work burnt the barns and ricks of those who had enclosed and now possessed most of the land. There was no adequate police except in the metropolitan district, where Sir Robert Peel, Wellington's home secretary, organized a force that was to carry his name into later generations as "Bobbies." The year 1830 was preceded by two bad harvests, and real want prevailed in the rural districts, resulting in widespread riots and destruction of threshing machines and other property. All of this discontent, as far as it looked toward any general end at all, was now marshaled in support of the reform of parliament as a panacea. It was from a country thus aroused that members came to attend the first parliament of William IV.

Before parliament met events on the Continent made Wellington's difficulties even greater. Profiting nothing from the experience of the restored Stuarts in seventeenth-century England, the Bourbons in France gradually fell under the influence of those who sought to rescue as far as possible the lost privileges of the Church and the nobility. The consequence, as might have been foreseen, was a national revolt, which placed on the throne Louis Philippe of the house of Orleans, whose earlier head had affected to sympathize with the first revolution. This manifestation of national spirit in France came at a time when the deposed King, Charles X, and his ministers were considering taking advantage of the occupation of Russia in southeastern Europe to strengthen France in the direction of the Rhine. Wellington naturally saw in any such extension of French power a danger to Great Britain, but he was as little pleased at a revolution that drove from its throne one of the ruling houses set up by the powers at Vienna. He was still less pleased, when the revolution in France was followed by a revolt of the Belgian provinces from the King of Holland, who had shown an incapacity for reconciling them to his government. The division of the Low Countries into two kingdoms meant a weakening of the buffer against France and a renewal of the danger in that quarter on the coast opposite England. There was a possibility that the new French and Belgian governments might reach an understanding; a precedent for that event was not lacking. The victor of Waterloo was fearful, therefore, that the battle with France might have to be fought again

forthwith. Agitated by that fear, he met the new parliament which had been elected after he had alienated all of the interests wont, for more than a generation, to act together in returning parliaments disposed to support any ministers of the king.

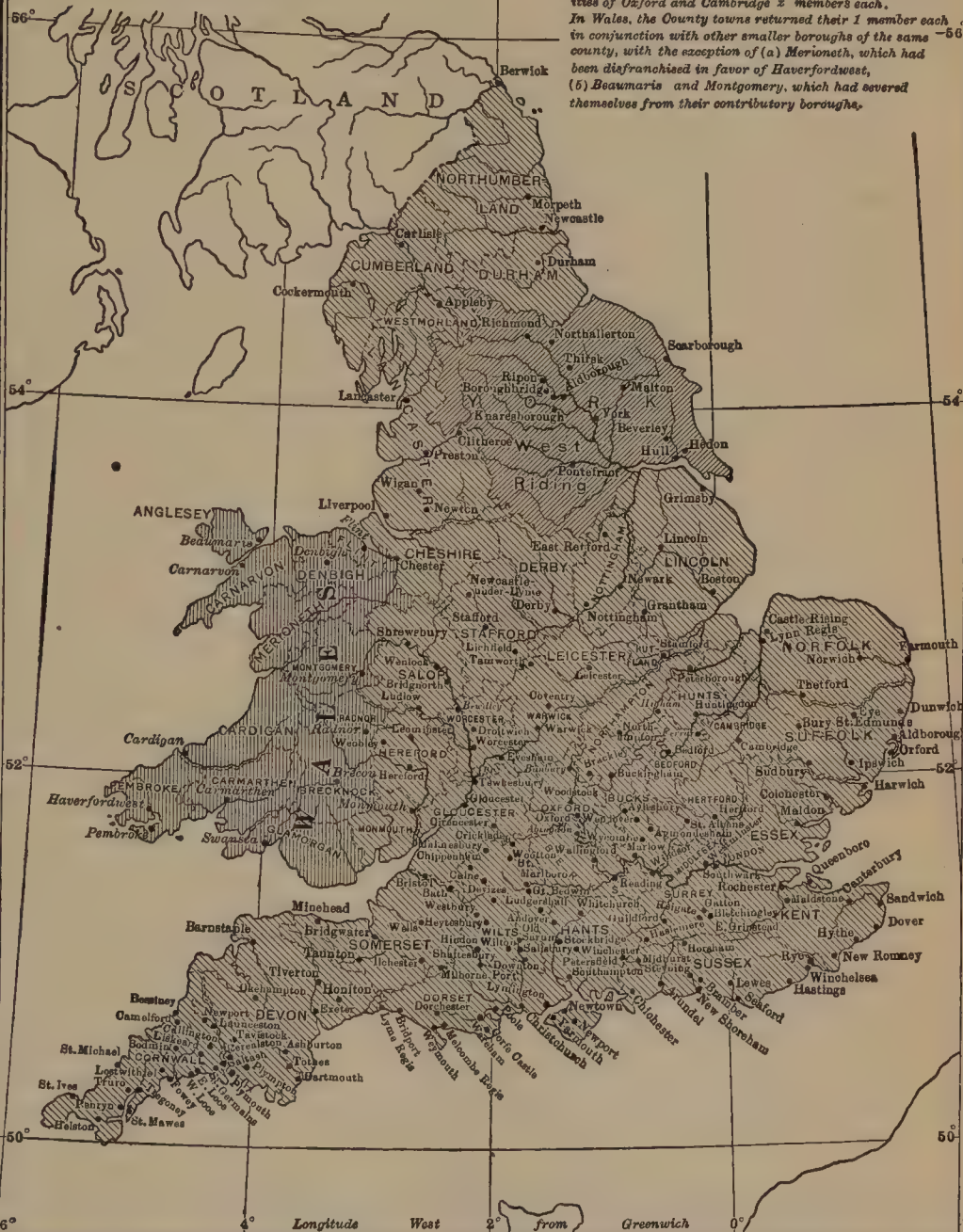
As was the custom in those days, the King's speech, containing the recommendations of the ministers to parliament, was kept secret until the day for that body to assemble. The members awaited what the Duke would have to say on the two questions of Belgium and reform. On the first subject, the speech took the side of the Dutch King and lamented that his "enlightened administration" had not "preserved his dominions from revolt." Great Britain was concerting with her allies, the address said, "to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands and with the future security of other states." As interpreted by the disciples of both Fox and Canning, this statement implied that Wellington was likely to league Great Britain with Austria, Prussia, and Russia in another attempt to crush France and to defeat her in Belgium. They had no more disposition than he to see France in Belgium, but they sympathized with the new French government, and they felt that a friendly attitude would make possible a peaceable adjustment in Belgium satisfactory to both countries. On the subject of reform, the King's speech was silent. When Grey challenged the Duke to announce his policy on that subject, the reply was frank: he saw no need to have any policy. Then followed an explanation that for superlative naïveté has no peer in political annals: "The legislature and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country. I will go still further, and say that if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a legislature for a country like this in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I could form such a legislature as you possess now, for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results." This statement is important, because it represented the genuine feeling of the speaker and of many like him. But it was an attitude that could not be maintained much longer.

The miscellaneous group that now acted under Grey's leadership adopted as their slogan "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." They constituted the first political party organized to support definite issues that Great Britain had seen since the

ENGLAND AND WALES PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN 1832, BEFORE THE REFORM BILL

Scale of miles
0 10 20 40 60 80

Counties returning 1 member each
Counties returning 2 members each
County of Yorkshire returning 4 members
of whom 2 were returned by the West Riding
Boroughs returning 1 member each
Boroughs returning 2 members each
The city of London returned 4 members and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge 2 members each.
In Wales, the County towns returned their 1 member each
in conjunction with other smaller boroughs of the same
county, with the exception of (a) Merioneth, which had
been disfranchised in favor of Haverfordwest,
(b) Beaumaris and Montgomery, which had covered
themselves from their contributory boroughs.



combination of Fox and North against the King in 1783. Economy is ever a popular slogan, especially after a great war, but the tendency of the government now was to acquire new functions and thus to become increasingly expensive. Retrenchment, therefore, occupied little of the time of the new ministers. Their achievements in promoting peace and reform make this one of the notable administrations in British history. Palmerston, a disciple of Canning, became the new secretary of state for foreign affairs. As he had foreseen, the new French King was willing to sacrifice his pretensions in Belgium in order to secure the friendship of Great Britain. There were many trying circumstances in the long negotiation that attended the settlement of the new government in Belgium and of the boundaries and relations between Belgium and Holland. The five powers, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, united in guaranteeing to Belgium "perpetual neutrality as well as the integrity and inviolability of its territory." A suitable king for the new state was found, after some dispute, in Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, husband of the late Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. Grey and Palmerston felt that they had safeguarded the traditional policy of Great Britain in the Low Countries, and at the same time were cultivating friendly relations with France and avoiding a renewal of too intimate relations with the other Continental powers.

Grey entrusted the actual work of drafting the reform bill to Lord John Russell, a younger son of the wealthy Duke of Bedford and an heir of the Foxite tradition, and to his own son-in-law, John George Lambton, Lord Durham, who had acquired a reputation for radicalism beyond that of most men in his class. Grey himself helped with the work. He had long felt that no measure of parliamentary reform would be worth while until it could command the support of an overwhelming popular sentiment, and that to allay the agitation of the reformers would require a more comprehensive measure than most reformers in his own class meditated. When the bill, hitherto kept secret, was ready for presentation to parliament, it surprised many among the supporters of the ministry as much as it did its opponents. For the moment, it seemed hopeless to expect men to destroy voluntarily by their own action privileges they had long enjoyed.

The methods adopted by the ministers to suppress disorders, due to the distress among the people, were so much like those used by the former ministers that the agitators for reform had

expected little. Place was almost bitter in his comment. Cobbett was under arrest, accused of sedition. These agitators found little reason to expect more from this than from any other ministry composed of peers and landlords. This distrust of the ministry by the agitators made the surprise all the greater when the terms of the bill were made public. All forces united to keep the enthusiasm of the people of all classes at fever heat. But a long, hard fight was ahead, before even a determined body of peers could actually place a reform bill on the statute book. For one thing, the existing House of Commons had been chosen with Wellington in office, which meant that the parliamentary seats to which the government of the day nominated were held by members opposed to reform. When the ministers found themselves in a minority in the House of Commons, while the bill was under consideration, Grey asked the King to dissolve parliament. With the interests whose support he had enlisted acting together and with the government influence in his own hands, like all other prime ministers for a century, he was sure of a majority in the new House of Commons. Just as Fox and North opposed a dissolution in 1783, the opponents of Grey now made ready to dwell on the point. Without giving time for this discussion, he induced the King to come in person and prorogue parliament, in preparation for its dissolution. In announcing the measure to the assembled lords and commoners, the King used a statement that was to serve as a precedent and was to have a different significance in future generations from any it could have had hitherto: "I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people." But it was not yet a true statement, except in a very limited degree. Grey was as sure of his majority as was Pitt in 1784. The men who had enlisted under him had put their hands to the plow, and the spirit of the country had reached a stage where they could not turn back, had they so desired. Electioneering had grown increasingly expensive, as the industrial capitalists began to bid for a voice in the government, and this election was no exception to the rule. In fact, there were more men of wealth vitally interested in its outcome than had ever been the case before.

After the bill finally passed the House of Commons, it was rejected by the House of Lords. Most of the bishops voted against it, as did the numerous peers created by Pitt and his successors as a means of establishing their own power. The bishops were afraid that a parliament chosen in part by manu-

facturers, many of whom were Dissenters, would deprive the Church of some of its privileges. Many of Pitt's peers were borough magnates and naturally had no enthusiasm for a measure that would deprive them of so much property and power. Faced with this new difficulty, the King, who had agreed to dissolve parliament with reluctance, now hesitated even more to take the only step that would assuredly overcome the opposition in the upper house. He had earlier promised Grey that he would create additional peers if they were necessary to carry the bill, but, now that the time approached for action, he drew back. The people out of doors, however, had their feelings intensified by the action of the House of Lords. Hitherto, the leaders who excited them had kept them in remarkable control. Now they began to talk of and to make definite plans for a revolt, should the Lords not yield. The ministers announced to the King that they must resign unless he adopted the measure they advised. William conceived the fantastic scheme of making Wellington prime minister in the hope that, though he had frankly opposed the bill, he might use his influence to carry it through the House of Lords. The Duke agreed to the scheme, and for a time the notion was abroad that Grey had been dismissed in favor of Wellington to kill reform. The mob became bitter. At the instigation of Attwood and Place, a run was begun on the banks to withdraw gold. There were no troops in the kingdom to suppress a rebellion, if one should take place, and there seemed to be a real danger that acceptance of office by Wellington would lead to revolt, so high did the popular spirit rise against the King and the Lords. Peel, the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, would not embark on a scheme so fantastic, and the King was ultimately obliged to yield to the wishes of Grey. When the hostile peers recognized that they were powerless, they too yielded, and the bill was passed.

The act disfranchised entirely fifty-six of the older boroughs and deprived more of one of their two members. Suffrage in the counties was extended to include, in addition to the customary forty-shilling freeholders, copy-holders and lease-holders for long terms with tenements of ten pounds annual value, and tenants for a short time paying an annual rental of fifty pounds. After the enclosures, there was not a large number of copy-holders or lease-holders, and the extension of the suffrage to the tenants of the larger landlords tended to strengthen rather than to weaken the landed interest. In the boroughs, the new voters

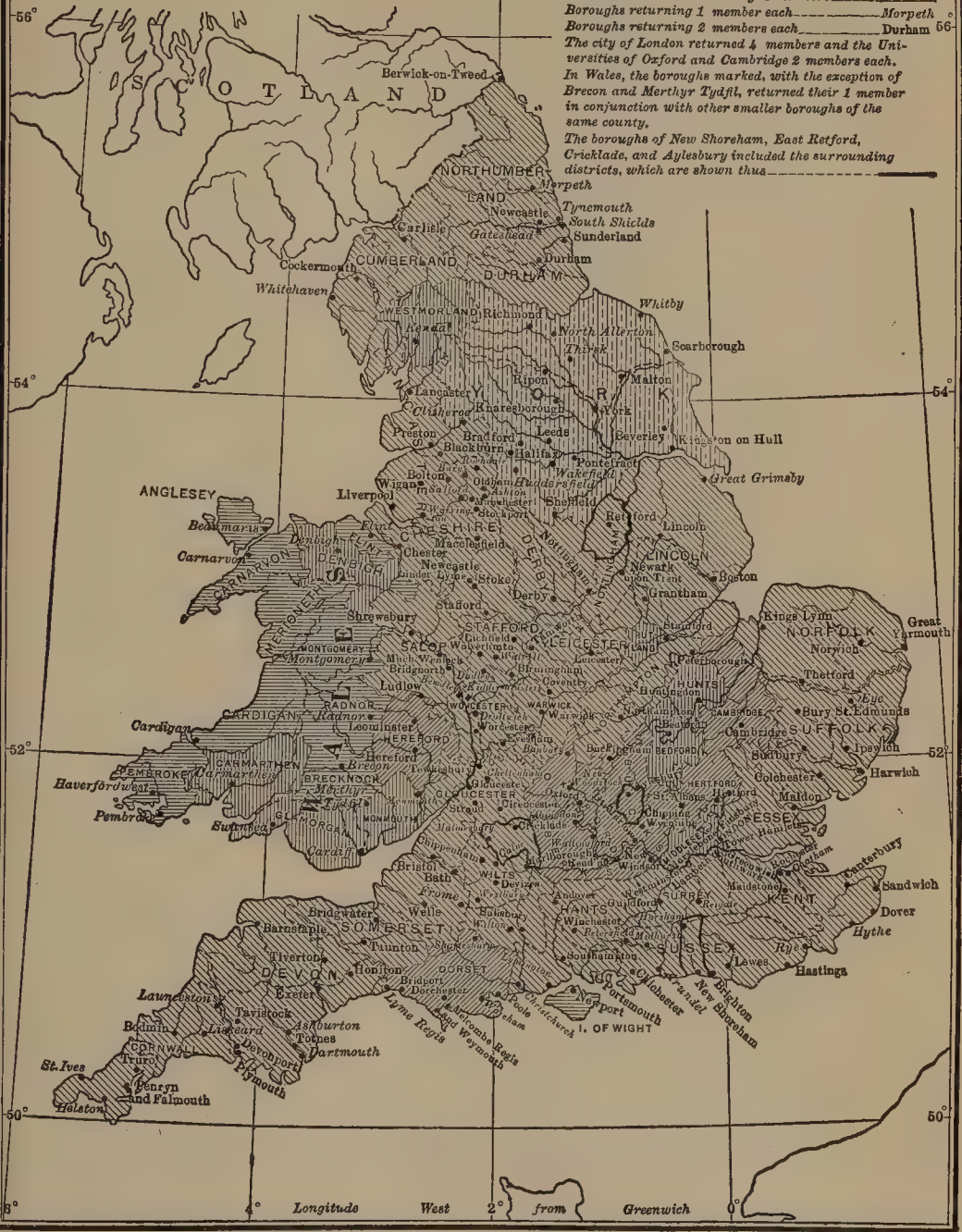
were to be those who occupied houses of at least ten pounds rental value, as determined by the amounts paid in local rates or taxes. Existing voters in constituencies such as Westminster, where all householders were formerly eligible, were to keep their franchise until their death; the new qualifications would not become uniform in those places for a generation or more. Finally, for the first time in English history, machinery was provided for the registration of voters. Previously, the eligibility of a voter had been determined when he offered himself to poll at an election. As actual polls were infrequent and were seldom or never held in a majority of the constituencies, there had been no pressing need for a different arrangement. Now that the voters would actually participate in the election, it was essential that evidence of their qualifications be offered in advance.

It is obvious from the terms of the bill that the bulk of the people of Great Britain were left without a right to vote. The net increase in the number of voters was only a little more than two hundred thousand. Many of the smaller boroughs were still easily controlled by the influential landlords in their vicinity. In the larger ones, the suffrage was chiefly restricted to the well-to-do and to those with interests similar to those of the well-to-do. The landlords remained, as formerly, the predominant group in the government; their power had in a sense been increased by the bestowal of a larger representation on the shires and by an extension of the suffrage to their tenants. But they had to share their privileged position with those who had established interests in industry and trade. Moreover, the changes made in representation were based on a consideration of the population of the constituencies, and the franchise in the boroughs was on a uniform scale for householders all over the kingdom. The next step in the struggle would inevitably be to extend the application of these principles. And neither the landlords nor the industrial magnates could soon forget that the kingdom had seemed to be ready to use force to secure its point, which was, for the moment, the enactment of "the bill, the whole bill." Here was a power, whether enfranchised or not, which no future government of the kingdom would dare wholly to ignore. Politicians had to practice new methods, to improvise new machinery, and to learn a new terminology. The bill was an even more revolutionary measure than its opponents thought it to be, when they accused Grey of treason to his class for bringing it in. Henceforth, the king and

ENGLAND AND WALES PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN 1832, AFTER THE REFORM BILL

Scale of miles
0 10 20 40 60 80

Counties, (including one division of a county, the I. of Wight) returning 1 member each
Counties returning 2 members each
Counties returning 3 members each
Counties subdivided into 2 constituencies and returning 4 members each
County of Yorkshire subdivided into 3 constituencies and returning 6 members
Boroughs returning 1 member each
Boroughs returning 2 members each
The city of London returned 4 members and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge 2 members each.
In Wales, the boroughs marked, with the exception of Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil, returned their 1 member in conjunction with other smaller boroughs of the same county.
The boroughs of New Shoreham, East Rotford, Cricklade, and Lylesbury included the surrounding districts, which are shown thus



the peers must learn how to watch their steps with more care than had been needful hitherto.

The failure of the first reformed parliament to repeal the Corn Laws is proof conclusive that the landlords retained a large portion of their power. That the new rulers of the nation had not forgotten the latent powers of the disfranchised classes, however, is evident in the passage of an act to regulate the labor of women and children. The second act, which the elder Peel sponsored, we remember, applied only to children between nine and twelve working in cotton mills, and provided for them only a maximum day of twelve hours, with no adequate machinery for its enforcement. John Cam Hobhouse, a member of parliament for Westminster, tried, in 1825, to get the hours reduced from twelve to eleven. He returned to the subject in 1831 and sought to have the measure extended to include other textile trades, but with little result. Then an agitation among laborers in the textile districts aroused feeling comparable to that stirred by parliamentary reform. To take up the question in parliament were men like the Manchester manufacturer, John Fielden, and, a little later, Anthony Ashley Cooper, subsequently, as Lord Shaftesbury, to achieve fame in the cause. But the most active member for the time was Michael Sadler, who, after the defeat of Hobhouse's bill in 1831, procured the appointment of a committee of which he was chairman, to investigate conditions among the textile laborers. The report of this committee revealed conditions that stirred the hearts of all people with humanitarian impulses. Sadler was not returned to the first reformed parliament, and the agitators for action enlisted the coöperation of Ashley. The question became so urgent, by reason of the agitation of the laborers on one side and the opposition of the more timid manufacturers on the other, that the government took over the measure, appointed, much to the disgust of the laborers, a commission to make further investigations, and finally, in 1833, passed a bill. This bill prohibited entirely the labor of children under nine years in all textile factories, limited to forty-eight hours per week and nine for a single day that of those under twelve, and limited to sixty-nine hours per week and twelve for a single day the labor of those between thirteen and eighteen. Children of the protected age were to attend school two hours daily, and inspectors were provided to see that the provisions of the act were enforced. This act was a disappointment for the laborers, who demanded a ten-hour day for all under eighteen, and to

manufacturers, who did not like government interference in their business in any way. But it was a humanitarian step in a direction from which the interests of the manufacturers and the theories of the doctrinaires were never able to force a retreat.

The economist and friend of Bentham, Edwin Chadwick, had been a member of the parliamentary commission that investigated conditions in the factories. He and another economist, William Nassau Senior, were now associated with another commission to investigate the conditions that had arisen among the poor as a result of the Speenhamland system of outdoor relief. The conditions revealed touched both landlords and manufacturers at a tender spot. The widespread pauperization of laborers made necessary an increase in the rates to take care of them. The remedy proposed and carried was the Poor Law of 1833, which withdrew outdoor relief and substituted public workhouses, to which all were to be sent who were unable to support themselves. To deter those who might be tempted to go to the workhouse as an alternative easier than the hard labor of the fields, a policy was adopted of making conditions in the workhouse less desirable than those of the worst-paid independent laborers. The administration of the act was placed under three commissioners, having jurisdiction over the entire kingdom. In the local districts, a new area was substituted for the parish; each area was placed under a board of guardians elected by owners and occupiers of ratable property. A single man might have as many as twelve votes, if he was both owner and occupant of premises having a ratable value of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum. Outdoor relief was to be limited to cases of destitution and under no circumstances was to be given to able-bodied persons with no other claim but poverty. It was hoped that this measure would relieve ratepayers of a growing burden, which already amounted to millions of pounds annually.

Another commission, appointed by the reformed parliament to investigate the diversity of governments prevalent in the incorporated towns of the kingdom, made strong recommendations, though perhaps more on the basis of the preconceived notions of the commissioners than as a result of actual investigation. They found that:

There prevails amongst the great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and, in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions; a distrust of self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control and whose acts and proceed-

ings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy; a discontent under the burthens of local taxation; while revenues which ought to be applied to the public advantage are sometimes wastefully bestowed upon individuals, sometimes squandered for objects injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become; what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government.

This judgment was not too harsh on organizations that, in many cases, had been perpetuated more to serve the interests of those who controlled them than with any regard for the good government of the localities. The enfranchisement of ten-pound householders for the election of members of the House of Commons made inevitable a reorganization of the municipal government itself, though in some cases the old corporations had shown a disposition to provide for the welfare of the population they governed. By the act passed in 1835, the administration of justice was taken from the hands of the municipalities and given to the national government. Otherwise, the rights of the old corporations were to be exercised by municipal councils elected by the ratepaying householders. For two generations longer the government of the counties was left in the hands of the landlords, who had so long dominated them.

DOCTRINES TO SUIT THE TIMES

The forces which had caused and were causing these great changes in the fabric of British social life were accompanied by and found their defence in new shibboleths and doctrines in harmony with the new conditions. These new doctrines were usually popularized by writers who did not originate them so much as they clothed them in the language of the time. In the form in which these doctrines became current, they do not always reflect the carefulness of statement that may have characterized the works of the men with whose names they are associated. But it is the current doctrine rather than the guarded statement of the individual philosopher that is of primary interest here. Only those doctrinal assumptions that achieved an acceptance sufficiently widespread to make them arguments for defending existing conditions or for agitating change were likely to result in social action, or lack of action.

We may well leave to students of history of philosophical doctrines the task of ascribing credit for the origin of given notions and of making clear the carefulness of a given thinker to avoid loose generalizations. Nor are we much interested in why a particular writer arrived at a given conclusion. The important matter is, that a doctrine, when it was expressed, was attuned to the mood of a considerable number of people of the time.

In the same year in which the American colonies declared their independence of Great Britain, and perhaps not wholly unrelated to that event, there appeared two works destined to bear a larger fruit than most publications of their kind. One was published anonymously by a comparatively young lawyer of means, Jeremy Bentham, and was called a *Fragment on Government*; the other was a more voluminous treatise by a retired Scottish university professor, Adam Smith, and has since come to be commonly called *The Wealth of Nations*. Both men realized that many of the shibboleths of their time were outworn, and both helped to popularize new ones. Bentham's pamphlet was a reply to the fulsome *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, published in four volumes by Sir William Blackstone in the years 1765-1769. Blackstone accepted the current doctrines of the supremacy of law and the desirability of liberty. For him the sovereign was the law-maker, which, in Great Britain, he discovered in parliament. He was little troubled by inconsistency. He is rather an example of the self-complacency with which most Britons of that generation, encouraged by Montesquieu and De Lolme on the Continent, regarded their own institutions. He says with enthusiastic optimism: "Of a constitution so wisely contrived, so strongly raised, and so highly finished, it is hard to speak with that *praise* which is justly and seriously its due; the thorough and attentive contemplation of it will furnish its best panegyric." He was as well satisfied with the hands to which was entrusted the perpetuation of the constitution as he was with the fabric itself: "To sustain, to repair, to beautify this noble pile is a charge intrusted principally to the nobility, and such gentlemen of the kingdom as are delegated by their country to parliament. The protection of *The Liberty of Britain* is a duty which they owe to themselves who enjoy it; to their ancestors who transmitted it down; and to their posterity, who will claim at their hands this, the best birthright, and the noblest inheritance of mankind."

Imagine the impression made on the mind of the young Bentham by this exaggerated adulation. Though trained in the law, he was slow to engage in its practice. In a pamphlet by Dr. Joseph Priestley, he found a suggestion of an aim in life, which he might have discovered in several other sources—the promotion of “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” This discovery affected him in much the same emotional way that conversion affected the members of the evangelical group. At the sight of it, he said, he cried out “Eureka in inward ecstacy.” It was the universal remedying principle for which he had been searching as a basis for the legal reforms which, as he perceived, were badly needed. In much the same spirit of religious fervor, he decided that he had a sort of divine call or genius for legislation. “And have I indeed a genius for legislation? I gave myself the answer, fearfully and tremblingly, ‘yes.’” So he consecrated himself to his task. Not until some forty years later did he discover that the existing agency for law-making in Great Britain was unsuitable for his purposes. Meanwhile, with a supreme confidence in his own ability and his own mission, he was busy pounding away at the tasks he had set for himself. He dismissed the doctrine of natural rights and the whole apparatus of the social contract. The antiquity of an institution did not impress him. He thought in the terms of science rather than of history, and science in his day meant chiefly mathematics and physics. Legislation, he decided, was a science. Laws ought to be designed to produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number. To complete the foundation of his program, he added another assumption, which does not necessarily follow from the first, but which made the practical application of his scheme infinitely simpler. Every individual is likely to be the best judge of his own happiness. Consequently, a primary aim of legislation ought to be to remove all restrictions on the action of individuals not necessary to secure a like freedom of action for their neighbors. Then, too, the promotion of pleasure had a negative side, the diminution of pain; and it was to this negative side of the proposition that Bentham and his associates gave most of their attention. They avoided the difficult task of defining positively what pleasure is. So many aspects of the social life of their day were calculated to entail discomfort on a large number of people that their time was fully occupied in promoting remedial measures.

Bentham gathered about him a band of disciples who spread his doctrines abroad and who busied themselves in practical at-

tempts to procure the action he advocated. Many persons who admitted no discipleship with the master lent a hand in promoting these causes, but his doctrines gradually became current among them all. Place, James Mill, Joseph Hume, Romilly, and others were glad to acknowledge their allegiance. He survived himself to the eve of the passage of the reform bill in 1832, which was to do so much to facilitate the achievement of his program. But he did no little by his own efforts to make its achievement possible. He taught a timid generation that reform did not necessarily imply an entire overturn of the accepted order, and he fixed in the public mind a definite principle on which to base changes, without reference to any supposed rights of man. Set individuals free from their restrictions, and let them, with a minimum of regulations for the sake of protection, become the artificers of their own happiness. Extend the freedom of contract. Simplify legal processes; make more efficient the machinery for protecting such practical rights of men as liberty and property; and promote education, and security would take care of itself. Bentham, by spreading these ideas, helped practical Britons to overcome their fears of revolution and to turn their attention to the task, too long neglected, of setting their legal and constitutional house in order. He set a utilitarian rather than an ideal goal, and the class then in charge of the government were enabled to conceive of the common pleasure in terms of their own and were thus inspired to embark on changes with a feeling that they were serving the common good. The effect of the frequent use of the law-making machinery, in the end, was to develop a concept of law itself somewhat different from that which had previously prevailed. As Bentham's disciple, John Austin, came to define it, law is a "command of the state." The command was now more frequently made in the shape of a formal statute than had previously been the case.

But the influence of the utilitarian doctrines was felt in the field of economics as well as in law and politics. As long as England was predominantly an aggregation of agricultural communities, with a social and political organization built on the foundations laid by the Anglo-Saxon and Norman conquests, conditions were not propitious for the formulation of theories on economic questions. The rise of traders on a large scale, who coveted monopolistic and other privileges, led to the widespread acceptance of the doctrine that the wealth of the kingdom increased or diminished according to the varying balance of

trade. This doctrine was a convenient justification of the claims of the merchants, and involved, for the most part, no serious clash with the interests of the larger landlords, who still regarded themselves as a class apart, whose privileged position was not open to challenge. Action on economic questions was usually agitated by those interested in the colonies or in trade, and the mercantile doctrines had a clear field.

As France saw her chance at a colonial empire slipping and felt herself out of the race for foreign trade of the sort favorable to the mercantilist view, the advocates of a rival doctrine of national wealth began to find favor. Men like Turgot and Quesnay, who urged that wealth is a gift of nature and so not dependent on a favorable balance of trade, found many ready to accept their views. Even in Great Britain, the difficulty of enforcing the trade and navigation laws on the colonies, the progress of the enclosures, and the growing importance of manufactures made a reconsideration of the accepted economic theories imperative. New methods and new processes were coming into vogue in both agriculture and manufacturing, and new conditions were emerging in consequence. These new conditions, more than anything else, attracted attention to Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and gained for it immediate acceptance as a notable work on its field. Perhaps they had something to do with shaping its contents.

Smith had already achieved a European reputation as the author of a *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. He had traveled widely and knew personally the more prominent of the exponents of the physiocratic doctrines in France, as well as men of note in Great Britain. He was interested in men as human beings, and he had reached definite conclusions on philosophical questions before he undertook to formulate his views on economic subjects. He was also a student of history and an observer of the current conditions amid which he lived. Consequently, while his work contains many statements of theories and doctrines, he so hedged them about with qualifications and elaborated them with illustrations, taken from both the present and the past, that almost every economic doctrine which has had a vogue since his time was suggested by isolated passages in his work. In the same way, he protected himself against the pitfall of a rash enthusiasm for doctrinaire theories into which so many of his followers and successors fell. These qualities made his work an admirable starting point for the study of economic questions, a study that could not much longer be

postponed in Great Britain. He criticized both the mercantilists and the physiocrats. He rejected the notion that the wealth of a nation is dependent on its favorable balance of trade and thus provided a doctrinal basis to defend the removal of restrictions on trade and consolation for the loss of the colonies. He saw, what the physiocrats in the different atmosphere of France were unable to see, that the use of capital increased the volume of wealth produced, a fact which he attributed to the division of labor that the use of capital facilitated. His work was so patently a reflection of conditions that had come to exist in Great Britain that members of parliament sometimes quoted his words in support of practical measures which they advocated. These quotations did not have and were not really expected to have practical weight in formulating or in procuring the passage of legislation; they were rather displays of learning on the part of the speakers, as well as evidence of the growing interest taken by statesmen in economic questions and of the success of Smith in interpreting the conditions of his time.

The growth and the shifting of population that accompanied the transition of agriculture from a somewhat feudal to a more definitely economic basis and the rise of industrial towns caused actual hardships among large numbers of the laboring classes, which were intensified by the disorganization resulting from the war with France. These hardships were rather increased than lessened by the hasty methods of relief adopted at Speenhamland and later extended over a large part of England. No remedy for these conditions was at hand, and there was pressing need of explanatory doctrines to enable persons with humanitarian instincts, who were in comfortable circumstances, to justify and endure that which they seemed unable to help. Thomas Robert Malthus, a Surrey curate, had no intention of supplying this needed explanatory doctrine when he published his *Essay on Population* in 1798. He addressed himself rather to the more academic task of controverting William Godwin's theory of the perfectibility of human nature and the probability that ideal conditions would tend to result if human beings were left to work out their destiny practically free from restraint. Malthus argued that no such conditions would come to pass, because population tends to increase, at a minimum, according to a geometric ratio, while the production of food could increase, at a maximum, only at an arithmetical ratio. Time, therefore, seemed to doom people in society, at any rate a portion of them, inexorably to suffering and despair. War, poverty, vice, mis-

ery, and the like were checks that prevented ultimate disaster. Having made this terrible discovery, Malthus busied himself in the thankless task of advocating prudential restraints on normal human inclinations, in order that the natural rate of increase in the population might be diminished in a more humane manner. But he could not prevent the doctrine which he had helped to make current from serving as a consoling soporific to the ruling class, who went on with their enclosures and their defences of the existing régime in all good conscience and steeled themselves to endure the sight of the suffering which greeted them daily. If that which they saw was a part of the divine or natural law, inherent in the constitution of society, there was little use to worry about what could not be helped.

Malthus was in part a disciple of both Smith and Bentham. He gradually discovered a defence for the increasing rents that accrued to the landlords in the midst of the misery of so large a percentage of the population of the countryside. Smith had been inclined to accept the view that landlords were monopolists and that, in taking rents, they gathered where they had not sown. By combining the assumption of free competition among individuals, actuated by utilitarian motives, with his theory of population, Malthus easily concluded that the wages of laborers would tend to decrease until they reached the basis of subsistence. Landlords could not be expected to pay more than the market price for labor, and the natural tendency of laborers to be too numerous made it improbable that they would get more than a wage barely sufficient to keep them at work. Rent was thus not wages withheld from needy laborers by harsh landlords; it was a bounty of nature. Capital also received its wages, fixed in a competitive market. The variable bounty of nature went to the lords of the land.

But industry was rapidly outstripping agriculture in the rivalry for supremacy in the economic world, and there was, in consequence, a need that the subject of the distribution of wealth receive further consideration. If the supremacy of the landlords was to be challenged in the political realm, it was not easy to maintain that nature had stacked the cards entirely in favor of the landlords in the realm of economics. The theory of distribution that was formulated as a result of this reconsideration, is associated with the name of David Ricardo. Ricardo was a retired stock broker of Hebrew descent and a disciple in some respects of both Bentham and Smith, though he is worthy to be named with them among the masters who helped to make

current the doctrines that were soon to constitute the orthodox economic creed among British men of affairs. A man of Ricardo's environment and antecedents, with no practical experience in the organization of agriculture, was admirably fitted to undertake to reduce the forces determining rent and wages to statements as laws or principles. If that could be done; that is, if it could be established that rents and wages were determined by fixed laws, profits would be left as the only variable share. In the common use of the term, profits included interest, since little distinction was yet made between the function of the capitalist and the entrepreneur. According to the theory that emerged from the discussion, rent results from the constant necessity, as the population increases, of cultivating less and less fertile land. In a perfect system of competition land will manifestly not be cultivated unless the produce repays the expenditure. But conditions which enable the least productive units of land to repay cultivation must enable more productive areas to yield a still greater return. The difference between the yield from the least productive unit and the more productive areas is rent. Of course, additional labor might be spent on the same areas of land, but the product does not increase in direct proportion to the amount of labor, and a point is reached when the additional labor no longer pays for itself, and so is not employed. Rent thus has some of the elements of a constant quantity, since it depends on the difference in fruitfulness between the area of marginal productivity and that which yields better returns. Since the overabundance of labor tended to reduce wages to a level of subsistence, the only share in the joint product of land, labor, and capital left with much elasticity was that allotted to capital as profits.

These supposed laws had two important applications, if accepted as the normal principles inherent in society, which tend to prevail in a state of approximate freedom. For one thing, land, or natural resources, was a secondary matter in the conduct of industry. When wages were determined by laws, therefore, the bulk of the rest of the product of industry was left for the capitalists. Moreover, since there were too many laborers for the available employment, and since capital was necessary if further employment was to be provided, interference in these alleged economic laws in an effort to remedy the situation, was an unmixed evil, in that it might deter capital from extending its activities and thus diminish the employment that might otherwise be provided for idle laborers. Individual laborers might

aspire to rise from their class, and some of them might be successful in their attempts to do it, but any permanent elevation of the lot of their whole number seemed to be hopeless. Another respect in which these economic laws received a practical application was in the case of the Corn Laws. If rent was determined by the marginal principle, clearly any artificial addition to the price of grain, entailed by a tariff, could not add to rent, though it did increase the subsistence cost of labor and so made wages considerably higher and profits considerably less. The tariff on grain was thus a burden on capital, without in the long run bringing any return to either labor or land.

Thus the utilitarian political doctrines of Bentham were married to the economic doctrines of Malthus and Ricardo. Their disciples, among whom were James Mill, John Ramsay MacCulloch, George Grote, the historian of Greece, John Arthur Roebuck, and, later with modifications, John Stuart Mill and others, elaborated and simplified these doctrines and applied them to the questions of the day as they arose. The result was the elimination of many outworn methods and customs that could not survive under a régime of liberty and competition. But there was another side to the picture. Though most of these men personally had humanitarian sympathies and generous impulses and were active in promoting specific measures of social amelioration, nevertheless, as theorists, they spread abroad doctrines that soon came to be the orthodox defences of the strong, who entrenched themselves in the seats of power by the exercise of their strength and who came to feel that they had almost as divine a right to their privileges as had the landlords and commercial magnates who had preceded them and with whom they now divided power. Indeed, these industrial magnates soon seemed to be the major partners in the national enterprise.

THE NEW QUEEN AND HER MINISTERS

Both parliament and the monarchy were making ready for a new start in the decade that saw the passing of the reform bill. Once that task was completed, Grey's party had little coherence. The other measures of reform that preceded and followed the constitutional act were supported by men in the opposition as well as from the government of the day, and there was little attempt to preserve party lines. The utilitarian doctrines had not yet been translated into a party creed. When Grey re-

signed on an Irish question (July, 1834), he was succeeded by William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne, his Home Secretary. Grey was a survivor from a previous generation, who had by a piece of good fortune lived to achieve in age a task to which he had devoted himself in youth. While Melbourne was younger, he too was a survivor from the preceding generation. He belonged to the passing atmosphere of the eighteenth century rather than to the new mood of the nineteenth. The strength of his government tended to wane, and soon members of his ministry vexed the King, with the result that he was dismissed from office in November, 1834, in favor of Wellington. The Duke said that Peel would be preferable as a prime minister, but he undertook the whole burden of the government until that minister, then traveling in Italy, could return and organize an administration. A parliamentary election ensued, in which Peel, in a manifesto issued to his constituents at Tamworth, estopped those among his followers who still looked forward to the repeal of the reform bill. He accepted that act, he said, as "a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question." The new parliament proved to be unfavorable to Peel's government, and it gave place to Melbourne again, after an existence of only four months. The new ministry depended for support on O'Connell's Irish party, which was anxious to repeal the act of union, and on the more radical Benthamites in Great Britain, though neither faction was given a representative in the cabinet. The domestic achievements possible under such conditions were obviously limited. One thing, however, Melbourne did in a way that gives him some claim to the gratitude of later generations. He became the personal friend and confidential adviser of the young Queen, who came to the throne in 1837 little equipped in either age or experience for her arduous duties.

In a sense Victoria represented almost a complete break with the traditions of her ancestral house. When the Prince Regent's daughter, Princess Charlotte, died in November, 1817, it dawned on many persons that, though she was survived by six royal uncles, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, and Cambridge, and five royal aunts, children of George III, and though the old King, who still lived, had a numerous progeny of grandchildren, there was not one eligible, according to the laws regulating the marriage of members of the royal family, to succeed to the crown. The aunts were either unmarried or childless. The behavior of the uncles tended to make them least esteemed by those who knew them best. Wellington, who had a

profound respect for royalty in general, pronounced them in particular to be "the damndest millstones about the neck of any government that can be imagined." He complained that they had "personally insulted two-thirds of the gentlemen of England." Yet it was the clear duty of some of these dukes, middle-aged and older, to disperse their existing family establishments, procure wives with the approval of parliament, and provide the needed heirs, else the reign of their family in Great Britain was approaching an inglorious end. Both Clarence and Kent came forward to do their duty. Clarence, who was the elder, succeeded George IV as William IV, but both of his children died in infancy. Kent took for wife a sister of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, husband of the late Princess Charlotte and afterward King of the Belgians. He cut, on the whole, a sorry figure while he was alive, and he did not long survive the birth of his daughter, which occurred in 1819. He had a superstitious desire to christen the child Elizabeth, but his brother, the Prince Regent, was at the baptism, and the Tsar of Russia was one of the god-fathers, so Alexandrina had to come first. The disappointed parent craved the privilege of a second name, and his brother suggested Georgina, but compromised on Victoria, borrowed from the infant's mother. The Queen elected to bear this latter name when she embarked on the long reign that was to be among the most noteworthy in all the annals of her kingdom.

Victoria had grown to the age of eighteen in semi-seclusion, having few contacts with either the society of the capital or her paternal uncles. She was the chief hope of a mother, who suffered many things for her and who succeeded in her aim of cultivating in her daughter admirable qualities, which were later to commend her to her people, though they made her for the time scarcely a normal girl for one in her station. Her chief male adviser in these early years was her uncle, Leopold. Her friendship with him extended into later years, but some of his advice to her was based on conditions as he remembered them from the time when he had resided in England and was scarcely applicable to the conditions his niece had to face. Therefore, it really fell to the lot of Melbourne to introduce the young Queen to her new duties and to familiarize her with the conventions which the rulers of Great Britain expected their sovereigns to observe. Victoria had inherited a touch of the obstinacy of her grandfather, but she was on the whole eager to learn, and she devoted to the responsibilities of her office a zeal that was little short of religious. Remembering his own difficulties with her

predecessors, Melbourne took care to cultivate in her, sometimes, as it happened, under embarrassing circumstances, the doctrine that it was her duty to be amenable to the reasonable advice of any ministers who could command the support of parliament. This was not at first an easy lesson for Victoria to learn. Her uncle had advised her to be partial toward Melbourne's party. When the time came, in 1839, to send for Peel, she acquiesced, much as she disliked the thought of parting with her friend and mentor. But when Peel insisted that she not only allow him the privilege of nominating the male officers of the royal household, who had seats in parliament, but that she dismiss the mistresses of the robes and the ladies of the bedchamber as well, she rebelled. It was an unprecedented question, since no previous reigning queen had ever faced the implications of party government. Victoria was later a little ashamed of the episode. For the moment, parliament was rather evenly divided between the two leaders, and it seemed prudent to humor the Queen, so Melbourne held on until 1841. By that time Victoria had married her cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who arranged in advance a compromise, whereby only the mistresses of the robes would be changed on a change of administration. As the Queen became more immersed in her duties as a wife and mother, she had somewhat less time to devote to those of her office, but she retained throughout her life an interest in the affairs of the kingdom and took an active part in the government. She co-operated in the appointment of whatever officials the political situation called for and accepted the advice given by her ministers. Nevertheless, she was human enough, even in her later years, to prefer the garrulous flattery of Disraeli to the austere aloofness of Gladstone.

Victoria, was, in fact, the first monarch Great Britain ever had of the type now accepted as constitutional. Even her rather futile sailor uncle, who preceded her on the throne, was at times hard to manage. Not the least difficult part of Grey's task in piloting the reform bill through parliament was persuading William to do the things needful if the bill was to become a law. While Melbourne was busy forming an administration in 1834, the King wrote to stipulate certain individuals whom he would not accept in office. It was no more than both George III and George IV had done time and again. Melbourne's reply left the question as it has remained ever since. "Viscount Melbourne must distinctly declare that, whilst he trusts he is incapable of recommending to your Majesty any individuals whose

character and conduct appear to him to disqualify them from holding any situation of trust and responsibility, he can neither admit nor acquiesce in any general or particular exclusion, and that he must reserve to himself the power of recommending for employment any one of your Majesty's subjects who is qualified by law to serve your Majesty." Thus the office of prime minister, as it had gradually taken shape under Walpole and the younger Pitt, came to be recognized as a necessary part of the machinery of government. In the more active years of his reign, George III himself performed the duties of the office, but George IV felt unequal to the task, which, after his first attack of insanity, his father had left to a minister. As regent, therefore, he insisted that the cabinet select a head. Since that time, the monarch has frequently exercised more than a nominal influence in the government, but the responsible leadership has been in the hands of a single minister designated for the purpose. There has been no attempt to formulate the duties of the office, and for a long time the office itself was not recognized in the law; it simply took shape to serve the functions of government as experience disclosed them.

Ministers soon discovered that they were responsible to the reformed parliament in a somewhat different sense from that in which they had been responsible to the old. The House of Lords still had the power to veto action, when it had a disposition to exercise it, and many of the same persons who had sat in the older parliaments retained their seats in the new. In some respects they represented interests similar to those they had represented before, but, in the boroughs at any rate, these interests were now differently organized. Unless aroused to an excited state of mind by systematic agitation of some question capable of stirring popular emotion, the voters in a constituency were as likely to take their views from its representative in parliament as they were to exert pressure on him. But a member of parliament, under these circumstances, was apt to inform himself with some care before taking his views to his constituents. The result was that the House of Commons became an assembly more representative of all the substantial interests in the kingdom than it had ever been formerly, and more disposed, on the whole, to act on the basis of intelligent discussion. The cabinets were practically chosen by the House of Commons, acted under its supervision, and were responsive to its changing moods. An appeal from the House to the constituencies was not yet a customary procedure, except on extraordinary occasions.

In fact, even after the accession of Victoria, it was assumed that the Queen was free to accept or reject the advice of her prime minister that she dissolve parliament. When she rejected the advice of one minister, however, she by implication accepted contrary advice from a successor, so the final determination of the matter was left to a minister responsible to parliament after all.

As the office of prime minister grew in prestige, the cabinet came to be more and more subordinated to his leadership, and the pressure on its members to act as a unit became correspondingly greater. Until well within the nineteenth century, individual ministers might vote on a different side from their chief and yet feel under no obligation to resign office. The cabinet, that is, was organized to support common policies rather than to carry a legislative program. It was still possible for members of parliament outside of the cabinet to introduce and carry through legislation to which a part of the administration was opposed. A cabinet seldom elected to stand or fall on a measure of legislation, and such matters were left as open questions if there was a difference of opinion in the cabinet. One explanation of this rule is that, until the utilitarian notion of accomplishing a reform of society by legislation obtained a wide acceptance, there was much less general law-making than later came to be the case. A ministry might thus be defeated on a proposal to change the law without feeling that it had lost the confidence of parliament.

This procedure was possible because parties in the form they later assumed were not yet in existence. The old terms Whig and Tory were still bandied about, though they now meant even less than they had meant in former times, and they had little relation to the political groups in which men were accustomed to associate for action. The terms Liberal and Conservative were beginning to be more frequently used, but as yet they had no very definite signification. In general, those whose interests or opinions caused them to adopt toward the questions of the day the general attitude of the Benthamites or Ricardians may be called Liberals; those who placed greater emphasis on preserving the privileged institutions of the established order in society were the Conservatives; there was, of course, a radical group demanding further reforms. But a cabinet in this period was likely to contain or at least to have the support of both Conservatives and Liberals. Peel, for example, though the son of a cotton manufacturer and a disciple of Ricardo, was leader

in the House of Commons of the same party that Wellington led in the House of Lords. This arrangement was possible as long as the important policies of government were not matters for legislation. But that condition was soon to change. Peel himself was destined, because of his economic views, to support a measure which disqualified him from leading further the more conservative landlords.

Meanwhile, under the guidance of her husband, Victoria found Peel as likable as a minister, if not as a man, as was Melbourne. When he died, in 1850, she mourned him as the man the kingdom could least afford to lose. He had coöperated with her husband in an enterprise which reveals the temper of the time and which was Albert's most spectacular achievement. As President of the Society of Arts, Albert suggested the idea of an exhibition of the products of the empire. The project grew as he enlisted support to make it an actuality. There was much factional opposition, but an immense palace of glass was finally constructed in Hyde Park, in which was assembled from the ends of the earth evidence of the rapid achievements made in the material realm in the previous generation. Nothing so extensive had ever been attempted before, had indeed been possible. These products of the ingenuity and hands of men testified of a new world, far removed from the world in which George III had ascended the English throne less than a century before.

HOPES DEFERRED AND MERCIES GRANTED

Place and other of the more thoughtful leaders of the laborers fully realized from the first the character of the reform bill of 1832. They saw in it a step toward a more extensive enfranchisement, for which they had agitated. What perhaps nobody foresaw was that, once the new arrangement had proved itself, it would become, like that it had succeeded, an entrenchment of the privileged and powerful, a permanent settlement of the constitution, a departure from which, it was alleged, would endanger the whole fabric of the government. Since the new parliament was representative of all classes who had a substantial stake in the country, the more numerous groups who were still without a voice in the government were dependent entirely on their own efforts to obtain what they wanted. Their chief available weapons were organized numbers and clamor approaching to if not including violence. The beginning again of organi-

zation and struggle to demand a voice in the government awaited only an occasion of suffering traceable to a common cause originating in an act of legislation. People were rapidly herding together in industrial towns, where they were obliged to live in sheds hopelessly inadequate for even the barest comforts. They worked at occupations much alike, for employers of a similar type, and shared with each other most of the grievances they severally felt. Never in all the previous history of the world had there been so promising a field as this for an agitator with a simple panacea for conditions that cried out for remedy.

The poor law of 1834 withdrew the outdoor relief that had previously supplemented inadequate wages and left a working-man the choice of existing as best he might by his own resources or of going to a workhouse where he was not welcomed. The introduction of power looms in the textile industry made it possible for weaving to be done with less skilled labor than formerly. The hand-loom weavers thus faced the bitter necessity of breaking up their old homes and lowering their standard of living to the level of the wages they could earn in the factories, or else of staying in their trades and competing with the new machines. Experience showed that they had no advantage over their untrained fellows in the factory. Whichever way they turned, they saw no hope for themselves in their trade. Their first disposition was to destroy the machines, but others were soon made to take the places of those destroyed. Various suggestions were made for bringing together in a single body the trade clubs that were organized after the act forbidding them was repealed. Robert Owen promoted one such organization in 1834. The weapon that was to be used was the strike. The movement had progressed so far in 1835 that, when Melbourne succeeded Peel, both ministers united in regarding it as the most formidable question the government had to face. Melbourne appointed a commission to make investigation and give him advice. Nassau Senior, Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, served this commission as an expert. As a result of its investigation, the commission became convinced that "if the manufacturer is to employ his capital and the mechanist or chemist his ingenuity, only under the dictation of his shortsighted and rapacious workmen or his equally ignorant and avaricious rivals; if a few agitators are to be allowed to command a strike which first paralyses the industry of the peculiar class of workpeople over whom he tyrannizes and then extends itself in an increasing circle over the many thousands and tens

of thousands to whose labour the assistance of that peculiar class of workpeople is essential;—that if all this is to be unpunished and to be almost sanctioned by the repeal of the laws by which it was formerly punishable;—it is in vain to hope that we shall long retain the industry, the skill, or the capital on which our manufacturing superiority, and with that superiority our power and almost our existence as a nation depends.” Melbourne’s political experience showed the futility of attempting to revive repressive laws, but a law already on the statute book, an inheritance from the period of the French war, was discovered, which made illegal the administration of an oath by an unlawful society. Several Dorchester laborers, who had joined a union, were tried and transported for seven years. The result was a large demonstration in their behalf by laborers in and about London and a consequent period of panic among the governing classes. But the demonstration amounted to little in the end. Owen and his group looked forward to coöperative and communistic enterprises rather than to the use either of force or political action. It seemed to be probable that every chance apostle of hope, even agitators with personal grievances, would attract a small group of followers and thus dissipate any likelihood of combined effort by the discontented in a common cause.

To prevent this ineffective result, some of the more practical of those who had come in contact with Owen, including William Lovett, Henry Hetherington, John Cleave, James (Bronterre) O’Brien, and others began to meditate an organization for definite purposes. Their first thought was to agitate a removal of the tax on periodical publications, the tax on knowledge, as it was called. Later, in June, 1836, they organized the Working Men’s Association and elected Place an honorary member. Radical members of parliament, such as Hume, Roebuck, and Daniel O’Connell, sometimes consorted with this group. Feargus O’Connor, an Irishman of some education and substance, joined in November. Under the direction of Lovett and Place, the program of the organization gradually assumed a purely political form. It adopted, with some additions and modifications, the old platform which Cartwright and his associates had developed on the basis of Burgh’s investigations. Lovett seems to have given the program the final form in which it was to become known as *The People’s Charter*. The points proposed in the charter were universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, representation based on population, a vote by ballot, and pay-

ment of members of parliament. The charter in its final form was sponsored by twelve men, six within and six outside of the House of Commons. A suggestion that women be enfranchised was rejected after some consideration, though there was some sentiment in its favor. The charter was published in May, 1838.

While this movement was taking shape in London, Attwood was reviving the Birmingham Political Union, and Richard Oastler and Joseph Rayner Stephens, a Wesleyan minister, were stirring up the discontented in the industrial districts in the northern counties. The agitation was organized in the form of a petition for the reform of parliament on the basis of the charter, the Birmingham group first taking the lead. A convention of delegates from the industrial districts was assembled to give the movement guidance. A weekly paper was established, called the *Northern Star*, which became the personal organ of O'Connor. There was sharp rivalry among the leaders of the movement, which spread rapidly among the laborers, who saw no relief in sight from the hard conditions under which they lived. These rivalries were compromised for a time in an effort to present a united front in favor of the cause. The government became alarmed at both the size and the form of the agitation. Wild stories were circulated, and a military force assembled under the command of Sir Charles James Napier. Fortunately, Napier had better judgment than most military men and a larger endowment of insight than most members of his social class. He kept his troops in the background. He attended one of the large meetings himself and reported to a friend that he found the opinions expressed by the orators "orderly, legal, . . . pretty much—don't tell this!—very like my own." He could not bear the thought of sending "grapeshot from our guns into a helpless mass of fellow citizens; sweeping the streets with fire and charging with cavalry, destroying poor people whose only crime is that they have been ill-governed and reduced to such straits that they seek redress by arms, ignorant that of all ways that is the most certain to increase the evils they complain of." The petitions caused no action in parliament. Some of the more violent-minded of the agitators talked of appeals to force. A few weapons were discovered here and there. Ultimately, the leaders of the movement were arrested, tried for sedition, and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment.

The interlude caused by these repressive measures gave a chance for the more intellectual leaders of the movement, like

Lovett, to direct their attention to schemes for the spread of education among laborers. O'Connor came to the front. He seems to have been a mixture of mountebank and demagogue, with a genuine disposition at heart to do something to improve the lot of his fellows, but with no very practical notion of what could be done. He launched a movement for settling laborers on the land as small proprietors and actually collected money enough to embark several hundred persons in the enterprise. Another group at Rochdale began a movement for coöperative distribution that was destined later to develop on a large scale and that has lasted until the present day. Another group interested themselves in foreign affairs and in the promotion of peace. By this time Friedrich Engels and his pupil and associate, Karl Marx, were in England and were learning with O'Brien to think in terms of economic action through the state as an agency. O'Connor capitalized his influence and was elected to parliament in 1847.

The last impressive gesture of the Chartists was the fruit of the hard economic conditions of that year and the year previous. It was in the form of a monster petition for the points of the Charter, which it was proposed to present in a great procession to parliament in 1848. Events taking place on the Continent in that year helped to give currency to all manner of wild rumors as to the plots and plans of the agitators. The Duke of Wellington, now in his dotage, suddenly discovered that England was defenceless and in danger of an invasion and called on the government to strengthen the army. As was the case on former occasions, the ministers in authority, once having become frightened, easily found reasons for magnifying their panic. As April 10, the day set for presenting the petition, approached, thousands of special constables were qualified, among them Louis Napoleon, soon to become emperor of the French. The defence of London was entrusted to Wellington. The Queen went to the Isle of Wight for safety. The windows of the government offices were barricaded with piles of newspapers and books. Everybody expected the worst.

Fortunately, Wellington kept his head and decided not to forbid the meeting that had been planned, but to close the bridges and make impossible the procession to Parliament House. O'Connor agreed to abandon the procession. The meeting was held, and the petition was loaded into three cabs and sent to the House of Commons, after which the crowd dispersed. O'Connor, as was his custom, had exaggerated the number of

names the petition contained, mentioning a figure larger than the total number of adult males of voting age in the kingdom. Nearly two million names were actually on the lists, if we accept as correct the count of clerks employed by a hostile parliament, though many of them were fictitious or forged. By two o'clock in the afternoon of April 10, Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, wrote to the Queen that "the Kensington Common meeting has proved a complete failure." It had certainly failed to justify the fears of those in authority. What might have happened had they not taken precautionary measures in advance, it is useless to imagine. The agitation of the Chartists on a large scale was at an end. The influence of their leaders was spent. O'Connor's mind became unbalanced, as his affairs became involved.

But it would be a mistake to regard the Chartist movement as a failure because its immediate results were small. For the first time, the bulk of the laborers of the kingdom had united as a class and had acted in support of a common cause. Their action was the result of hard conditions and was inspired by leaders who sometimes had uncertain notions. They adopted a political program as a panacea, instead of trying to formulate practical remedies for the conditions that furnished the dynamic of the movement. Several additional generations of organization were necessary before the laborers would be able to act together on so extensive a scale again. Meanwhile, they had begun to think in common of the grievances they felt. More important for the time, perhaps, was the fact that those in power were not again able to forget that these millions of their fellow-countrymen were capable of action if pressed too far. At any rate, they might be aroused to action that would endanger the existence of the established order in society. To what extent the ameliorating policies, gradually adopted by the government in the next succeeding generation, were due to fears more or less consciously generated by knowledge of this latent power of the laborers is not easy to determine. But these fears were not wholly absent from the minds of those responsible for the government of the kingdom.

For the time being, other more articulate if less numerous groups agitated changes with more immediate results. An illustration is the movement among the City financiers to regulate the issue of notes by the banks, which resulted in the Bank Act of 1844. Previous to 1774 both silver and gold were mediums of exchange in England. A statute of that year pro-

vided that henceforth lawful contracts involving larger sums than twenty-five pounds must be discharged in gold. The stress of the war caused Pitt's ministry in 1797 to suspend the requirement that bank notes be convertible into specie at will and to attempt to make the notes a legal tender. The notes depreciated in gold value as they increased in quantity and emphasized the general tendency toward inflated prices. In 1810 a parliamentary Bullion Committee, acting on the advice of Ricardo, recommended the resumption of the payment of specie at par for the notes. The measure was not finally adopted until 1819, when Peel sponsored an act for the purpose. This act left to the Bank of England and to the country banks of issue the responsibility of adjusting the amount of notes issued to the current demands for credit. But the rise of the theory that prices were in part determined by the available quantity of the circulating medium, for which Ricardo was in some measure responsible, led to a demand by city bankers that the amount of notes issued be arbitrarily limited, so that price levels might fluctuate less and business conditions be rendered more stable. The project found a convincing advocate in Samuel Jones Lloyd, who reduced his arguments to terms that carried conviction to the ministers, most of whom understood few of the wider implications of the question. Peel adopted the project as an official measure and procured its passage through a parliament, most of whose members appreciated little of what it was all about. Like most acts of legislation, it was a compromise. The country banks were not, as Lloyd desired, denied entirely the right to issue notes, but no new country banks were to be given the privilege, and the older banks were to lose it as they changed their form of organization. The Bank of England was gradually to acquire a monopoly of issuing notes in England and Wales, and this institution was limited in the amount of its issue. An amount definitely fixed could be issued on the basis of securities held by the bank; further issue was to vary according to the amount of bullion held by the bank. The result of the act was to deprive note issue of its elasticity to such an extent that it was not sufficient to serve the needs of business. The financial crisis that resulted a few years afterward made it necessary to suspend the operation of the act. Gradually business found relief by the use of other devices. New gold fields were discovered. Bills of exchange were multiplied. Checks and similar instruments were introduced on a large scale, and bank notes came to play a correspondingly minor rôle as a circu-

lating medium. The proverbial necessity afforded the required inventions.

In the meantime, the cotton manufacturers were sponsoring a movement calling for a change in the economic organization of the country that involved a break with the past almost as violent as the reform bill itself. The Anti-Corn Law League, of which Richard Cobden and John Bright were the apostles, challenged the attention of laborers in the earlier period of the Chartist agitation. It offered an economic panacea, free trade, instead of a political panacea, parliamentary reform. Both movements flourished on the chronic economic and social distress. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws came to a more practical fruition in immediate achievement than that for parliamentary reform, because it enlisted support from the manufacturers as well as from many of their laborers. The paraphernalia of propaganda, now grown familiar from frequent usage, was further elaborated and brought into play. It was the first real trial of strength between the ancient wielders of power in England, the landlords, and the new industrial groups. As we know, so securely were the older rulers entrenched, that, had they acted solely from the point of view of their immediate interests, they might for a time have had their will. But wiser heads among them were gradually learning by experience that in the long run this purely selfish policy did not pay. Consequently, they were again ready to save much of their position by compromise. Their feeling was expressed by Lord John Russell in 1845, when, after supporting for a period a small fixed duty on grain, he announced his conversion to free trade. "The struggle to make bread scarce and dear, when it is clear that part, at least, of the additional price goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply injurious to an aristocracy which is strong in property, strong in the construction of our legislature, strong in opinion, strong in ancient associations and in the memory of immortal services." Even so, the task of repealing the Corn Laws fell to the lot of Peel, who came into office in 1841 at the head of a ministry distinctly committed against the step. Peel was himself interested in the cotton industry and had become a free trader in theory. He was chiefly concerned about the expediency of adopting free trade as a practical policy in a world in which protective tariffs were the rule. The agitation was gradually having effect, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to reply, on the one hand, to manufacturers who saw in dear food a hindrance to their profits and, on the other, to

laborers who hoped that cheaper food might alleviate their lot and make life more endurable, if not comfortable.

The matter was brought to an issue by the failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1845 and the necessity that the government import food to relieve the distress of famine. Peel realized that if the duties were temporarily removed they would be difficult to restore. Russell announced his conversion to free trade as an immediate policy, and Peel, when his cabinet would not follow him in the measure he saw was necessary, resigned. Russell was unable to form an administration, and Peel took office again to carry the proposed measure, with the support of most of Russell's party and against the opposition of a large part of his own. Among his most effective critics in his own party was a young man of Hebrew descent, Benjamin Disraeli, who was destined to be heard from again as leader of the unconverted landlords. But by this measure Great Britain recognized that the supremacy of the landed classes was on the wane, while the new industrial society was waxing in influence. In a sharp conflict of interests, the landed group had had to give way. To be sure, all men did not act on the question according to purely personal interests. With many, the pull of tradition was stronger than that of interest; others acted according to theoretical doctrines that seemed to them valid. Perhaps it would be possible to find almost as many diverse justifications of the action as there were individuals participating in it. But that does not invalidate the fact of the predominance of the industrial interests, which the act revealed. The abandonment of protection, however, was a more far-reaching step than was at once manifest. It marked the beginning of a new attitude toward the outlying portions of the empire as well as toward the world at large.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

O. F. Boucke, *The Development of Economics*, chs. iii-iv; *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, II. ch. iii; *Cambridge Modern History*, X. chs. xx, xxii; XI. ch. i; A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England*, Lectures v-vi; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. ch. iv; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. v-ix; G. H. Perris, *The Industrial History of Modern England*, chs. iv, v; J. F. Rees, *A Social and Industrial History of England*, chs. iii-v; Gilbert Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, chs. vi-xi; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. xiv, xv, xvii; A. P. Usher, *The Industrial History of England*, ch. xx.

FOR WIDER READING

Sir William Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, II. Part I; Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Newspapers*, II. chs. xv-xvi; G. C. Broderick and J. K. Fotheringham, *The History of England 1801-1837*, chs. xiv-xviii; G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of William Cobbett*, chs. xxiii, xiv; Robert Owen; W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer*, chs. ii, vi; J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer*, chs. x-xii; L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought*, chs. x-xii; Bernard Holland, *The Fall of Protection*; Mark Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*; Henry Jephson, *The Platform*, II. chs. xiv-xix; Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders, *The History of England 1837-1901*, chs. i-iii; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, I. ch. xiv; II. chs. i, ix; Simon Patten, *The Development of English Thought*, ch. v; Charles Seymour, *Electoral Reform in England and Wales*, chs. i-v; J. R. Thursfield, *Peel*; Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria*, chs. i-iv; G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, Book III; Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, chs. vi-xiv; Spencer Walpole, *The History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War*, III. chs. xi-xiii; IV; V. chs. xviii-xix; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, ch. iii; Julius West, *The History of the Chartist Movement*, chs. ii-ix.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Cambridge Modern History Atlas, Nos. 113, 114, shows the distribution of seats in the English House of Commons before and after the reform bill of 1832. J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, appendix, contains two maps illustrating the same points and covering Scotland and Ireland as well as England and Wales. *Shepherd*, p. 163, indicates the same points for England and Wales on a single map. *Muir*, f. 43, indicates the same points for all the British Isles on a single map.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE LAST PHASE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

As was the case with every other aspect of the national life, the relations of Great Britain with India were profoundly influenced by the growth of industry. The foundations of British dominion in India, as we know, were laid by a trading company, whose ambitions and methods conformed to mercantilist ideals. The privileges which were the foundation of the early prosperity of the company were gradually withdrawn, until the reformed parliament in 1833 had nothing more to withdraw except the monopoly of the trade with China and the trade in tea. After these were taken away, the company ceased to be a commercial organization and retained only the function of governing British India in coöperation with the Board of Control. The renewal of the charter for this purpose, in 1833, was preceded by a report based on a parliamentary investigation, which reflected the influence of the political and economic ideals then becoming prevalent. It was recognized "as an indisputable principle that the interests of the native subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, wherever the two come in competition; and that therefore the laws ought to be adapted rather to the feelings and habits of the natives than to those of the Europeans." The report further recognized that, while British laws could be assimilated into the native system, yet "the principles of British law could never be made the basis of an Indian code." But these principles were not easy of application, and British governors frequently departed from them in the midst of the difficult conditions that circumstanced their labors. These difficulties were not lessened by the fact that the rise of British textile manufacture by machines meant the destruction of the corresponding industry as practiced by hand in India. Whereas the Indian hand industry had in former times exported its products to other countries, British cotton goods were now imported in increasing volume into India.

The methods adopted by those who had the responsibility in India for spreading the principles of the new Western culture were not always as tactful as they might have been had the task been entrusted to less cocksure hands. Thomas Babington Macaulay, a member of the council sent out under the act of 1833, procured the adoption of English as the language to be used in the education of the natives, on the ground that the languages of India or any other Oriental country were little worth knowing. There was something to be said for the use of the language of the ruling power, since there was no vernacular common to all the people of the Indian empire, but the statement by which Macaulay supported his point was not calculated to win the sympathy and coöperation of a people with many ancient traditions and philosophies.

The application of the new principles in the government of India was made difficult by the very conditions that had attended the growth of the empire and by the methods by which it was held together. The British had established themselves in India by intrigue and force. There was now no native central power there strong enough to be compared with that of the British. Had the British withdrawn at this juncture, the country would have been given over to chaotic rivalries among the native chieftains. But a continuous application of force was necessary to maintain their power. And if the British should elect to maintain their power by force, it was almost inevitable that they would extend their dominion by the use of the same methods. No matter how pacific might be the intentions of a British governor in India, the practical conditions he faced overbore his benevolent purposes and intentions. He found it expedient to unite with his utilitarian aspirations the somewhat older doctrine that any means are justifiable if necessary to achieve desired ends. A governor inclined to respond to the humanitarian and liberal aspirations in Great Britain, and so to refrain from adopting violent measures to strengthen the position of the British in India, was apt to be succeeded by one who felt it necessary to regain, by a display of force, the ground lost by his predecessor. Once a territory was occupied, it could not thereafter be abandoned without loss of prestige. But its defence might involve strife with the people on its frontier, the consequent occupation of still wider regions, and so on indefinitely. There was little or no premeditated conquest. The extensions of the dominion resulted from measures adopted to defend obligations already assumed.

Lord Cornwallis, the first governor general sent out under Pitt's regulatory act of 1784, was specifically instructed not to declare hostilities or enter into a treaty for making war against a native state or guaranteeing it against an enemy, except when necessary to defend the company's territories or that of its allies from imminent attack. Cornwallis was in hearty sympathy with these instructions, and the parliament of the time emphasized its views by stipulating, in 1793, that: "Forasmuch as to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation, it shall not be lawful for the government in council to declare war, to enter into any treaty for making war, or for guaranteeing the possessions of any country, princes, or states (except when hostilities against the British nation in India have been actually commenced or prepared), without express command and authority from the home government." Yet Cornwallis spent the years from 1790 to 1792 in a war with Tippu, the Sultan of Mysore. A successor of Cornwallis, Richard Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, who was governor general from 1798 to 1805, renewed the war with Tippu and humbled that chieftain as the beginning of a career of conquest and expansion that Clive and Hastings did not rival.

The contemporary war with France made this ambitious program possible. It occupied the attention of the ministers at home and procured for Wellesley a free hand in India, where the fear of French inroads served as an excuse for his undertakings. He annexed the Carnatic district and then negotiated treaties with native princes in other regions on terms that made them subsidiary to British rule. The general arrangement usually provided that definite land revenues should be paid to the British, on condition that they maintain the troops necessary to protect the prince in his power. Having made terms in this way with the more important Mohammedan princes, Wellesley turned his attention to the Mahrattas. The renewal of the war with Napoleon in Europe found Wellesley engaged in a struggle with those Hindu chieftains in India. The French possessions in India, that were to have been given back under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, were never restored. Wellesley disregarded almost entirely the wishes of the directors of the company, whom he characterized as a "pack of narrow-minded old women." He took seriously the French threat against British dominion, and he exerted himself to lay strong foundations to resist it.

Ultimately, even his friends, Castlereagh, Dundas, and Pitt, felt that he had gone too far, and they decided, in 1805, to recall him. But he left the British in possession of the entire eastern coast of the peninsula and of a considerable portion of the western coast. To the northward, he had extended British supremacy to the west of Delhi. The Punjab to the further west, Sinde to the south, and the interior of the peninsula remained under native rule. Elsewhere, British influence was dominant, and his successors were to add to the territory he had acquired.

Cornwallis, now approaching the end of his life, went out as Wellesley's successor, committed to a more pacific policy, even to the extent of withdrawing, where possible, from the more hazardous enterprises of his predecessor. Lord Minto, who took up the task that Cornwallis did not live to perform, had been one of the harshest critics of Warren Hastings, and so was even more thoroughly committed to a less ambitious policy. But his administration fell in the time when Napoleon was in alliance with Russia, and, in spite of his contrary intentions, he found himself negotiating with Persia, Punjab, and Afghanistan on land and seizing Java and Mauritius and other neighboring islands on the sea. Lord Moira, later Marquis of Hastings, whose period of service was from 1813 to 1823, completed the subjugation of the Mahrattas in the interior and extended the bounds of the British dominion to the northward to China by the conquest of the Gurkhas in Nepal. Lord Amherst began the conquest of Burmah in 1826. Then followed an interval (1828-1834) in which Lord William Bentinck attempted to organize according to the prevailing notions this conglomerate Oriental population. Lord Auckland, who followed him in 1836, had to face the current fear of Russia, which led to an unsuccessful expedition into Afghanistan. Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Auckland (1841), undertook to redeem this failure by a blatant success in the same region, which led to his recall in 1844, not, however, until after he had forced the annexation of Sinde by methods perhaps the least defensible of all British activities in India. Sir Henry Hardinge, who followed, became involved in a war with the Sikhs in the Punjab, which was revived under his successor (1848), James Ramsay, Lord Dalhousie, and carried to a conclusion that placed the district under the British. The war with the Burmese on the east was renewed also, and by the end of Dalhousie's administration the British were in control of the coast on both sides of the Bay of Bengal. Thus Great Britain, still acting through the skeleton

organization of the old trading company, became by far the strongest power in southern Asia.

But Dalhousie was not primarily occupied with extending the bounds of the empire. He had the prejudice of a Scot against waste and inefficiency. He felt that it would be to the mutual advantage of the people affected and of the British government in India if he could eliminate, wherever possible, the native princes, who had been maintained in their positions by treaties made by Wellesley and some of his successors. According to the prevailing custom of the country, a prince without an heir might adopt one. Dalhousie began to disallow this privilege and to assume that, where there was no heir of the blood, the rights of the house concerned would lapse and fall into the hands of the government. He annexed Oudh outright, alleging that the Vizier had not lived up to his undertakings and that in consequence his government was inefficient and unendurable. He promoted the building of roads, railroads, canals, and telegraphs, the extension of the system of education, and, in general, the organization of the country for the conservation and exploitation of its material resources. Most of these ventures involved a break with the traditional life of the Indian people and the deprivation of many of them of privileges formerly enjoyed. Missionaries of the Church had been coming to preach Christianity since 1833, though their work was hedged in by an understanding that they would not antagonize native religions. Some practical things of that type had been done by the government itself. For example, the custom of immolating widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands had been abolished where it formerly prevailed.

All of these changes had the cumulative effect of making the more thoughtful and imaginative natives feel that the India of their people was in the process of destruction. In whatever direction they looked, they seemed to see evidence to confirm this view. Dalhousie was laboring, in all good conscience, to effect changes which he felt were for the welfare of the native population, but the natives had not yet learned to appreciate or to relish the improvements he was introducing. They were asked to adopt new customs, and they saw ancient houses deprived of former power and privileges. The feeling spread that the foreign power might intend a change of religion as well as of other aspects of the customary social life. Moreover, the centennial year of the battle of Plassey was approaching, and the superstitious cherished a tradition that this anniversary was

destined to mark the end of the British dominion. Then Great Britain became involved in the war with Russia, which led to a withdrawal of troops from India for service in the Crimea. A war with China called for others, and still others had to be sent to the Afghan frontier, when trouble with Persia followed the Russian war. India was thus denuded of white troops to a point where the native Sepoys, whom they had trained, outnumbered them five to one (233,000 to 45,000 in 1856).

Charles John Canning, Earl Canning, son of George Canning, who succeeded Dalhousie as governor general (1856), soon found the power of the British in India threatened by a rising of the native troops in the central districts. The mutiny or revolt centered in Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, all in the Oudh region. Many British officers and their families lost their lives, though many were saved through the loyalty of native friends. The Sikhs in the Punjab remained loyal to their recent conquerors. The British at Cawnpore were massacred before relief could be sent. Delhi was soon regained, and Lucknow was saved by a thrilling expedition. The revolt was unorganized and lacked leadership, else it might have threatened the very existence of British dominion. As it was, it served to direct the immediate and emphatic attention of the British people to the difficulties of the enterprise on which they had long ago thoughtlessly embarked. There was a loud demand for vengeance on those responsible for the disaster at Cawnpore. But cooler-headed statesmen realized that it would be more prudent to make haste slowly. The Governor General achieved the soubriquet, "Clemency Canning," a title of which the ruler of an alien subject people in a trying time had no reason to be ashamed. Though the suppression of the revolt was not accomplished without some stubborn fighting, accompanied by heroic exploits, in the end, it subsided, and the country was restored to as much quiet as was likely to prevail. The government at home made the mutiny the occasion for passing final sentence of execution on the company that had laid the foundation for British empire in the East. The Government of India Act of 1858, providing for a direct assumption of the government of India by the crown and parliament, was followed by an amnesty proclamation, in which the Queen announced once more that Great Britain desired no extension of her "present territorial possessions," pledged herself to abide by her treaty agreements, and declared it to be her "royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favored, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances,

but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law.”

The good intentions of the Queen's government were undoubted. But the chain of events which the British East India Company had started under the imperious leadership of Clive united Great Britain and India by bonds that could not be broken, unless the country that had taken the initial step was willing to withdraw from a task which was now regarded as more of a responsibility than as an enterprise for national profit and aggrandizement. British wars and conquests in the East were not yet at an end. British foreign policy had of necessity to take cognizance of the Indian dominions. British statesmen continued to find in India one of their most difficult problems. To withdraw from a responsibility, assumed without much premeditation, seemed impossible; to go on with it seemed increasingly difficult.

POLICIES FOR NEW CONDITIONS

The loss of the American colonies brought to British statesmen no immediate realization of failure. They were as little convinced as ever on the underlying questions raised in the course of the revolt that resulted in the independence of the United States. They were as unready as ever to devise a solution for the seeming paradox of the supremacy of the mother country over a colony that insisted on attending to most of its own affairs. The repeal of the Corn Laws was followed, a little later (1849), by the repeal of the last of the Navigation Acts. The inauguration of practical free trade left the old colonial system without defence, but the colonies remained on hand to vex statesmen who saw no profit in their retention. Their administration and their defence were burdens on the home government, which seemed to bring no adequate return. As early as 1790 Sir John Sinclair had estimated that the North American colonies had cost the country forty million pounds and had involved it in wars costing two hundred and forty million pounds. Nevertheless, he complained, “the rage for colonization has not yet been driven from the councils of this country. We have fortunately lost New England, but a New Wales has since started up. How many millions it may cost may be the subject of the calculations of succeeding financiers unless by the exertions of some able statesman that source of future waste and extravagance is prevented.” Unmindful alike of this warning and of the challenge

to the supremacy of parliament in the colonies, that body passed, in 1791, a statute setting up a government in Canada. But the notion gradually gained currency that colonies were expensive luxuries, that they would ultimately demand their independence, and that the example of the American states proved that trade with independent countries was as profitable as trade with colonies still held in subjection.

As time went on, the colonial administration became even more inefficient and incompetent than it had been in the previous century. For a time after the American Revolution, the secretary for home affairs managed the colonies; a little later (1794), the same member of the cabinet was secretary for war and managed the colonies from that office. In 1801 the departments of war and the colonies were united. The little attention the colonies received was given by permanent secretaries, who seldom made a stir in the political world. The colonies counted for so little that one of the first acts of the reformed parliament in 1833 was to abolish slavery throughout the empire; since the last decades of the eighteenth century the courts had held it to be illegal in Great Britain. The prosperity of the West India sugar islands was founded on slave labor. The planters now found themselves, within the space of a few years, deprived without recourse of this labor and faced with the task of employing as freemen those who had formerly worked under compulsion. As compensation for this loss, parliament appropriated twenty million pounds, which it was estimated covered something like fifty per cent. of the market value of the slaves freed. The coming of free trade a little later and the admission to British markets of sugar grown by the slave labor of other countries on the same terms as colonial sugar no doubt had the effect of reducing the cost of the commodity to British consumers, but it was fatal to the prosperity of the colonies. To prevent a surreptitious enforcement of the labor of the freedmen, the Liberals and evangelicals, whose philanthropic sentiments had carried abolition, were now able to insist, as one of the cardinal doctrines of British policy, that it was a primary function of the mother country to serve as a trustee of the backward peoples in its dominions. This doctrine became one of the foundation stones of the new empire that was soon to arise, though its application often involved friction with the colonies themselves.

The more constructive part of the creed of the new imperialists, who after a while began to make their appearance, was formulated by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, working with Lord

Durham, Charles Buller, Sir William Molesworth, and others, who were in part influenced by the traditions of Charles James Fox, but more largely perhaps by Jeremy Bentham and his circle. They criticized and satirized the existing machinery for colonial administration. Accepting the Malthusian hypothesis of an overabundant population, they suggested emigration to the colonies as a practicable measure of relief and organized, in 1830, a colonization society to promote the undertaking. Wakefield, in his younger days, eloped with an heiress, whom he abducted from school, and thereby incurred the disgrace of three years imprisonment. While in prison, he read avidly all the literature on the colonies he could find, with the thought of starting life anew in one of them. Instead, he began to publish his views on the prevailing lack of system in colonization and to suggest that the government sell land to settlers and use the proceeds to encourage emigration and to assist emigrants with capital, though obligating them to serve for a period as laborers before obtaining land of their own. The new colonies, he argued, were further worthy of encouragement, in that they would produce the food and some of the raw materials needed by a growing population at home and would become at the same time markets for British goods. Not that they would be under compulsion so to be; it was a part of the new doctrine that the colonies should largely have the responsibility of their own government. But they would be new communities in the world, and Great Britain would have the same access to their markets as other nations.

When Durham and his brother-in-law, Grey, later came to apply these doctrines in practical administration, they began with the assumption that the autonomy of the colonies ought not to extend to matters of foreign trade, foreign policy, or to the oppression of backward races. On the second and third points, they met with little opposition for the time being. But when the mother country refused longer to give the colonies special favors in her own markets, it was scarcely reasonable to expect that they would willingly give her favors in their markets. The most that could be obtained were as favorable terms as were granted to any other nation; anything else was left to the discretion of the colonies. Furthermore, it became apparent before long that autonomous colonies might not find free trade as profitable, at their stage of economic development, as did the mother country, in the full stature of her industrial growth.

Meanwhile, British statesmen were beginning to discover that

the new forces abroad in the world made imperative some departures from the traditional relations of their nation with other countries. That policy in this field did not more rapidly conform to the new conditions was due, in part, to the retention of the old machinery for the conduct of foreign relations and, in part, to the personal character of the men in whom was vested the responsibility for them. Attitudes toward both countries and questions were likely to become habitual, and later traditional. The permanent employees of the foreign office acquired these attitudes as an unconscious part of their training. Consequently, the responsible secretaries derived the bulk of their information and technical advice from sources that reflected more of the past than they were frequently aware. Canning worshipped at the shrine of Pitt, who had learned foreign policy at his father's knee. Palmerston was trained in the school of Canning and had now come to be regarded as a leading figure in the diplomatic world. He began to participate actively in the discussion of foreign affairs in 1829, and for the next generation no single man played a more influential rôle than he. His service as foreign secretary began in 1830 and lasted, with an intermission of a few months, for more than a decade, and during that time he became so sure of his position that he was almost autocratic in both his measures and his methods. After five years out of office (1841-1846) he took the same place again, holding it until finally dismissed from it in 1851, in part, because he had arrogated too much power to himself. Though he was never to hold that office again, he did serve later as home secretary and as prime minister, and his unique knowledge of world conditions was utilized by his colleagues. The policies which he formulated and promoted, in a manner which sometimes won by an audacity that seemed to court disaster, became themselves British traditions. His rivals and colleagues, who followed him at the foreign office, adopted in substance these traditions, though they sometimes supported them by different methods from those used by the master.

These policies were formulated in the language of the ruling class then dominant in Great Britain, whose mood Palmerston was admirably suited to express. He had a gift for stating world policies in the insular terms of British class interests. He was able to identify British needs with world needs so completely in his own mind, that he was genuinely surprised when statesmen in other countries did not recognize the validity of views that seemed to him unquestionable. His primary concern on the

continent of Europe was that peace be maintained. He had little inclination to meddle with the internal affairs of other countries, and he was ready to recognize any government that seemed for the time to speak with authority. But he was so certain of the superlative qualities of the British government, that he did not hesitate to advise the more absolute rulers, who had troublesome subjects, that to yield a point was better than to lose all. He was still skeptical about the good disposition of France, though he brought himself to act in conjunction with her rulers under more than one régime. He had grown up in an atmosphere in which France was thought to be the arch enemy of Europe, and it was not easy for him to free himself from emotions which had become habitual in his youth. Russia, however, had now come forward as the power of which British statesmen were most afraid. Russia was pressing toward Constantinople in southeastern Europe and toward India in western and central Asia. The British in India, as we have observed, were not totally lacking in aggressiveness; perhaps that helps to explain why they saw in Russia a power with which they would sooner or later have to reckon. Not everybody could phrase the situation as jauntily as Sidney Herbert. The Russian "relations with Circassia, Georgia, Persia," he said, "are the same as ours with Rangoon, Scinde, the Sikhs and Oudh. . . . The public here are right in thinking of Russian aggression, but wrong in attributing it to a wonderful foresight, skill and design. The Russians are just as great fools as other people; but they encroach as we encroach in India, Africa, and everywhere—because we can't help it." In addition to peace in Europe and protection for India, the other chief considerations of British policy in the generation after the reform bill were open markets for British goods and protection for the colonies.

The character of these aims makes it clear that, while the actual administration of foreign affairs might still be in the hands of men cast in the mould of the old ruling class and trained in the old school of diplomacy, nevertheless, the responsible officials could not ignore the changing interests of the nation. The pressure of industrial and financial interests and the clamor of the multitude, sometimes aroused by causes more humanitarian than selfish, had their weight and were in fact irresistible when they had adequate support. A successful foreign minister now needed to know how to attune himself to the mood of the country if he hoped to wield the strength of the nation in international discussions. No small part of the explanation of Palmerston's

prestige lies in his gift for saying in loud tones what a multitude of his countrymen felt. He knew also somewhat of how feelings might be aroused by a skilful use of propaganda.

The prestige of Palmerston was at its height in 1848, when an imperious national feeling, too long repressed, stirred among the European peoples and, by eruptions in divers places, prepared the way for changes that were to come in the generation following. For some years there had been warnings of what was in process. The Hapsburg Emperor, in 1846, absorbed the republic of Cracow in violation of the settlement of Vienna, which Metternich had made it his chief mission to uphold. In the same year Pope Pius IX, on his accession to office, began to take steps to ameliorate somewhat the governments of the Italian states, in which he was the responsible ruler. Metternich protested at this step and, when his protest was unavailing, ordered troops to occupy the papal city of Ferrara. Other rulers of Italian states soon had to deal with demands of their subjects for a share in the government. Palmerston sent representatives to make investigations and to emphasize the advice he did not hesitate to give, urging the expediency of adopting a constitutional government in order to avoid revolution. The British Minister interpreted the ferment that he saw working in Europe as a rising of the people to seek a more liberal government. As a matter of fact, it was only secondarily that. Primarily, it was a drawing together of contiguous peoples with common interests and common traditions into units that would enable them to utilize their strength in freeing themselves from outside domination and in maintaining a separate existence. Of this, Palmerston understood little. He still thought of the unification of Italy as an impracticable aspiration. He was interested in maintaining a strong Hapsburg empire in central Europe, as a buffer against Russia, and he felt that the Hapsburg interests in Italy were a source of weakness rather than of strength to that power. When the Italian states revolted, he advised against an attempt to subjugate them.

Palmerston had granted permission to Louis Philippe to bring the bones of Napoleon back to France, and he had a glimmer of insight concerning the latent strength of the Bonapartist party in that country. When the office-holding parliamentary oligarchy, which Guizot and the French King had organized as the foundation of their power, was overthrown by a combination which included the industrial laborers under the socialist, Louis Blanc, the republicans under Lamartine, and other factions,

Palmerston acted in coöperation with the *de facto* government as soon as it was inaugurated, but he was not sorry when Louis Napoleon took it in hand and made himself emperor. His ambition was to see that the ferment subsided without involving Europe in a general war. The last such war had brought too many difficulties in its train for a British statesman to welcome another, if it could be avoided. This fear of a renewal of a general war, as much as anything else, caused Palmerston to advise the rulers of the troubled countries to make terms with the revolutionists, and it is arguable that, but for the large influence he undoubtedly exerted, the trouble might have become more widespread than was actually the case.

As a matter of fact, though Guizot and his royal master soon found themselves exiles in London, their days of power ended, Napoleon in France and the young Emperor Francis Joseph in Austria, in a little while, had their peoples in as quiet a frame as before. It looked like most of the pother had gone for naught. As the unrest subsided, Palmerston was dismissed from the office he had held so long. The Queen and her consort had not agreed with many of his policies, and she complained that he neglected both to abide by her advice and to advise her of his action, so that she was never certain herself of what she was doing. His colleagues in the cabinet began to have similar feelings, and his own tolerant chief, Lord John Russell, finally advised the Queen to dispense with his services, though her Majesty, in later years, came to recognize that, objectionable as she found some of his methods to be, Palmerston had merits that some of her other statesmen lacked.

The desire of British manufacturers for more extensive markets led British statesmen to watch suspiciously the rise of the Zollverein, which Prussia promoted among the German states. The same motive, in part, led Palmerston, in 1848, contrary to the views of the Queen and her husband, to take the side of Denmark, in the dispute with Prussia concerning Schleswig and Holstein, a dispute of which more was to be heard later. Palmerston was not hostile to Prussia; in fact, he said frankly that he desired a strong Germany as a protection against the expansion of Russia in the north, just as he desired a strong Austria in the south. He did not like the Zollverein because, as he said, it "maintained a system of prohibitory duties against English manufacturers, which were thereby put at a great disadvantage."

The Western Hemisphere was in this generation acquiring an importance which could no longer be regarded as secondary.

The population of the United States was rapidly coming to equal, as it was soon to outstrip, that of Great Britain, and there were a number of matters at issue between the two countries, some of which had been unsettled since the end of the Revolutionary War. Moreover, a somewhat bumptious spirit, natural in a young nation increasingly aware of its growing power, made the Americans as little regardful of British feelings as Palmerstonian Britain was of the feelings of other peoples. Fortunately, the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, was followed by an agreement, negotiated by Richard Rush and Charles Bagot in 1817, which provided for mutual disarmament of the two countries on the Great Lakes and set a precedent for an unfortified frontier on a boundary, which in time came to be too long to defend at all adequately. But the unsettled question of the right of search left troublesome obstacles in the way of putting an end to the slave trade, when the vessel engaged in it used the American flag. A revolt of Canadians against the mother country in 1837 found support among inhabitants of some of the northern states of the Union, and a small steamer engaged in taking supplies to the insurgents was captured and burnt by the British on the New York side of the Niagara river. Several years later one Alexander McLeod, a British subject, was arrested in New York State and accused of murder for his participation in the destruction of that boat. This question was coupled with an unsettled boundary dispute between Maine and New Brunswick. The British ministers, recognizing the serious dangers that might develop, sent Lord Ashburton, who had married an American woman, as a special envoy to negotiate a settlement in America. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which resulted (1842), finally settled the northeastern boundary between Canada and the United States.

The question of the northwestern boundary on the Pacific coast in the Oregon territory and the relations between the United States and Mexico remained as vexing matters. British manufacturers were largely dependent on American cotton growers for raw material, and Texas afforded a chance of a rival source of supply. Again, the sentiment of the British people against slavery was very real, and it was hoped that Texas might be made free territory. Then, too, British investors held Mexican bonds, and they were certainly not made more secure by the separation of Texas and the likelihood of the separation of the even more extensive territories to the north and west, which it was understood the United States coveted.

British activities in Texas stirred both the Americans and the British Hudson's Bay Company to make haste to occupy the Oregon territory along the Columbia River on the Pacific Coast. James K. Polk was elected president of the United States, in 1848, on a platform that called for the annexation of Texas and for an extreme line ($54^{\circ} 40'$) as the Oregon boundary. Texas was annexed, and the Oregon boundary was compromised. The war between Mexico and the United States, that followed the annexation of Texas, led to the cession to the United States of California and a large area that now constitutes the southwestern part of the country. Thus Great Britain was shut into Canada in the northern region of North America.

The discovery of gold in California and a little later in Australia soon brought another question to the fore. The long and dangerous maritime journey around South America made an isthmian canal a tempting project. The Americans began to negotiate with New Granada for the Panama route, and both Great Britain and the United States began to spar for advantage in Nicaragua. The negotiation was long and tortuous, and, as we know, was finally renewed in the twentieth century. It was compromised for the moment in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, in which an agreement, somewhat vaguely worded, was reached that the canal, if constructed, should not be fortified and should be free to all nations.

When Great Britain adopted free trade after the repeal of the Corn Laws, Canada was left without the preferential duty that had previously enabled her to sell her grain in British markets on a more favorable basis than the United States. A handicap was thus imposed on Canadian producers, and they now desired to make terms with the United States. A treaty providing for a measure of reciprocity of trade was negotiated to afford relief to Canada, the United States finding compensation in being admitted to certain fishing privileges, from which its citizens had hitherto been excluded. A few years later the British gave way on the question of the right of search, and the United States undertook to coöperate in suppressing the slave trade. The two English-speaking nations were thus learning how to settle their differences peacefully, though this period was characterized by a belligerent spirit on both sides, a spirit which was not moderated by the presence in America of several million Irishmen, who brought with them grievances stored up against the British government for several centuries. A large part of the financial support that enabled O'Connell to carry on

his campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union came from Irish exiles in America.

But the most serious difficulties in which Great Britain was involved by her imperial commitments in this generation were in the region of India. Among them were two wars with China. Previous to 1833 British trade with China was carried on through the medium of the East India Company. In 1833 that trade was opened to all British subjects, and the government assumed the responsibility of their protection. But the imperial Chinese government refused to deal with foreign governments as equals. Moreover, the Chinese government wished to prevent the importation of opium from India. As a result of the war, which began in 1838 and was concluded in 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain, and five additional Chinese ports were opened to trade. The next war developed out of frictions that were continuous from the first. Its immediate occasion was the lowering of a British flag by the Chinese on a Chinese boat on which it had no right to be flown. In the end, Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States jointly demanded of China the right to have their representatives received at Peking and to have freedom of trade with the interior of the country, and they succeeded in having these demands granted. Another barrier that hedged in the limits of British trade was thus broken down.

Of the British contact with Russia in Persia no more need be said. The latter country was the unhappy meeting ground of these two expanding empires in Asia, both of which were consciously endeavoring to protect territory already gained rather than to gain more. Each was impelled to extend its outposts by the fear that the other would secure a position of vantage. And so the process went on. But it was in the region with which all Europe was becoming increasingly familiar as the "Near East" that the most serious clash between the two powers came. The Treaty of Adrianople, which settled the question of Greek independence in 1829, meant another encroachment of Russia on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, an encroachment that had now been in process for more than a century. Great Britain under Palmerston and France under Louis Philippe set themselves the common task of hindering the further extension of Russian power in that region. Metternich was in sympathy with their views, as far as these plans meant the maintenance of the *status quo*. The policy of France, as interpreted by Guizot, was to keep the Ottoman Empire intact in order to prevent Rus-

sia from obtaining a preponderant power. Recognizing, however, that dismemberment of Turkish territory was likely to occur, Guizot favored the organization of the detached provinces into independent sovereignties rather than their incorporation in existing states. Palmerston was more optimistic than Guizot as to the ability of the Turks to maintain their position, and he was, on that account, the more inclined to insist on the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The first crisis after the great war came in 1832, when Ibrahim, son of the Egyptian Pasha, Mehemet, invaded the territory of his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. The Sultan appealed first to Great Britain and then to France. Obtaining no encouragement from either quarter, he sought help from Russia. Russia brought the desired assistance, but on terms that would have made Turkey a semi-dependent ally. Thereupon, Great Britain and France, though still distrustful of each other, acted in concert to thwart the Russian plans. One reason why Palmerston sought to act with France was to prevent that power from making terms and a common cause with Russia. Russia, on the other hand, was seeking to keep Great Britain and France at odds. In the end, France adopted an independent line, and the question was compromised in 1840 by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia acting in concert on a basis that left Mehemet hereditary Pasha of Egypt, thus putting an end to the relations between Russia and Turkey which had stimulated Palmerston to action.

The next crisis on this question did not come until after Napoleon III was on the imperial throne of France and Palmerston had been dismissed from the British foreign office. The French Emperor, seeking to curry favor with the Roman Church and to strengthen his hold on his Catholic subjects, obtained from the Sultan of Turkey in 1850 an acquiescence in obsolescent claims, dating from the Crusades, which made the French the protectors of the holy places of the Church. Meanwhile, in the interval, while French interest in the matter was quiescent, this position had fallen into the hands of the Tsar of Russia, as patron of the Orthodox Greek Church, whose members manifested a more genuine interest in pilgrimages to the sacred shrines than did the Catholics. A natural outcome in time was a clash between the two powers, which the British government watched with anxiety, though not with the aggressive interest that Palmerston would have manifested. By the beginning of 1853, the position of the Turkish ruler seemed to be critical. He was hemmed in on the one hand by the French and

on the other by the Russians, and his own subjects were in revolt in Montenegro and on the opposite borders of the empire in the Black Mountains. Tsar Nicholas I felt that the time had come for a final settlement of the Turkish question. The ecclesiastical color of the dispute insured the active support of his own subjects, and he felt that Great Britain could now be conciliated into acquiescence. He did not fear the outcome of a struggle with France acting alone. Accordingly, he assembled his troops on the frontier of the Danubian principalities of the Turkish empire and made a specific proposal to Great Britain. He suggested that the Turkish empire was moribund and no longer served a useful purpose. The European provinces ought, therefore, to be emancipated and organized as independent principalities under Russian protection. Great Britain, if she liked, might take Egypt and Crete.

It chanced that these proposals were made to Lord John Russell, who was occupying the British foreign office as a stop-gap minister, being more interested in domestic questions. Nevertheless, he refused to consider the offer and suggested that Great Britain desired rather to preserve the integrity than to promote the dissolution of the Turkish empire. He suggested, further, that a conference of all the powers, and not a secret Anglo-Russian agreement, was the proper way to deal with the question. To insure that Great Britain would preserve her traditional attitude, Russell induced Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a Rus-sophobe, who by long experience at Constantinople had acquired much influence with the Sultan's government, to return to the post he had lately resigned of ambassador of Great Britain to the Ottoman court. When the proposals of the Tsar leaked out, as they inevitably did, France, Austria, and Turkey were all aroused to action. Austria persuaded the Sultan to withdraw his troops from Montenegro and so to avoid the danger of a Russian attack in that quarter. The Tsar now formulated his claims in terms of the religious question. He demanded a restoration of the care of the holy places to the Orthodox Church and put forward his own claim, supported by treaty and custom, to be regarded as protector of Greek Christians in Turkish dominions. The dispute finally turned on the second point. It was regarded by the opponents of Russia as a step toward making Turkey practically a protectorate of the Tsar. In May, 1853, the Russian ruler supported his demands by sending an army to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia. Meanwhile, Great Britain did not speak with Palmerstonian certainty. A period

of ineffective negotiation ensued, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, and Prussia, acting together, suggested no fewer than eleven schemes of pacification, on none of which Russia and Turkey would agree. The end disclosed Great Britain united in support of a view which the Turks accepted, with Prussia and Austria inclined to adhere to the Austrian view.

The war that followed revealed the ineffective organization of British military power. It was fought by the old method of using a minimum of British troops, and these of the ancient type, recruited in the time-honored way, and looking for allies to subsidize to bear the chief burden of the fighting. It was easy to arouse the British nation to support the war, since it was against the current national enemy, and those in charge of the propaganda knew how to play their cards skilfully, but the methods used in its conduct did little to strengthen the position of the administration responsible for it. The scene of the most memorable fighting was the peninsula of Crimea in the Black Sea, where the allied armies of Great Britain, France, Turkey, and later Sardinia joined in the siege of the fortress of Sebastopol. In the early weeks of 1856, Austria proposed a tentative scheme of settlement to the Tsar and threatened to break off relations if he did not agree to it. The result was a congress of the powers at Paris in the later months of the same year, which negotiated peace.

The terms of settlement recognized the "independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire" and formally admitted the Sultan to "participate in the public law and concert of Europe." The Sultan undertook to ameliorate the condition of his subjects "without distinction of creed or race," and the powers, in consequence, expressly repudiated the doctrine that they had a right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. The Black Sea was opened to the commerce of all nations. "permanently interdicted to the flags of war," and free from the fortifications or arsenals of both Russia and Turkey. The Danube was opened to navigation; Moldavia and Wallachia remained under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Russia renounced her exclusive protectorate over them, and all the powers guaranteed their privileges, as they did the liberty of Serbia. Finally, in the field of maritime policy, the congress, in the Declaration of Paris, stipulated that thereafter in time of war (1) a neutral flag was to protect an enemy's goods except contraband, (2) that neutral merchandise not contraband should not be seized under an enemy's flag, (3) that privateering should be abolished, and

(4) that a blockade, to be recognized, must be sufficiently enforced to make it effective. In these last points, many persons in Great Britain felt that too much had been given up; it remained for the future to disclose how elastic the term contraband becomes in modern war. Manifestly, a settlement of the Eastern Question, if settlement there was to be, was postponed to a more convenient season. The arrangement was in the nature of a truce, that would last only as long as the embers of national emotions in the Balkans could be kept smouldering. Nobody as yet seemed to realize that in time they might burst into a flame. That time, in fact, was still in the future. In 1854 neither Germany nor Italy had exemplified the potency of a force that few statesmen of that generation knew existed, and none understood. Cavour, it is true, was at the Congress of Paris. But he was still a comparatively unknown figure, busy laying the foundation for his brilliant achievements in practical statesmanship, that were to demonstrate the potentiality of the emotions that had long been stirring in the Italian peninsula.

A GOVERNMENT FOR THE NEW COLONIES

The American Revolution made it more instead of less difficult for British statesmen to understand the problems involved in the successful government of colonies settled by British people. The most that they learned from the failure of the first experiment in colonial government was that it was fatal to push discontented colonists too far. North America was still several thousand miles distant; communication was infrequent, and conditions prevailed on the frontier which had no parallel in Great Britain and which most British statesmen were entirely unable to understand. The growing influence of the doctrines concerning law and the character of sovereignty in the state, as elaborated by the Benthamite school and by John Austin in particular, increased the difficulties involved. English statesmen still found it difficult to bring a mediating spirit of compromise to the consideration of problems of government which could be solved only when the logical implications of theoretical sovereignty were ignored in practice. Consequently, within two generations after Great Britain lost her first empire in North America, she was in danger of losing another, for want of a half-way ground on this question. Either the mother country must retain supreme power, the statesmen felt, or it would rest

with the colonies. It was the business of hands holding power to exercise it, since those having power were responsible for its exercise. If the colonies objected to the government imposed by the mother country, they must either be reduced to subjection or given up. That a nominal supremacy might be retained, while its practical exercise was tacitly left with those most concerned, seemed to those who thought in this wise as little feasible as a practical policy as it was illogical in theory. Until the British manufacturers broke down the walls of the old commercial empire, it was impossible that an experiment so unpromising would be tried. Even then, the prospect of a worse alternative was the force that launched the project.

The Quebec Act of 1774 was framed more as a measure of defence against the discontented colonies to the south than as an effort of broad statesmanship to conciliate the loyalty of a conquered people. The bulk of the people in the province of Quebec were French in descent and Roman Catholic in religion. They lived in a society that reproduced in the New World many aspects of feudal dependency that were passing in the Old. Sir Guy Carleton was able to persuade Lord North and his ministry that, if this society was left largely alone, to go on its way under British rule much as it had done under the French, this manifestation of leniency would yield a dividend of gratitude in active support of the British, as against the threats of the colonies to the south. Not without reason, therefore, did the southern colonies link the Quebec Act with the other measures to which they attributed their misfortunes. Carleton's foresight was justified, in that the French Canadians showed little sympathy with the cause of the American rebels. But neither were they active in supporting the cause of their new overlords, and the ministers in London waited in vain for the troops that Carleton had hoped might be forthcoming. Meanwhile, the province was left to enjoy its ancient language, laws, religion, customs, and social organizations, which afforded more satisfaction to the French population than to the minority of British settlers, who were now beginning to feel their importance.

The failure of Great Britain to secure from the independent states favorable consideration for the claims of their former citizens, who had remained loyal to the mother country, was destined to effect profoundly the future of Canada. From the point of view of American patriots, these loyalists had been traitors to the common cause, and so were deserving of the

treatment usually meted out to those guilty of treason. The same reasoning made them, from the British point of view, patriots, who had remained true to their allegiance under trying circumstances and, as it transpired, at the cost of disaster to their personal interests. As partial recompense for this unswerving fealty, Great Britain undertook to provide in Canada new homes for many of these exiled loyalists. Some ten thousand settled in the valley of the St. John's River and were soon organized in a separate province, called New Brunswick in honor of the reigning house in Great Britain. The remainder of the nearly thirty thousand, who landed on the coast of Nova Scotia, were distributed, some in that peninsula, and others to Prince Edward and Cape Breton Islands. Enough remained on the peninsula to dominate the subsequent life of that province. A more important group in their influence in the life of Canada were the twelve thousand who settled in the district just north of the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence River and on the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. This first group of loyalists was followed by other immigrants from the independent states, but they soon claimed for themselves a privileged position. Organized as United Empire Loyalists, they became the aristocracy of the new colony. It was essentially a new colony, though, since it was within the territory covered by the Quebec Act as delineated by the treaty in 1783, it was subject to the government of Quebec. Old Quebec now had a population of approximately a hundred thousand, of whom all but a few thousand were French.

The British minority in Quebec were already dissatisfied with the government provided under the Quebec Act. The influx of the loyalists made it necessary to give further attention to providing machinery for the government of the colony. The overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy and the old régime in France proved in the long run a factor in attaching the French Canadians to Great Britain, but, in the first years of the French Revolution, this outcome was not foreseen. Therefore, conditions in France combined with the clamor of the British element in the colony and their friends at home to induce Pitt's ministry to consider the question in 1791. Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, had been sent out again in 1786 and discovered in his declining years that the scheme of his earlier imagining had not been entirely successful and had now outlived any useful purpose it may have served. But the situation had some embarrassing aspects. A ministry that was unwilling to repeal the Test Act

at home naturally hesitated to enfranchise an overwhelmingly Catholic people in a frontier district, yet it was unthinkable that the privileges granted to the French Canadians in the earlier act should be withdrawn. Moreover, the undoubted patriotism of the loyalists did not make them less regardful of their own accustomed right to participate in the government of themselves by means of a representative assembly. With upper and lower Canada united, the colony would still be predominantly French, a condition intolerable to the newcomers, who had taken part in the colonial assemblies in their old homes, and who were proud of the tradition of self-government as a British heritage. The French settlers had no experience with representative government, but, if the colony was divided, it would be difficult to establish an assembly among the newcomers and at the same time withhold it from the old settlement.

The final decision was to divide the colony, in the hope that, living as neighbors, the two peoples would in the course of time unite of their own accord. The constitution that was improvised, as might be anticipated from the character of its framers and the atmosphere in which they labored, was a replica of the British government as they conceived it. There was to be an established Protestant Church, supported by one seventh of the lands granted by the crown in the colony. The executive government was placed in the hands of a governor and a council appointed from London. The legislature consisted of a legislative council of limited membership, appointed for life, and an assembly, elected by the people of the province. In Quebec, now called Lower Canada, the privileged position of the Roman Church, including the right to tithe its communicants, was continued, though that did not interfere with the proposed organization of the new established Church.

To one at all conversant with the previous experience of colonial assemblies, in perpetual conflict with royal governors and their councils, of which the history of the late southern colonies was full, it ought to have been clear that the Quebec Act of 1791 was doomed to ultimate failure by its very nature. The attempt to inaugurate a state Church among a population of which a large number were members of other Protestant bodies made its failure more certain. A further complication was the existence in Lower Canada of an ancient society with a language, laws, and traditions of its own, and different from any that were likely to arise among a British frontier people.

The two provinces traveled to discontent by different roads,

which cannot be traced here in detail, and before the end of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century a considerable portion of the people in both of them were on the point of open rebellion. In Lower Canada, as might have been foreseen, the popular assembly, dominated by the French Canadians, soon found itself at odds with the British governor and his council of advisers and with the legislative council, the members of which he nominated. A sort of national feeling on a small scale developed, finding irresponsible leadership in Louis Joseph Papineau and other demagogues, who naturally came to the front when there was no chance for them to participate in the responsibility of government. The popular branch of the assembly first demanded control of the revenue, both as to its provision and as to its appropriation, and later that the upper house of the legislature be made an elective body. As a method of obtaining its wishes, the lower house refused to grant the revenue, and finally there was open revolt.

Conditions in Upper Canada were a little more complicated. The government gradually got into the hands of a clique, recruited largely from the members of the United Empire Loyalists and their descendents, that showed little tolerance toward the later and more numerous settlers. Coöperating with this clique was the established Church. Since the popular assembly was representative of those who were denied an actual share in the conduct of the government, it came into conflict with the executive and with the upper house of the legislature. Here, too, a revolt was the outcome. Ministers at home could postpone no longer the consideration of a question of which they had little knowledge and even less understanding. The information they had was inevitably colored, in that it reached them through interested persons with causes of their own to serve, whether it was a self-righteous governor retailing his difficulties or the discontented appealing for a redress of grievances. Many of the governors and other officials who were sent out were ne'er-dowells and other hangers-on of persons in authority. Understanding was a commodity in which they seldom dealt.

When it was clear that the situation needed careful management by able hands (1837), by a sort of lucky accident, Lord Durham, who had served with Lord John Russell in framing the reform bill of 1832, happened to return to London, unemployed, just after two other persons declined the difficult appointment. Durham was both an able man and a somewhat recalcitrant supporter of a ministry that was none too strong

at best. Perhaps both of these facts help to explain his appointment. He was empowered to act almost as a dictator in suppressing the rebellion and was requested to submit recommendations for a more permanent settlement of the government of the colonies. The methods he adopted for restoring quiet, including the banishment from the country without trial of more than a score of persons, whom he regarded as in part responsible for its difficulties, made trouble for him at home and led to his resignation in hot-tempered disgust. But, in the few months that he remained in Canada, he compiled, with the assistance of Charles Buller and others, a report that has become a classic among documents relating to British imperial affairs. This report contained much information concerning conditions in Canada and recommended definitely that Upper and Lower Canada be united into a single province, looking toward a federation of all the provinces when it should become feasible, and that the executive of the united colony be made responsible to the provincial legislature. When this report was finally submitted to the House of Commons, in 1839, it had far from a favorable reception. Even Lord John Russell, who within a few months was to undertake the administration of the colonial office in the hope of retrieving the situation, could not yet escape from the logic of the Austinian doctrine. He was unable to see how the colonial executive could act in the same relation to the colonial legislature as the British cabinet did to the British parliament. The governor of Canada, he said, "received instructions from the crown on the responsibility of a secretary of state. Here then at once is an obvious and complete difference between the executive of this country and the executive of a colony." It was an inescapable dilemma as long as the royal governor claimed an active share in the task of administration. But that was the real point that Durham wished to have abandoned.

Action was delayed until a less thorough-going radical, Charles Poulett Thompson, later Baron Sydenham, could journey to Canada and submit a report. He reached the colony in October, 1839. He agreed with Durham that the solution of the difficulty lay in a union of the provinces, so that the French element would be overwhelmed by the British, but he did not go to the length of recommending a responsible government. After the act of union was passed, it was his task to procure acceptance for it in the colony. A proclamation brought the union into effect in February, 1841, and the first election under it was held in the following April. All of the old factions were represented

in the new legislature, and some of them began to clamor for a responsible government. Sydenham demonstrated his extraordinary tact and capacity for leadership in many ways, but he was unwilling to agree that the royal governor should withdraw from active participation in the task of government. He thought political parties an evil, and he deliberately excluded the French from his council. He had the practical sense to know that he could not govern without the support of a majority of the popular assembly, but he elected to adopt the methods of George III's earlier years and to make himself the effective minister, instead of leaving the rôle to the leader of a colonial party. Neither he nor the ministers at home, under whom he served, were yet willing to accept the inevitableness of Durham's solution.

When Sydenham left office his system had already broken down. His successor, Sir Charles Bagot, had to deal with the situation that resulted. There was no time to get instructions from home, and the new Governor reluctantly decided, on his own responsibility, to follow the spirit of Durham's recommendations and to accept a council that contained French members and pleased the assembly. Little as his superiors relished the move, they supported his action in order to save their own political situation. Bagot died before the storm subsided that followed his action in both Great Britain and Canada. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, made the last vain attempt to impose the reality of an active foreign sovereign on a self-conscious, frontier people. He saw no alternative to his policy short of independence. "I cannot," he said, "surrender the Queen's government into the hands of rebels and . . . become myself their ignominious tool. I know not what the end will be. The only thing certain is that I cannot yield." He, like George III, was unable to see that in such a struggle he would himself inevitably become a party leader, as against another party in the province, and would be able to govern only as long as his own party was in a majority. He succeeded, in the election held in 1844, in procuring the return of a small majority favorable to his policy, but he so discredited his influence in the process that he soon found himself practically helpless. He left Canada two years later, disillusioned and disappointed. Yet he had striven to act on the principles then held by most British statesmen, including such Liberals as Russell and Gladstone.

But the time of release from this troublesome tyranny of legal logic was at hand. Earl Grey, Durham's brother-in-law, became secretary for the colonies in Russell's ministry, in 1846,

and Durham's son-in-law, James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin, succeeded Metcalfe as governor general of Canada. Great Britain was at this time rapidly coming to a free trade basis, and the fashion of deprecating the value of colonies was growing. Both Grey and Elgin were converts to Durham's views, though Elgin foresaw the results more clearly than Grey. Elgin reached Canada in June, 1847, and immediately announced that his attitude toward the Canadian legislature would be similar to that of the Queen, whom he represented, toward parliament. Members whom his predecessors had proscribed, he accepted among the number of his counselors, and acts of the legislature that clearly dealt with the internal affairs of the colony, he accepted as a matter of course. He soon discovered that his prestige and influence had been enhanced rather than lessened, in proportion as he had declined to become a partizan among the colonial factions. Some of the acts to which he gave his assent caused trouble to the government in England, but Elgin stood his ground. When the adoption of free trade left the Canadians without privileged relations with the empire, though some of the important interests that had been established on the basis of these privileges faced bankruptcy, the colony remained loyal to the mother country. Consequently, a new doctrine of imperialism began to be formulated, a doctrine which saw in the outlying regions of the empire not merely extensive markets for the products of the home land but, as Elgin put it, "a powerful instrument under Providence of maintaining peace and order in many extensive regions of the earth and thereby assisting in diffusing among millions of the human race the blessings of Christianity and civilization." He had no patience with those who looked forward to the ultimate independence of the colonies as they grew in strength; he felt that, instead, they would become more loyal to the country that gave them liberty and afforded to them protection.

Once the experiment was tried, it was natural that it should spread to the other Canadian provinces, and before the end of a decade all of them had a form of responsible government. Thus, by ignoring the logic of legal doctrinaires, Great Britain, after long and troublesome experiment, discovered a solution of a difficult problem, though she lost the American colonies in the process. Perhaps the logical doctrine served a useful purpose in solving the problems of the time; it was simply inapplicable in the government of colonies.

THE EXPANDING EMPIRE

These lessons, learned by hard experience in Canada, soon proved their usefulness in British settlements in another quarter of the globe. Of the voyage of Captain Cook to Australia and of the establishment of a penal settlement in the southeastern part of what is now New South Wales, we already know. Voyagers from Spain and Holland had visited the country in earlier centuries. Six days after Captain Phillip landed to begin the initial British settlement, a French commander appeared in the same harbor. It was in part a recurring fear of the return of the French and the possibility that they might establish rival settlements on other parts of the Australian continent or in the neighboring islands that stimulated the British to extend the area of their colonizing efforts. A more effective stimulus was the discovery, after a period of experimentation, that sheep could be acclimated and raised on a large scale. The government was obliged to encourage the migration of free settlers to help in the management of the convicts; the number of free settlers was increased also by the convicts who had served their sentences and by their descendants. A prejudice gradually developed in the older communities against receiving further shipments of convicts, and they were accordingly directed to the newer settlements, that were in greater need of labor. In time, the older settlements themselves began to be conscious of a need for a place of exile for the more difficult members of their communities, when convicted of certain offences, and sent them into other regions, which was another means of promoting the extensive settlement of the country. Finally, there were divers organizations in England, partly commercial and partly philanthropic in character, promoted by Wakefield and his disciples, that undertook to form settlements from which convicts were wholly debarred. Notable among these projects was that which led to the settlement of South Australia and New Zealand. New South Wales, the original settlement, Tasmania, which had its beginning in 1804, and Victoria, first settled, as its name implies, in the thirties, with Melbourne as its capital, were all recipients of convicts in their earlier years. Western Australia, which had its inception in 1829 as a semi-private project, did not flourish until later, when convicts were introduced to afford a needed supply of labor. Queensland was not separated from New South Wales until 1859.

In all of these colonies, except New Zealand, which was a

special case, the crown, by acting on the medieval fiction of the feudal overlordship of the king, was able to assert its ownership of all the lands in the new country. The government, therefore, undertook to prescribe terms on which the land might be settled and held. Free and common socage was the type of tenure most widely introduced, and, after some experimentation, a policy was adopted of selling the lands at public auction with a prescribed minimum price. Before this policy was evolved the authorities at home betrayed again their inability to think in terms of conditions thousands of miles distant by ordering that in Victoria the land should be sold at a flat rate of one pound per acre. Had the governor of the province not deliberately refused to carry out his instructions, a shrewd speculator would have been able to secure for himself all of the suburban districts of the town of Melbourne, which were adjacent to properties that could be marketed for a hundred times that price.

On the continent of Australia and on the island of Tasmania the natives were too little advanced in civilization to lay claim to the land. They were thus driven back before the colonists and, in the case of the Tasmanian aborigines, became extinct. In New Zealand, the case was different; there, the Maori population had achieved a state of civilization which, though it was as yet tribal in character, enabled them to make distinction between their lordship in the territory and the ownership of the land by the several tribes. This ownership was not vested in particular individuals, but in the tribal groups, and could not be alienated except by the whole group. The first English settlers in New Zealand were half pirates and other adventurers of uncertain reputation, whose influence on the native population was anything but good. They were followed by influential missionaries of the Protestant Churches, who soon gained the confidence of the chiefs and might have preserved peaceful relationships but for the claims of the groups who preceded them. A single Maori sometimes sold to a settler a specific piece of land, which he happened to be occupying at the time, and the British settler could not understand why the title thus conveyed was not valid. The organization, in 1839, of a company to promote the colonization of the islands made necessary an official settlement of this confusing condition. In the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, the Maori chieftains agreed that political power should be exercised by the British in return for a guarantee of their property rights in the land. The government itself, under the treaty, was the only agency that could negotiate with the

native tribes for the purchase of territory for resale to settlers, an arrangement which gave rise to many disappointments among the settlers and to friction between the two peoples. In Australia, in many cases, the more adventurous sheep-raisers pushed out beyond the limits of the settled districts and simply squatted on the ranges. They thus became a serious problem to the colonial authorities, a problem that was not wholly solved by an attempt to license grazing on land not yet allotted.

The government of the earlier penal settlements was necessarily absolutist in character. As the free element in the population grew in size and influence, a demand arose for different institutions. An act of parliament passed in 1823 provided for the establishment of a supreme court on the English model and for the use of jury trial in civil cases, where both parties so agreed. A little later the jury was introduced for criminal cases also. The same act provided for the appointment of a council to assist the governor on legislative and financial matters. At first this council was composed entirely of government officials, though independent members were soon introduced. An act of 1828 increased the size of the council, extended its legislative functions, and deprived the governor of the power of absolute veto, though the judges of the supreme court, by refusing to enroll and enforce an act of the council, had a sort of constitutional veto. The act of 1842 further enlarged both the size and the powers of the Legislative Council, which now included twelve members appointed by the crown and twenty-five elected by the colonists. This arrangement lasted until the passage of an act in 1850 looking to the establishment of responsible government in Australia and laying the foundation for its accomplishment. When free trade was adopted in Great Britain, the custom houses and the whole problem of collecting and applying the revenues from duties on trade were transferred to the colonies.

By this time the discovery of gold had led to a large influx of population, some of it of an undesirable character, which added much to the burdens and difficulties of the government, while it was enhancing the wealth of the colony. The several colonies, to meet the conditions they now faced, began to frame for themselves constitutions, which the home parliament later enacted into law. There were differences in detail among these constitutions. They agreed in providing for bicameral legislatures, though not all of the upper houses were of the same type. They all looked forward to the reproduction of a scheme of

government similar in its main essentials to that which existed in Great Britain. By 1855 these constitutions were ready to be put into effect. A similar constitution was developed for New Zealand, by a slightly different process, and a similar one was put into effect in Queensland when it was separated from the older colony.

In other portions of the empire, the domestic policies of Great Britain were not so easily reconcilable with the interests of the colonists. Great Britain had seized the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, both to prevent it from falling into the hands of the French and because it was a port of call on the way to India. It was restored to the Dutch by the Treaty of Amiens, but retaken by the British in 1806. At the settlement of Vienna, Great Britain retained the territory permanently, paying six million pounds for it. But, with the possible exception of India, it was to prove the most difficult of all the imperial possessions. It was both a colony and a land peopled by native races. Moreover, the native African Bantu peoples were already pressing down from the north against both the earlier aborigines and the newer European colonists. In 1814 the white population numbered about thirty thousand, with approximately the same number of Negroes and Malays held as slaves, while in the region were several thousand Kaffirs (Bantu) and Hottentots and a few thousand of the more primitive Bushmen. The aggressive Kaffirs constituted for the time the most serious danger and occasioned many wars on the part of the colonial authorities. A majority of the European population were descendants of early Dutch settlers and retained a heritage of language and religion from their ancestral country, though they had acquired also the hardy characteristics of frontiersmen. Two effects soon followed the transfer of the region to the British. One was the introduction of missionaries, particularly those laboring under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. Some of these missionaries soon conceived a dislike for the Boers, as the Dutch population were called, and a correspondingly high opinion of the natives. But the danger from the Kaffirs led the home government in 1819 to assist, by an appropriation from the treasury, a settlement of some five thousand British at Algoa Bay, about four hundred miles to the east of Cape Town.

The government of the colony had hitherto been essentially despotic, but a council was formed in 1825 to coöperate with the governor. Three years later, as a result of the philanthropic

movement at home, supported by the missionaries in the colony, an ordinance was promulgated placing Hottentots on a plane of equality before the law with Europeans, a measure that aroused the fears of the Boers. Then, in 1833, came the forcible emancipation of the slaves, for whom it was not proposed to pay the owners more than fifty per cent. of their estimated value. This compensation was paid in London under conditions that caused the Boer owners to get little remuneration for their losses. In addition, they had no laborers to gather their crops, since the freedmen were unwilling to go on with their work on the same scale as before they obtained their freedom. The sixth Kaffir war occurred while the emancipation of the slaves was in progress, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the governor, drove the invaders far to the north and formed an intermediary province as a means of protection. But the event proved that John Philip of the missionary society had a greater influence with the home authorities than did D'Urban. Lord Gleneleg, the member of the cabinet responsible for the administration of the colonies, was persuaded that the Kaffirs had been unjustly treated, and he, accordingly, disallowed the arrangement made by the Governor, whom he eventually recalled.

Feeling themselves unjustly treated and in a measure defenceless in the Cape Colony, many of the Boers decided to migrate to a territory where they could manage their own affairs free from British interference. Beginning in 1836 and continuing for the next several years was the "Great Trek," in the course of which some ten thousand Boers left their homes and journeyed northward. The main body paused at Natal on the east coast, where an unrecognized group of British had already established themselves by the favor of the Zulu king, Dingaan. Within a few months there was a war between the Boers and the Zulus, in which some three thousand of the natives were slain. Later Dingaan was assassinated by his own people. The Boers still celebrate the anniversary of their victory as Dingaan's Day. A few years later the inhabitants of the Cape Colony persuaded the home authorities that Great Britain ought to take possession of Natal, and this was done in 1843. Thereupon many of the Boers trekked again to the districts beyond the Orange and the Vaal rivers to the west, where it was understood that the British would not extend their authority. But the government at the Cape annexed the territory under the name of The Orange River Sovereignty, after the Boers had made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent it by force of arms. Lord Grey, who was now at

the head of the colonial office, decided that if these new states could not be made self-supporting and held by the good will of their inhabitants, they would better be abandoned. Accordingly, he recognized the independence, first of the Transvaal and later of the Orange Free State, and negotiated treaties with them, the Sand River Convention of 1853 and the Convention of Bloemfontein of 1854, under which their people obtained recognition of their right to govern themselves on condition that there be no slavery in the districts. Meanwhile, the Cape Colony was flourishing, and in 1853 it was granted a representative government, including an elective legislative council and an elective assembly. The inauguration of a responsible government was delayed until 1872.

Thus the dominion of Great Britain was extended to these larger territories and to many islands of the seas, which are too tedious to enumerate here, in the very period when leaders of the nation at home were beginning to question the value of the empire. As we have seen, new theories were taking form at the same time, by which this imperial expansion might be defended. But each new area acquired was in reality an individual case, and the empire grew almost in spite of itself rather than as the result of a deep laid design.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, II. chs. iv-xii; *Cambridge Modern History*, X. ch. xxi; XI. chs. xi, xxvi, xxvii; W. A. Dunning, *The British Empire and the United States*, chs. ii-iv; A. D. Innes, *The History of England and the British Empire*, IV. ch. v; C. P. Lucas, *The Partition of Africa*, ch. viii; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. viii, xi-xv; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, II. Book VII. ch. xi; Book IX. chs. iv, x, xi; Book X. chs. iv-vi; *The Making of British India*, chs. v-xi; Howard Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, chs. xi-xvi; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. xvi, xix, xx; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part V. chs. i-vi.

FOR WIDER READING

Sir John Bourinot (G. M. Wrong revision), *Canada under British Rule*, chs. iii-vii; A. C. Bradley, *The Making of Canada*; George Bryce, *A Short History of the Canadian People*, chs. vi-xi; Sir Valentine Chirol, *India Old and New*, chs. i-v; W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, III. 850-864; Bernard Holland, *The Fall of Protection*, chs. i-iii; Sir Courtenay Ilbert, *The Government of India*, ch. i; Edward Jenks, *The Australasian Colonies*, chs. i-xii; Sir Harry Johnston, *A History of the*

Colonization of Africa, chs. vi, ix; W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada*, chs. i-xvii; Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders, *History of England 1837-1901*, chs. iv-vii; Sir Alfred Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India*, chs. xiii-xix; B. Kingsley Martin, *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston*; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, II. chs. ii-viii; x-xiv; R. C. Mills, *The Colonization of Australia*; R. P. Thomson, *A National History of Australia, New Zealand and the Adjacent Islands*, Part I; Spencer Walpole, *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War*, V. ch. xxii; VI.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Muir, f. 51, contains a map of the world showing the colonies of the European nations in 1830; ff. 61c, 62 indicate British dominion in India, 1805-1858; f. 63 indicates European dominions in Asia in the nineteenth century; f. 64, the Europeanization of Africa in the nineteenth century; f. 65, the settlement of Australia and New Zealand; f. 57 contains a map of Canada to 1867; f. 27 illustrates affairs in southeastern Europe and the Crimean War. Maps better illustrating conditions in southeastern Europe and the Crimean War are in *Shepherd*, pp. 164, 165; pp. 170-171 indicate conditions in Asia since 1801; p. 172 has a map of Australia and New Zealand since 1788; pp. 174-175 show the partition of Africa; p. 212 contains a map of Canada and Newfoundland. In the *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 115 illustrates the Crimean War; No. 122, British empire in India, 1805-1910; No. 123, northern India at the mutiny, 1857; No. 124, the western frontier of India; No. 125, the eastern frontier of India; Nos. 126, 127, the Dominions of Canada and Newfoundland; No. 128, the Australian colonies; No. 129, New Zealand; Nos. 130-133, Africa; No. 136, Russian expansion in Asia. J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, appendix, contains maps illustrating the Crimean War and the expansion of British dominion in India in the nineteenth century; on pp. 231, 267, are maps of Crimea and Afghanistan. A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. appendix, has maps of India, 1802-1914; north-west India and Afghanistan; the Ganges basin in 1855; South Africa.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE VICTORIAN COMPROMISE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMPROMISE

Few doctrines have so soon become widely accepted as a basis of, or at least a defence for, action as did those of Bentham and Ricardo and their group, and few have so soon after their acceptance had their validity called in question. Perhaps their acceptance in the first place was facilitated by the circumstances under which they were published. The wars of the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth occasioned a long season of restraint and repression of the normal tendency of society to adjust its conventions of thought to changing conditions. This period of repression was contemporary with generations that witnessed, without willing it, the most profound change in the economic and social structure of society in all previous human experience. Responsible leaders, legislators, and governors, when not wholly blinded by fear of change, were at a loss for guiding principles. They were aware of a certain need for action, but they had nothing dependable by which to direct their way. This need was supplied by the simple generalizations of the utilitarians and economists. The very simplicity of and universal validity attributed to the principles and laws adduced helped to promote their acceptance. They could easily be translated into political formulas and party shibboleths.

This quality was not the result of conscious design on the part of the philosophers; it was rather the result of their method of study. Realizing that the new conditions called for new doctrines, they applied to the subjects the familiar mathematical method of deductive reasoning. The inevitable result, when not tested by a careful comparison with facts, was a series of formulas and laws. Economics and politics became sciences, partaking of the nature of mathematics and physics, dealing with matters capable of statement in mathematical terms. This was as characteristic of the Benthamite multiplying of the

quantity of happiness by extending it to a greater number as it was of the laws of rent and wages which the economists elaborated. The individual was retained as a unit and as a being whose ultimate good was the supreme object of the whole matter, but, in order to reduce him to fitness for philosophical purposes, he was deprived of most of his idiosyncrasies as a personality. Granting that actual persons were never quite like those assumed, the philosophers said that they tended to be, and, anyhow, only by assuming these universal qualities in them was it possible to generalize about them at all in terms that would lead to laws and principles.

This philosophy reached both the zenith of its expression and the beginning of its decline in John Stuart Mill. The son of James Mill, a disciple and friend of both Bentham and Ricardo, as a youth, he knew personally both of these revered masters of his father and was carefully indoctrinated with their views. To many of these views he adhered to the end of his long life (1806-1873), but no man of a philosophical temperament could live through these two eventful generations without having his own beliefs shaped somewhat by the circumstances of the time. Therefore, in his later years, Mill outgrew some of his earlier judgments. Forces which did not leave even an older pledged disciple undisturbed in his beliefs naturally influenced a younger and more plastic generation still more.

The most stimulating forces in the intellectual life of Great Britain in the last half of the nineteenth century were the discoveries in the fields of the natural and physical sciences. They both suggested the employment of new methods in the study of social and political questions and offered explanations of the world of matter and nature, the acceptance of which prepared the way for a new study of other questions, previously regarded as settled. These scientific hypotheses, which seem to have been formulated within a comparatively short period, were, as a matter of fact, the culminating results of investigations long in progress. Eighteenth-century students made many striking calculations in the field of astronomy, based on Newton's formulation of the law of gravitation, which eventuated in the publication of a treatise on *Celestial Mechanics* by the Frenchman, La Place. The validity of this work had an almost startling verification in the simultaneous calculations made by a French investigator, Leverrier, and an Englishman, John Couch Adams, working independently, leading to the discovery in 1846 of a new planet, Neptune, in the region where La Place had suggested

that it should be. A way was thus prepared for the favorable reception of La Place's nebular hypothesis, in which he suggested the origin of the entire solar system as due to the mechanical properties of a primordial mass of nebulous matter. In the meantime, Henry Cavendish and Joseph Priestley in England and Lavoisier in France had challenged the old assumptions in chemistry, demonstrating by actual experiments that air and water were not elements, as had been anciently supposed, but were separable into component gases. These discoveries opened the way for further investigation of the structure of the earth itself. James Hutton, in his *Theory of the Earth*, published in 1785, had already illustrated what could be done with that problem by the use of a method which employed no "powers that are not natural to the globe, no actions to be admitted except those of which we know the principles." Working on this same basis, and profiting by work already done in the study of fossils (paleontology), Sir Charles Lyell published in 1830-33 his *Principles of Geology*, which he followed thirty years afterward by his *Antiquity of Man*.

At the time when Lyell was beginning the publication of his earlier work, young Charles Darwin was embarking on a voyage to South America and other lands for the study of botany that required five years for its completion. His grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had suggested a theory, later elaborated by a Frenchman, Lamarck, that the more complex forms of life had developed from the simpler by the process of transmission by inheritance to succeeding generations of characteristics acquired by each generation in its habitual efforts to adapt itself to the conditions amid which it had to live. Charles Darwin, in his study of biology, had the advantage of the methods already developed in his own and other fields and of these earlier suggestions. In his *Origin of Species*, first published in 1858, he brought a large fund of evidence to support the view that the different species in the world of life originated as a result of conditions under which life existed over a long period of time. It is a fact easily observable, that different individuals of the same species have marked differences of structure. Darwin suggested that each species tends to multiply until it overtakes the available means of subsistence. As this limit is reached, the struggle to exist tends to eliminate the weaker and to preserve the stronger individuals of the species. In this way, those characteristics persist that serve best to equip the species to survive in its environment. Darwin now suggested further, that these

selective processes, inherent in nature, might result in variations in type so marked as to be new species. The world of life is thus the scene of a perpetual struggle for existence, in which the stronger individuals and types survive and propagate, while the weaker perish.

Some of Darwin's conclusions were later questioned, one vital phase of the discussion hinging on the biological problem of whether it is possible for characters acquired as the result of influences of environment to be transmitted by inheritance. But one of the results of the experimentation and observation, stimulated by work of men like Darwin, was an attempt to improve the plants used in agriculture and also to apply the principles discovered to a study of heredity among human beings. In this last field, Sir Francis Galton later did notable work. Alfred Russell Wallace, working independently of Darwin, announced similar conclusions at approximately the same time, though Darwin offered in support a larger fund of data he had gathered in the course of his investigations.

But the method, exemplified in the work of these scientists, of basing generalizations on assembled evidence rather than on *a priori* reasoning, was probably as important as the hypotheses they advanced. This method is called induction, as contrasted with the *a priori* method of deduction. In practice, it is seldom possible to collect evidence and then base a generalization upon it. The method rather is to formulate a tentative hypothesis and to test it by pertinent facts. There is always a danger that an investigator will be tempted to select and use only the facts that support his hypothesis and to ignore those that are contrary, a frequent occurrence in the earlier applications of the method. But the method at least afforded a means for confirming or discrediting deductions on the basis of actual conditions. Facts could be obtained both by observation and by experimentation, and, in the physical and natural sciences, these processes soon came to be the accepted methods of work. Once these methods became familiar, efforts were made to apply them in a study of both the past and the present of human society.

The historians of earlier times had, for the most part, regarded it as their function to collect curious and entertaining facts about the past and to present them in an attractive literary narrative. They now began, after the manner of scientists, to think themselves obliged to bring, as nearly as possible, an impartial mind to the study of the subjects of their investigation and to base their conclusions on the evidence available. This

method was first developed, in its more self-conscious form, in Germany, but it was soon applied in England in the study of legal and political questions by Sir Henry Maine, for example, who first published his *Ancient Law* in 1861. Cliff Leslie and others used the same methods in the study of economic doctrines. The historians had to depart from their normal functions when they began to formulate theories and doctrines on their own account, but their work did much to clarify the views supported by the theorists and to make apparent the conditions that determined the character of doctrines.

Both the economists and the political philosophers felt the impulse to make observations and experiments and to apply the new methods to their work. In the case of the economists, this impulse had a curious result and ultimately led to a restriction of the application of the inductive method to the study of practical economic questions. Persons interested in economic theories came to feel that to test their validity by facts actually existing in the world would be too difficult and complicated a process to be practicable. As the clash of interests between industrial capitalists and their employees came to bulk large as a practical question, it was the more important, if there were to be economic laws at all, that they should afford some basis for thinking on this question. Accordingly, economists soon ceased to bother much with theories of production and began to devote their time to the problem of the distribution of wealth. Ricardo and his followers and disciples had thought of the value of goods as determined largely by the labor expended in their production plus the capital used, capital being stored up labor. While this theory did well enough against the landlords, and offered few embarrassing complications anywhere else as long as the depressing doctrines of Malthus seemed to eliminate hope from the laborers, its weakness was soon revealed. If laborers were the primary creators of value, why should they not have and enjoy that which they created? The Ricardian doctrines thus served admirably as a basis for the socialist theories of Karl Marx, who gathered in England the material for *Das Kapital*. Therefore, they offered a none too encouraging prospect in the future for a society in which industrial capitalists had come to be influential members.

So the earlier theories of value were now abandoned in favor of a new doctrine of marginal utility, which William Stanley Jevons helped to introduce to British economists. According to this theory, an object has value because it supplies a human

want; the capacity to satisfy wants is called utility. Granting this premise, several things are clear. For one thing, the nature and extent of wants depend on the minds and emotions of those who want. Again, additional quantities of the same commodity do not necessarily bring the same satisfactions to individuals as did the first quantum. Consequently, a point is reached when an individual will find no additional satisfaction in a further quantity of the goods in question. Now there is somewhere a point where the price of an additional unit of good just balances the sacrifice entailed upon the buyer by its purchase. The sum of these theoretical margins of utility, taken in comparison with the available supply of the commodity concerned, determines its price. There are, of course, other temporary and incidental factors, but these are incalculable and do not, it is assumed, impair the validity of the law. The wants of actual persons, it may be suggested, are apt to vary both quantitatively and qualitatively according to a number of conditions not easy to describe or to measure. Granted, but, in that case, laws of distribution cannot be formulated, if we take cognizance of real persons living under conditions actually existing in the world. But if laws cannot be formulated, after the manner of mathematics and physics, economics must cease to be an exact science, and the economic theorist, like the biologist, is reduced to the necessity of collecting a mass of facts, many of which may not conform to any doctrine easy to state in a few general terms. This prospect proved to be too formidable and fruitless for the speculators on economic theory. Consequently, they gradually restricted their field of activity until it came to be limited to generalizations concerning tendencies in an ideal world unaffected by the idiosyncrasies of time, place, or persons. If these exceptions are made, the theory of the margin can be applied to almost every aspect of distribution. Anything that men are willing to pay for is an economic good, and economics is a study of those values that can be determined in terms of money.

This was all well enough, and the laws suggested may have had a certain interest for men of business, whose primary interest was in the returns derived from the exchange of goods. But not many things pertaining to human affairs are wholly measurable in terms of money. An inescapable fact in Great Britain about the middle of the nineteenth century was the demand by industrial laborers, as they learned how to organize the pressure they were able to exert, that they should be enfranchised politically and that they should have a larger share of the

wealth they helped to produce in the form of higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better facilities for education and social enjoyment. To many persons these demands seemed revolutionary and thus to threaten ruin to the social order to which they were accustomed. If these conservatively minded persons must needs abandon the doctrines of Bentham and Ricardo, which had served as a defence of their peace of mind in the previous generation, they needed others in their stead applicable in a world of reality. The abstruse concepts of the doctrine of marginal utility in all of its applications did not supply this need. The marginal doctrines were thus left largely to academic halls and to the closets of speculative philosophers. The laws enunciated by these theories may have helped some, in that they made almost a mystery out of economics, beyond the understanding of the common man, and assumed as implicit in society a free competition in exchange, the rights of private property in most goods, and a large measure of freedom of contract. On all these points, conditions already called for departures from the accepted views. These adjustments could be, and frequently were, opposed as involving interference with economic laws, but the interference went on nevertheless. A more adequate philosophy was needed, one that took cognizance of values not easily measurable in terms of money, else there seemed to be a danger that society might in time assume a form in which the laws of the economist could not possibly function.

In the field of politics, John Stuart Mill was ready with a defence of liberty. He published an essay on that subject the year after the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. But Mill, as a humanitarian agitator for a better society, frequently found it expedient to depart from the letter of his philosophy. In the essay on liberty, he supported the doctrine that it is not justifiable to curtail liberty to promote the good of the individual concerned, that "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the freedom of action of any of their number is self-protection—that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." But these admissions yielded a large part of the case to the social reformers, who were agitating the enforcement of better sanitation, the abolition of child labor, the limitation of the hours of labor, and like measures, on the precise ground that the prevailing practices in these matters were harmful to many constituent members of society and so to society

itself. The ideal of liberty manifestly had limitations as a defence of the existing order, in a society growing constantly more complex.

The man most instrumental in furnishing the creed that for many supplanted the doctrines of Bentham and Ricardo was neither a political scientist nor an economist, in the narrower sense of those terms. He thought of himself as a philosopher and sociologist. Writing in the atmosphere of the warm discussions that ensued after the publication of Darwin's books, and himself in sympathy with many of Darwin's views, Herbert Spencer both undertook to apply the methods of the natural scientists in his investigations and to think of social questions in terms of the evolutionary hypothesis. As a matter of fact, Spencer had adopted something of this attitude before 1858, as had other writers also; for the evolutionary hypothesis, like most influential concepts, was not a sudden discovery nor the work of a single man. It is arguable, on the other hand, that Spencer reached his conclusions by a process of deduction and then selected for evidence those facts that seemed to suit his theories. Moreover, as is the case with any philosopher writing voluminously and over a long period, inconsistencies may easily be detected in his work. We are chiefly interested here in the social creed which, more as a result of his work than that of any other single man, began now to have a vogue and to serve as a sort of formula by which conditions in general might be defended, in spite of many unpleasant difficulties in particular. The basal assumptions in Spencer's thought, which served the purposes of his day, are that things are developing by natural processes toward an ideal condition in which society, itself an organism, will be composed of free individuals functioning in harmonious coöperation, without involuntary restraint. A dual process of evolution is thus under way. Individuals, by their struggles for existence, influenced by conflicts among themselves and by their environment, are gradually perfecting themselves as individuals. But society itself, as an organism, is in a struggle to realize its ultimate possibilities. To Spencer the future seemed to offer the prospect of a society wholly industrial. The state, which he believed, as did some of the historians, to be military in origin, would, he thought, in time completely serve its purpose of defence against attacks from without and of protection from unruly individuals within. When that time should come, the industrial fabric would be the unifying element in society, and the use of force in government would no longer

be necessary or desirable. Since the very processes of evolution called for as large a degree as possible of unrestrained struggle to achieve its purposes, it followed, plausibly, that the state ought not to interfere with the normal competitions in society where it was at all possible to avoid it.

Thus the free-trade views of the manufacturers of Manchester were reënforced by doctrines borrowed from Darwin. In the same way, employers, who were disinclined to yield to the growing demands of their laborers, could console themselves that not only were they engaged in a struggle for existence in which it was normal for them to assert their strength, but that also it would be flying in the face of nature, and so defeating or delaying age-long processes, if the government should intervene for the protection of the weak. These supposedly natural laws soon came to be regarded by many persons as having a divine origin, which made it almost positively wrong to hinder methods devised by the Divinity to accomplish his own ends in his own good time. Darwin himself held back from applying to a society of self-conscious humans the laws which he had observed as operative among the lower orders of life. Many others in his time had the same hesitancy, and, in fact, most of those who accepted these theories, that came to be derived from the works of Spencer and others, never really dreamed of acting in full accordance with the doctrines. The effect of these doctrines was rather to serve as an armor of defence, to hinder those who adopted them from yielding to the temptation to act wholly according to the humanitarian sentiments which seemed sometimes almost irresistible. They served also as a basis for opposing those who were persistently urging that the government be used as a positive instrumentality for enforcing better social conditions. Thus, Spencer, who, like Mill, was something of a social reformer, succeeded Mill as the apostle of a creed to which the supporters of the existing social and industrial order could rally in defence of their interests.

In the meantime, utilitarian individualists of the earlier decades were meeting with criticism from more orthodox philosophers such as Thomas Hill Green, who taught that the state can do much to promote morality by removing conditions that hinder its growth. Moral goodness is an individual matter. But Green gave a wide interpretation to the obstacles which it was the duty of the state to remove. They might include ignorance, strong drink, pauperism, and other social ills of the day, all of which the philosopher, at one time or another, advocated legislation to

remedy. A way was thus opened for the justification of steps which a clamorous element in the population, not much longer to be denied, demanded that the government take. But philosophers were scarcely the ones to make the way for change. That task was rather left to the prophets and poets, and of these, too, this generation had its quota.

THE COMPROMISE MOOD

It was clear to most persons who had eyes to see by the middle of the nineteenth century, and to some before that time, that the growth of material prosperity in Great Britain had brought with it many conditions and circumstances that were unlovely and undesirable. Critics and prophets soon appeared, who protested against the imperfections they saw and urged remedies. After the usual manner of prophets, most of them saw through spectacles that reduced the color to a single tone, and the remedies suggested were usually determined by the color of the glasses through which the prophet looked. To one group, the trouble seemed to be rooted in irreligion and ungodliness; to another, it was an overwhelming ugliness, crowding out an appreciation of the beautiful; to another, it was social unrighteousness and injustice; to another, it was political oppression and restrained liberty. Each of these groups had its subordinate divisions, that were likely to differ among themselves as to the remedies that ought to be adopted. All were conscious of dissatisfaction with the conditions they observed; it was the explanations of them and the remedies for them on which they divided.

There were, of course, some observant persons, Thomas Babington Macaulay, for example, who saw so much in the actual material achievement to make them marvel and to awaken pride that they spent little time in criticism. Macaulay was a militant patriot. Whether speaking in rounded periods on the floor of the House of Commons or writing in the same style in his histories and essays, he was inclined to look at the brighter side. When, as an essayist, he contrasted the conditions in earlier centuries with what he observed in his own and recalled the time, not so long distant, when Sheffield had not begun to "send forth its admirable knives, razors, and lancets to the farthest ends of the world," when Manchester had not yet grown into that "wonderful emporium, which in population and wealth far

surpasses capitals so much renowned as Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon," he thrilled in the presence of towns that had "within the memory of persons still living grown to a greatness which this generation contemplates with wonder and pride," even though he admitted a feeling of "awe and anxiety" at some of the prospects ahead. But the pride of others was not thus undiluted.

There were notable persons who felt that the evils which they observed were in a large part due to a departure from ancient religious zeal and theological orthodoxy or ecclesiastical authority. The work of the Wesleyans outside of the national Church and of the evangelicals within it survived into this generation, but religious enthusiasm now began to assume other forms as well. The direction of two currents, that were more influential than is easily indicated in a few words, is illustrated in the careers of two men, who were fellow students at Oxford and who afterward both lived to achieve distinction, one as a Liberal statesman and the other as a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church and the head of that organization in England. Both Henry Edward Manning and William Ewart Gladstone were ultra-orthodox in their theology, and both exemplified in their lives a genuine personal piety. Both demonstrated, by the parts they played, that they had a real sympathy with the unfortunate and the oppressed. One of them found refuge in an ecclesiastical organization that assumed to speak with divine authority and busied himself both with the problems of its government and with ministrations to the poor. The other resolutely closed his mind to the discoveries and speculations of contemporary philosophers and scientists, while he took the lead in compassing measures of social reform and ecclesiastical regulation, as little reconcilable with the current doctrines of liberty as they were with the traditional feelings of the national Church, of which he was a devoted member and supporter. In their religious life, Gladstone and Manning typified two aspects of a movement which began at Oxford contemporary with the passage of the first reform bill.

There had always been clergymen in the Church of England who felt that the separation from the Roman Church meant little more than a change in the external government of the Church and implied no departure from ancient doctrines and dogmas. For them, the assertion by parliament of its right to emancipate the Irish Catholics and to abolish the Tests in England raised serious questions. When the reform of parliament

itself admitted to that body nonconformists, many of them chosen by constituencies in which Dissenters were influential, they felt it to be of doubtful propriety that a legislature thus constituted should undertake the government of a Church, tracing its origin to a divine foundation.

Men were not lacking among the clergy who were more tolerant in their views and who were more interested in devising a practicable arrangement for their own generation than in conforming to antiquity. Such a man was Thomas Arnold, the Headmaster of Rugby. Perhaps he was more of a patriot than a churchman. He frankly believed that "a thorough English gentleman—Christian, manly, and enlightened" was something which men like Guizot, on the Continent, could not understand, since "it is a finer specimen of human nature than any other country, I believe, could furnish." On the other hand, Arnold had little love for the Benthamite liberals. "I would give James Mill," he said, "as much opportunity for advocating his opinions as is consistent with a voyage to Botany Bay." He undertook to make Rugby in his time a school for training the sort of "Christian gentlemen" he felt the best type of Englishmen ought to be, and his work had a wide influence, both on the boys in his school and on other schools of the generation. But the schoolmaster busied himself also with a scheme for making the Church and state identical in the persons comprehended. Discovering that it would be scarcely feasible to include such groups as Unitarians and Jews with the more orthodox, he turned to a study of the Scriptures and Church Fathers, applying the same methods he used in the study of other books.

The growing victory of the liberals stirred those who thought and felt in the older ways to reëxamine their loyalties and to take steps to defend the matters they cherished. John Keble, who had in 1827 published anonymously a poem, *The Christian Year*, spoke more to the question in a sermon on *National Apostacy*, which he preached at Oxford July 14, 1833. The sentiment at the university was indicated by the failure to reëlect Peel as a member of parliament after he supported Catholic emancipation. The chief point in the sermon, and also the central idea in what came to be called the Oxford Movement, was that the Church is a divine institution, the government of which, though it may be associated with the state, belongs essentially to the clergy, to whom it has descended by direct succession from the Apostles. The divine founder of the Church transmitted this responsibility to his immediate followers, who were set apart for the task

by a formal rite, and they, in unending succession, transmitted it to the clergy of subsequent generations. For the state to undertake any of the functions thus divinely bestowed was usurpation. These views were elaborated and expanded later by Keble and his associates in a series of "Tracts for the Times," which they published in the decade following the sermon. Perhaps the ablest of the group was John Henry Newman, whose poetic prayer in 1833 that a "kindly light" might lead him was destined never to be answered in a way that brought him much worldly satisfaction. This was still true even when, without solicitation on his part, he was, in his old age, made a cardinal in the Church to which his earnest quest for authoritative guidance led him to transfer his allegiance in 1845. Before that time he was the most active and the most effective of the Tractarians, moved by the "fierce thoughts" against the liberals which, he later confessed, "fretted him inwardly." The movement received the support of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and sympathy from many others at the university. There was at first no thought of leaving the national Church; the aim rather was to restore it to the divine way from which it was in danger of departing. But when Newman, in Tract Number Ninety, in 1841, suggested a method of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles of the creed, which enabled one with Romanist views to subscribe to it, by attributing to some of its articles a meaning of which their authors originally certainly had not dreamt, Anglicans with Protestant views began to call a halt. Newman soon saw that there was little likelihood that one with his beliefs could honestly remain in the Anglican organization, and he resigned his appointments, preparatory to the transfer of allegiance that later took place. When, in the Gorham case in 1850, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, serving as a court of final appeal from the ecclesiastical courts, assumed the responsibility of passing on the eligibility for preferment of a clergyman whose fitness for appointment was challenged on theological grounds, others with whom the assumption of the apostolic succession was a vital matter followed Newman's example, as later did Manning, who had hitherto not been an outspoken Tractarian, though he had written several tracts. Having once taken the step, Manning became more loyal to the Roman see than were a majority of the older English Catholics, and many of them saw with little pleasure his climb to place as the official of highest rank in the Church in England.

Keble and Pusey, with others having similar views, elected to remain in the Anglican fold and to satisfy their doubts by elastic interpretations of the articles of the creed. But that was a game that could be played from both ends. In consequence, the Church learned how to accommodate the High Church group, who set store by ceremonials and sacraments little, if at all, different from those practiced in the Roman Church, on the one hand, and, on the other, found no reason to expel clergymen who had little respect for many even of the Protestant doctrines of the more orthodox. In a case in 1862, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that it was not essential for a clergyman in the established Church to believe in eternal punishment. Thus the introduction of a large latitude of toleration probably saved the national Church as an organization, though at the expense of its unity of belief and its uniformity of ritual. As a matter of fact, Newman's method of interpreting the articles of the creed to suit the cases of individuals was the solution actually adopted, though there was at no time a formal admission that this was so. A sympathetic historian of the Church, writing in a later generation, concludes that, "as the corners of the Anglican pentagon broken into by Tract 90 admitted those who were avowedly Romanists, so by the same way Latitudinarians came into the fold, men who subscribe to the Articles neither in a literal and grammatical, nor in a Catholic sense. The Articles, in becoming articles of comprehension, have ceased to be articles of faith."

In the field of art also this generation witnessed among a small group of enthusiasts a zeal for a return to earlier truth that struck little response in the normal man. Before the end of the eighteenth century, Joseph Mallard William Turner began to accumulate money and skill by making topographical drawings in water colors of the English scene, which he had no trouble in selling to owners who had a pride in their own possessions or to others who had a love for the locality. These earlier remunerative works enabled him later to devote himself to the task of painting the varying colors of light, as in the dawn or sunset, that brought him fame. Contemporary with him was John Constable, who departed from the older school of landscape painters in their use of sober colors and strove to reproduce the natural green and other shades as he saw them. Constable did not live to reap the reward of the reputation that came to him posthumously. That a better fortune came to Turner was due in a large measure to the labors of John Ruskin

who, in the earlier part of his career, was a sort of prophet of the beautiful. He first met Turner in 1840. In 1843 he published the first volume of his *Modern Painters*. Other volumes soon followed, as well as other works on esthetic subjects. In 1851 Ruskin took up the cudgels in behalf of a younger school of artists, including Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and John Everett Millais, who called themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. They took this name because a study of the works of painters just previous to Raphael had inspired them to consecrate themselves to an attempt to paint things just as they actually saw them. It was this purpose that Ruskin praised. The artists of the group later departed from it and indulged in other forms and manners of expression. Neither Turner nor the Pre-Raphaelites had the vogue with the average purchaser of pictures that was the fortune of Sir Edwin Landseer, whose paintings of animals attracted the patronage of Queen Victoria, or of Frederick Leighton and Edward John Poynter, painters of the more conventional type. Perhaps even more suggestive of the mood of the age was the work of George Frederick Watts, who was frankly less interested in pleasing the eye than he was in suggesting "thoughts that will appeal to the imagination and the heart and kindle all that is best and noblest in humanity."

Ruskin soon despaired of making a love of the beautiful universally prevalent in England as he knew it. Observing what he felt to be the hideous ugliness of the industrial towns, as compared with the greater beauty of the older commercial cities of the Italian peninsula, he found an explanation of the unpleasant contrast in the conditions of labor existing in the British factories. He believed that no worker at tasks so wholly mechanical could experience a pride of craftsmanship. Therefore, he concluded, unless they had a sufficient leisure, there was no possibility that British laborers could cultivate an esthetic sense. But leisure for this purpose was impossible under the long hours then customary. The more Ruskin pondered upon these conditions, the more indignant he became at what he saw. He began to write articles, speaking in bitter terms of a society that tolerated what he regarded as injustices, and of a philosophy that contained even a formal defence of such positive wrongs. Of the utilitarian economics he said: "I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusions of the science if its terms are accepted. I am simply non-interested in them, as I should be in a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeleton." "The beginning of art," he said, "is in getting our country clean and

our people beautiful." And again, "Beautiful art can only be produced by people who have beautiful things around them and leisure to look at them; and unless you provide some elements of beauty for your workmen to be surrounded by, you will find that no element of beauty can be invented by them." But Ruskin soon discovered that his harsh criticisms of the existing economic and social system won little favor from the public that had welcomed his works on art. It was not possible, as he frankly admitted, to live with an easy mind and at the same time see through the eyes he was trying to open in his followers. He asked his readers to ponder whether it is better to produce an abundance of material goods or "whether, among national manufactures, that of souls of good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one." "That country is the richest," he concluded, "which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions over the lives of others." But many other men, both before and after Ruskin, found it easier, as he did, to point out injustices than to suggest a practicable remedy for them.

Such a man was Thomas Carlyle, of whom Ruskin was a successor and, in a sense, a disciple. "There must be a new world, if there is to be any world at all," he wrote in 1850, and it was but a repetition of a theme on which he had dwelt since he published *Sartor Resartus* in 1831. He felt that the world was crying aloud with injustice that needed remedy. But neither he nor Ruskin had much faith in the ability of the people at large to find or apply a remedy for their own ills. Carlyle was impatient with slow processes and called for supermen to take charge and make short shift of the conditions that cursed the earth. At one time, he thought the British nobility might be the proper ones to undertake the task. Again, he turned his attention to a study of history and discovered in such heroes as Oliver Cromwell and Frederick the Great better types of the apostles that were needed.

The notion that relief might come from the nobility was exploited by Disraeli in his two novels, *Conningsby* and *Sybel*, published in 1844 and 1845, in which he undertook to demonstrate to the landlords and to the more orthodox supporters of the established Church that only by an alliance with the industrial laborers would they be able to stand against the growing power of the industrial and commercial magnates and free the country

from the injustices which the industrial development had brought in its train. A similar indictment against the materialism of industrial society was later brought by Matthew Arnold, son of the headmaster of Rugby, in a style that substituted irony for vehemence. "Faith in machinery," he wrote, "is our besetting danger." Of course it was a great and glorious thing, he admitted, to have built cities, to have connected them with railroads, and to have multiplied production. "And if we are sometimes a little troubled by the multitude of our poor men, yet we know the increase of manufactures and population to be such a salutary thing in itself, and our free-trade policy begets such an admirable movement, creating fresh centers of industry and fresh poor men here, while we were thinking about our poor men there, that we are quite dazzled and borne away, and more and more industrial movement is called for, and our social progress seems to become one triumphant and enjoyable course of what is sometimes called, vulgarly, outrunning the constable." Perhaps Arnold's remedy of spreading abroad "sweetness and light," conditions which he came to feel might have to be generated by state action, was little more practical as a program than were the suggestions of Carlyle and Ruskin. In this same group of critics and makers of ineffective programs belongs Charles Kingsley and his circle whose "Christian socialism" was inspired by Carlyle.

Most writers who had an audience in this generation were in one way or another its critics. Even William Makepeace Thackeray, who reported the moods of polite society, discovered in it little that was heroic. While not vehement in his condemnations, he was by no means without understanding. Accused of speaking "like a worldling," his character, Pendennis, admitted the charge and defended himself: "And why not? Why not acknowledge the world I stand upon and submit to the conditions of the society we live in and by . . . I say, I take the world as it is, and, being of it, I will not be ashamed of it. If the time is out of joint, have I any call or strength to set it right?" Charles Dickens, who depicted a different social class in the same period, remembered from his own youth the bitter experiences to which underprivileged boys were subjected. He criticized specific conditions in the schools, in the work houses, and in the courts of law. Having a gift for melodrama and for incongruous exaggeration, he made a more effective appeal to his audiences than did others who spoke in more positive tones, and he lived to see some of the specific wrongs he depicted in novels

like *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* at least changed a little for the better. These and many more writers of both prose and verse—Thomas Hood and Mrs. Browning might be mentioned among the poets—had eyes to see the evils of their time and spoke out against what they saw. But not all the writers had an uncompromisingly critical attitude.

Perhaps a more prevalent mood is reflected in the work of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate from the death of Wordsworth in 1850 until his own death in 1892. Like the rest, he was not wholly unaware that England was "full of social wrong," but he had a more comforting philosophy than some of the others:

This fine old world of ours is but a child
Yet in the go cart. Patience! Give it time
To learn its limbs; there is a hand that guides.

Ever ready with a suitable verse for patriotic occasions, he knew how to allot not too emphatic blame to the some one who "blundered," and at the same time to glorify the charge made by those whose lot it was "not to reason why" but simply "to do or die," as in the case of the military inefficiency that led to the sacrifice of the Light Brigade in the Crimea. To the Queen, inconsolable with grief, he afforded the comfort she insistently craved by consigning her very human and capable late husband to the impossibly superlative fate of wearing "the white flower of a blameless life," until the time when a more truthful biographer might perform the ungracious task of clothing him again in some of the garments he actually wore in the flesh. On appropriate occasions, he reflected the national feeling against the current enemies, as when he sympathized with the fate of Poland and asked of the Lord "how long the icy-hearted Muscovite" should oppress that region. But whenever he became aware that

. . . the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt that honour feels
And the nations do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels,

he usually had the happy faculty of dipping into the future and seeing a vision "of the world and all the wonders that would be." Thus he comforted himself with the distant prospect of "the kindly earth . . . lapt in universal law." If he felt occasionally that "all things here are out of joint," it was consolation to reflect that "science" is moving to a better condition, "creeping on from point to point." He had no doubt that,

... through the ages one increasing purpose runs
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

On another occasion he phrased somewhat differently this comfortable assumption for one who has no solution of his own for the ills that flesh is heir to:

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;

That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That no one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete,

That not a worm is cloven in vain;
That not a moth with vain desire
Is shriveled in a fruitless fire,
Or but subserves another's gain.

The difficulties of life being thus implicit in the nature of things, since "nothing is that errs from law," we can only await the fruition of the whole matter as the inevitable handiwork of

That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

Thus the defence of the poet for the society of his time, with all of its imperfections and injustices, was essentially like that of the philosopher. Perhaps the defence motive was as unconscious in one case as the other. In the view of both, the maker of the universe, the artificer of its inexorable laws, is finally blameable for ills which are largely inescapable and for which only time can bring an effective remedy, and the final remedy for which is postponed to a safe distance in the future. There were other persons, however, who aspired, in ways that neither the philosopher or the poet always approved, to hasten the coming of remedies, without considering whether the ills were of human or divine origin.

CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISES

The death of Palmerston in 1865 and the retirement of Lord John Russell in the following year signified more than the pass-

ing from the scene of prominent individuals. The end of the political drama in which they had played leading parts was approaching. The stage was already making ready for a new play, in which there were to be many familiar lines and many of the same characters, but a new audience and a new atmosphere. Russell had accepted the change as inevitable and had helped to prepare the way for it, but the stellar rôles were now played by Gladstone and Disraeli. Naturally enough, they were both the heirs of the political traditions of Sir Robert Peel. Gladstone, always inclined to be pushed into liberal action by the current of events, followed Peel in advocating the repeal of the Corn Laws and thus qualified himself as an ultra-orthodox Anglican leader of a liberal group, composed in large part of men who counted in the industrial world, many of whom were Dissenters. Disraeli, having a larger capacity for imagination, elected to abide with the landed interests that were not swept off their feet by the Irish famine and so persisted in their determination to defend their ancient privileges. In this way, a foundation was laid for the struggle between these two parliamentary leaders, whose rivalry in the third quarter of the nineteenth century has no other parallel in political history, unless it be the rivalry between Fox and the younger Pitt in the last decades of the eighteenth. The careers of Gladstone and Disraeli differed from those of the earlier rivals, in that, while Pitt and Fox chiefly disputed about the organization of the machinery of government within a comparatively small ruling class, which neither of them was at heart ambitious to dislodge from its privileged position, it was the fortune of Disraeli and Gladstone, though neither of them really wished to do it, to coöperate in admitting the bulk of the adult male population to a voice in the government.

The reform bill of 1832, as we know, while a revolutionary measure in some respects, amounted in actual accomplishment merely to admitting the industrial and commercial interests, as such, to participate with the landed classes in the conduct of the government. Many radical agitators sought this right as individual persons, implying, and sometimes clearly asserting, that the primary function of government was to conserve the interests and happiness of human beings. As actually passed, the bill based the suffrage on certain vested rights in property or land and regarded voters rather as trustees than as partners in an enterprise for promoting human welfare. The battle between these two concepts of the suffrage, which are, in some measure, conflicting, did not end in 1832. The program of the

Chartists called for universal suffrage and a redistribution of the parliamentary seats on the basis of population, thus emphasizing the human and personal concept; and there were many who were unwilling to support so radical a program who sympathized with its underlying assumption.

In the meantime, those who adhered to the view that voters are the trustees of the rights, traditions, and vested interests in society were finding it difficult to induce ten pound householders in the boroughs and the tenants of the landlords to take seriously the obligations of their trust. It was the accepted view that one of the chief functions of the government was to protect established rights in property and land, and it was natural for men with these interests to be served or ambitions to be gratified to use any resources they had to obtain a voice in the national legislature. Since voters were enfranchised, not as persons or because of stipulated personal qualifications, but by virtue of property or tenurial relations, it is not surprising that many of them regarded their votes as among their realizable assets. Before 1832 so many of the seats in the House of Commons were themselves held as a species of property that it was seldom profitable to resort to the bribery of mere voters. With the exception of a few constituencies, such as Westminster, the wishes of the voters were little considered. After 1832 the case was different. Persons with ambitions or interests to serve in parliament had to obtain power from those in whose hands it now rested, and the easiest way to obtain it was frequently by one or another form of purchase. Direct bribery of voters was practiced in the smaller constituencies, where no landlord or vested interest had a dominant voice and where a comparatively few votes would thus decide the election. In other constituencies, intimidation or more insidious forms of pressure were exerted. The practice of voting *viva voce*, the inadequate method of registration, which sometimes made it troublesome and expensive for the voter to qualify, the want of high traditions as to the obligations of suffrage and of any organization of voters on national issues, all made it easy for one who had the means and who aspired to a seat in parliament to achieve that ambition. The use of methods which in later generations would be regarded as corrupt was more extensive after the passage of the first reform bill than had been the case before.

In theory, most members of parliament acknowledged a feeling that this use of money and intimidation in elections was wrong and ought to be prevented. Few persons defended the

practice, and most members of parliament were willing to pass general legislation disapproving it. But this disapproval had not yet reached a point where taking part in these practices reflected on the reputation of those who profited by them. Elections without corruption were a pious ideal, of which everybody approved. But, in the world of practical politics, one who wanted a seat in the House of Commons could not be too particular about the methods necessary to obtain it. In the circles in which most of the members of the House of Commons moved, few persons expected much of the voters in the constituencies, and their degradation did not seem to be a very serious matter. There was, nevertheless, a growing number of people who were not satisfied that all was well, and who insisted that those who voted because of their property rights should take seriously their obligations as trustees and their responsibilities as persons. Others, even inside the privileged groups, insisted that matters would never be righted until all men had a share in the government that exercised so much power over them. A still larger and a growing number of the unprivileged were coming to feel that the conditions under which they were living would not be much improved until they could themselves have a hand in the task of government.

After considerable urging and agitation, parliament undertook to deal with the question by threatening with prosecution those who profited by corrupt practices. Not until 1872 was the secret ballot finally adopted. Previous efforts to prevent corruption by direct prohibition were largely ineffective. An act sponsored by Lord John Russell in 1841 registered progress in the creation of an attitude of general disapproval of bribery, but the general election of that year was one of the most notable in the history of parliament for the prevalence of this method of electioneering. A reaction against these notorious conditions led to the passage of another act in 1842, but with little more real effect on conduct in the constituencies. The trouble was, as a contemporary pointed out, "bribery was an aristocratic, gentlemanly, and respectable offence." As long as the House of Commons itself retained jurisdiction over the offenders, as that body was then constituted, it was scarcely reasonable to expect much to be done to eliminate so general a practice. The reluctance of the House of Lords to interfere with ancient liberties and established property rights discouraged the lower House from responding to the feeling that existed among its own members. Not until 1854 was an act passed providing machinery

for the auditing of election accounts and for a serious effort at limiting corruption. Even this act is rather evidence of good intentions than of actual achievement. Not until 1883 did parliament so limit expenditures in elections and provide machinery for regulating their conduct that there was a reasonable chance in normal times for the decision to turn on the feelings of the voters expressed at the polls. But the parliament that passed this act, as we shall presently see, was a different body from that which passed the act of 1854 and was in a little while to give place to a body still further changed in character.

The reform bill of 1832 stopped short in two particulars of what the more radical reformers of even that day desired. It enfranchised only a limited portion of the adult male population, and it left the distribution of seats based as much on ancient privileges as on the growth of population. A reconsideration of both of these questions could not now be postponed much longer. While Palmerston lived, the group that accepted his leadership could not act. The way was opened when he died in 1866, though he was succeeded by Lord John Russell, then in his seventy-fourth year. John Bright, outside of the cabinet, was a champion of reform, and Gladstone, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed that the borough qualification be reduced from ten pounds to seven, with a corresponding reduction for the various holdings that enfranchised voters in the counties. Lodgers were also to be enfranchised when they paid an annual rental of ten pounds for unfurnished lodgings. Even this moderate proposal met with opposition from some supporters of the ministry, who had come to feel that the settlement of 1832 was as final as Wellington had imagined the previous régime to be. Though many of its members were not opposed to a measure of parliamentary reform, the opposition party joined with the disaffected group among the supporters of the ministry in defeating it. It was replaced by an administration under the nominal leadership of the elderly Lord Derby, in which Disraeli soon proved himself the most influential personality. Derby belonged to the generation of Palmerston and Russell.

The new ministers had scarcely taken office, when Bright and other agitators began to address large meetings, urging that the project of reforming parliament be revived. Leagues and associations were organized, and public demonstrations helped to make vocal a demand for reform that had been largely quiescent until the defeat of Gladstone's moderate proposals. The government first forbade and then permitted a large meeting

in Trafalgar Square. A few weeks later, when it undertook to prevent a meeting in Hyde Park, the crowd defied the officers, broked down the fence, and pressed in. Disraeli now persuaded his colleagues that the situation called for action and that it would be politically expedient for the friends of the established order to take the initiative. He was impatient with the doctrinaire theory of popular government and uniform representation based on population. He sympathized as little with Gladstone's proposal of fixing an arbitrary qualifying rent for all householders. He favored enfranchising all householders and then limiting the exercise of the franchise, perhaps creating at the same time other bases for enfranchisement, so that in the end the supporters of the existing order would keep their ascendancy. Manifestly, he had so to frame his measure that it would leave the landed interests and those who sympathized with them no less powerful than they were before. When the bill was ready, it actually granted a nominal right to vote to every householder in a borough.

Gladstone at once accepted the principle of the bill and undertook to help perfect it in committee without opposing it. Neither Gladstone nor Disraeli was at heart in sympathy with all the changes they soon found themselves obliged to make. The enfranchisement of all the householders in the boroughs seemed to the doctrinaire advocates of manhood suffrage a plausible compromise for the time, and they labored to remove the restrictions which Disraeli had proposed to make it safe for the interests he led. The less conservative of Gladstone's followers were willing to join with this more radical group in order to prevent the adoption of Disraeli's scheme of plural voting and of other similar projects, with which he hoped to overbalance the power of the enfranchised householders. As finally passed (August, 1867), the bill granted suffrage to all rate-paying householders in the boroughs and to lodgers paying as much as ten pounds a year. It also enlarged somewhat the number of voters in the counties, though the boroughs and the counties outside of the boroughs were by no means placed on the same basis. There was little in the bill to remedy the unequal distribution of seats, of which complaints were multiplying. It was only a matter of time when Gladstone's party must return to the question, if to do no more than remedy the discrimination between voters in the boroughs and the counties. That time came in 1884, when the shifting of population had made the inequality among the constituencies even more glaring than

it had been in 1867. By that time, Disraeli had ended his long career, and Gladstone, surviving almost as one from another generation, was still pushed into action by circumstances rather than moved thereto by his own positive convictions in favor of the measure he proposed. But, at any rate, he was willing to act when conditions made it imperative.

The boundaries of most of the boroughs had not been changed since 1832. Meanwhile, large urban and industrial areas had come into existence, with no representation in parliament except as their inhabitants participated in county elections, in which case suffrage was exercised on the basis prevalent in counties rather than that provided by the bill of 1867 for the boroughs. Men who moved across purely imaginary lines from a represented borough into the adjacent district might find themselves disfranchised thereby. Moreover, many of the smaller represented boroughs, especially in the southern counties of England, remained little larger than they had been in 1832, while industrial districts, in which the population had multiplied, had no more representation than before. Many of these smaller boroughs were really under the control of influential landlords, and their population had an agricultural rather than an industrial interest. Now Great Britain was becoming increasingly an industrial country, and the comparative importance of agriculture was diminishing accordingly. Therefore, it was impossible that the landed interests should much longer retain their disproportionate voice in the government. Disraeli felt, in 1867, that the best policy for the landed group was to make common cause with the industrial laborers in the boroughs, but he had drawn back from the enfranchisement of the corresponding laborers in the counties. His party now insisted that, if all the householders in the counties were to be enfranchised, the enfranchisement must be accompanied by a redistribution of the seats in order to make it impossible for the industrial laborers in the counties to outvote those allied with the landed interests. The measure adopted was a compromise. Gladstone carried, in 1884, a bill making uniform the qualifications for suffrage in boroughs and counties. The two parties, acting together the next year, agreed on a scheme for the redistribution of the seats. All boroughs with a population of less than fifteen thousand lost their right of representation and were merged in the counties. Those of less than fifty thousand were to have only one representative. One hundred and thirty-six seats were obtained in this way in England and Wales for distribution in the more populous re-

gions. The counties, the new boroughs, and large towns were cut up into one-member constituencies.

Thus, while universal suffrage was not yet a reality, a very large proportion of the adult male population was enfranchised. While the suffrage was still based on a tenurial or property relation, so many persons with comparatively little wealth had been enfranchised, that they were apt to be influenced as much by human as by material interests. While seats had not yet been apportioned strictly according to population, the question of population was the most influential criterion in shaping the compromise that was adopted. Looked at from one point of view, the ancient vested interests still held much of their ground. They were in complete control of the upper house of the legislature, and they still had a voice in the government vastly out of proportion to their numbers. But the large concessions they had been obliged to make changed in many respects the methods by which the government carried on.

An important part of this change was in the relations existing between a member of the House of Commons and the constituents who elected him. In the generation after 1832 a member still dealt with his constituents, either directly or through an agent. Except in the more populous and better organized constituencies, he was elected as an individual, because of the wealth which he expended or of interests which he could command personally. He was thus left largely free to contract any political alliance that might please him. When the number of voters was enlarged, and the new voters gradually became aware of their power, this relationship was changed in character. Party organizations were introduced into the constituencies. Local partisan associations came into being to see that voters were qualified and that they attended the polls. The disappearance of the smaller constituencies, and more stringent laws against it, made bribery less feasible and intimidation less effective. When the central party organization at the capital consulted with local associations in the constituencies, it became increasingly necessary to take stock of the prejudices of the voters and to suggest candidates whose views on questions of immediate concern appealed to particular constituencies. Consequently, an individual member learned to adapt himself to the prevailing mood of his constituents in order to procure election, and, once elected, he was bound to the party organization that had coöperated in his election by much stronger ties than had united members of earlier parties. In this way, the influence of the average individual

member in the House of Commons tended to diminish, and he became merely one of a group on whose support the leaders of his party could count in case of a division.

The cabinet thus became the effective body in the government. The House of Commons gradually ceased to be the club-like group that Walter Bagehot described, selecting ministers and supervising their actions by discussion and criticism. Both the criticism of ministers and their defence of their policy came in time to be addressed rather to the voters in the constituencies than to the members of the House of Commons. So the members came to serve rather as delegates than as representatives of their constituents. As this change went on, the public press and the popular platform grew in importance as media through which ministers communicated with the voters and through which the policies of the ministers were criticized. The government of the day consequently came to claim a monopoly of the time of the House of Commons, and the power of a private member to initiate legislation and to push it to a successful passage was correspondingly diminished. Members of the House still exercised important functions in criticising details of policy and legislation and in helping a government they supported to keep in touch with the constituencies, but their dependence on the party machine for assistance in obtaining election deprived them of most of their opportunity for independent, individual action. Even formal debates in the house itself were addressed rather to the public at large than to the members who occupied the benches.

This concentration of power in the hands of the cabinet naturally caused that group to act as a unit on matters of policy. The prime minister became the supreme person in the government, with a deciding voice on matters concerning which his colleagues might differ. He could always be deposed when they were sufficiently tired of his leadership. But, since he was constantly addressing himself to the public at large, and since a large part of the strength of his party in parliament ultimately depended on his ability to gauge and interpret public opinion, it was not easy to depose him from leadership, once he was enthroned, until he elected to retire. So much of the energy of the party machine was spent in magnifying the achievements of the leader, that it was perilous to the prestige of the party to depose him. There was, of course, always the possibility that he might be superseded, and a part of his availability in the first place depended on his ability to conciliate the support of the fol-

lowers on whose coöperation he had to depend. A much more difficult problem was the control of sufficient support from the press to maintain in the constituencies the favorable attitude essential for the existence of the government. A daily or weekly publication with sufficient circulation to make its influence effective soon became a vested interest which, in private hands, had many hazards for politicians that depended on its favor. As long as persons or interests commanding large means were willing to invest in these enterprises and to lend support to the parties of the day, a workable arrangement was feasible. But there was always the danger that persons having control of these instrumentalities of power might decide to use them to promote private rather than public or partisan causes. That this was a very real danger is evident from a study of recent events, and, until some effective remedy is found, the control of the voting public over the government must remain uncertain.

As the government of the day became more and more constantly concerned with the group emotion that may now justifiably be called public opinion it naturally gave less attention to the forces that had been wont to wield power in the past. The House of Lords began to recognize that its chief remaining function was to oblige ministers it disliked to dissolve parliament and to confirm their hold on power by a general election. But a general election is an expensive and troublesome expedient, and men naturally conservative in their inclinations are reluctant to force its use unless they feel that cherished interests are at stake. The nominal power of the king, on the other hand, became perhaps greater than in previous generations, when the sovereign was claiming a large personal voice in the government. The existence of this understanding depended on the willingness of the king to exercise his power strictly according to the instructions given by his responsible advisers. To adopt any other course would be to invite the elimination of the monarchy. Victoria's Prince Consort undertook to exercise a real power in the government, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. His German training and his lack of appreciation of the changes which the nineteenth century had witnessed in Great Britain made him unsympathetic with the views of the monarchy held by his wife's ministers. Their courtesy and their disinclination to force a conflict, if one could be avoided, moved them to tolerate some of his intermeddling that they little liked. Disraeli's hypothetical prophecy was no doubt an exaggeration, but it contained an element of truth. "This German prince," he said,

"has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our kings has ever shown. . . . If he had outlived some of our 'old stagers' he would have given us the blessings of absolute government." Perhaps it is more likely that he would have brought the monarchy into conflict with the nation. After his death, the Queen undertook personally and alone to carry on the work in which he had coöperated with her. She still sometimes intervened in the government in ways that vexed her ministers and displeased the public. But, gradually, the physical burden of supervising the affairs of so complicated a government grew beyond the powers of a single person, especially of a sorrowing woman growing old in years. In her latter days she was obliged to leave to others much that she had earlier done herself. She remained to the end, as has been the case with her successors, an individual, free to express her opinions, and one whose judgments received careful consideration, but the ministers assumed responsibility for the policy adopted. According to conventions now current, the king is personally responsible for none of his public acts; they are the results of advice he has received from appropriate ministers. He may, it is conceded, dismiss his ministers at any time, but he would in that case be helpless unless he could find others able to command the support of a majority in the House of Commons or willing to assume the responsibility of advising him to dissolve parliament and appeal to the voters. Should the alternative ministers be defeated in an election thus called, he would have no recourse but to restore those dismissed.

The national legislature and executive were not the only aspects of the constitution that changed to suit the changed conditions that the nineteenth century brought in Great Britain. The laws and courts of law, whose archaic character Bentham, Dickens, and others in quite different ways, had amply demonstrated, could resist no longer the forces of change. Acts passed in 1845, 1874, 1881, and 1897 much simplified the methods of conveying land and so helped to make it easily transferable. Another series of statutes legalized and provided for the regulation of companies, in which stockholders might have a limited liability for the obligations of the fictitious person they united to create. A further series of statutes provided for a simplification of procedure in both civil and criminal cases, and thus lessened the danger that litigants might be led to extra expense and unnecessary delay and that justice might be defeated by the use of legal technicalities. Following an investigation and report by a royal

commission appointed in 1867, the numerous royal courts, which had developed diverse methods of procedure and varying and sometimes conflicting jurisdictions, were unified and harmonized so as to afford to litigants a more direct remedy. Since the growing complications of business made a normal jury in many cases scarcely a competent body to determine questions of fact, litigants were given the choice, under certain restrictions, of having such questions determined by the judge, by a referee, or by a jury. The law, the courts, and the forms of procedure remained largely the products of experience and retained many of the earlier technicalities and traditions. But many things that were anachronous and vexing were removed, with the result that Queen Victoria's courts in her later years offered a more expeditious and dependable means of doing justice than had been offered under any of her predecessors.

The relations of the national Church with the state were also the subject of anxious consideration. The result was neither the total disestablishment of the organization, which many would have welcomed, nor a retention of all of the ancient privileges, which many of the clergy coveted as belonging to them by long custom, if not by divine sanction. An act of 1833 made the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the court of final jurisdiction in all cases appealed from ecclesiastical courts. The implied right of laymen thus to pass finally on questions of ecclesiastical dogma has been called in question, but the arrangement still stands, and so the supremacy of the crown in the national Church is maintained. Inside the Church organization, the convocation, practically suspended since 1717, was revived as an active body in 1855, after a period of agitation, and the clergy of the Church were thus again provided with a body through which to make known any views they might be able to agree upon. The trouble is, that the upper house is composed of bishops, who are appointees of the crown. The lower house is composed chiefly of dignitaries, with a minority of proctors elected by the clergy of the dioceses. The addition of lay members to the body, which many friends of the Church have advocated, is made difficult by the doctrine of apostolic succession held by the High-Church group, though not all High Churchmen are opposed to the admission of laymen. The supreme legislative power of the Church is still in parliament, just as the crown through the government of the day still names the bishops. Finally, the old universities of Oxford and Cambridge, long monopolized by the established Church, by an act passed in 1871,

opened to all persons in the nation not only their degrees but also all positions in the organizations, except headships of colleges, professorships of divinity, or other offices for which only persons in holy orders were eligible. Thus, in this matter too, a middle ground was adopted, that satisfied many of the demands of Dissenters and yet retained for the establishment important parts of its ancient privileges.

COMPROMISE MEASURES

In matters of both domestic and foreign policy the government of Great Britain and Ireland in this generation exemplified the mood of compromise that pervaded the atmosphere of the time. Enthusiasts for change were no more wanting than were groups of ultra-timid, who clung tenaciously to old ways. Between these two extremes were the dominant factions, that shaped whatever action was taken. The results of their handiwork were irreconcilable with consistent doctrines or principles. Their chief recommendation was that, for a time, they afforded a basis for action. The question of public education, to which the parliamentary reform of 1867 gave an immediate interest, illustrates the point. There were still many persons of influence who feared that an attempt to make education widespread would be dangerous to the safety of established society. On the other hand, others felt that education was a right, of which a large proportion of the people in England had hitherto been unjustly deprived. Perhaps the more characteristic feeling among those responsible for taking action is reflected in the oft-quoted statement: "Let us now educate our masters."

The problem was complicated in that Churches of various sects were in control of most of the machinery for education that existed. The first money appropriated from the public treasury for elementary education was £2,000,000, voted in 1833. This pittance was to be used to supplement voluntary efforts under the auspices of the established Church. When the Educational Committee of the Privy Council was first appointed, at the instigation of Lord John Russell, in 1839, there was no thought of dissociating the task of public education from the national Church. Writing in the previous year, a bishop of the establishment made bold to say that no system of compulsory national education would be tolerable "which would not be in conformity with the principles of the Church of England and

worked through its instrumentality.” In administering the parliamentary grants, which, once made, were increased from time to time, the authorities adopted a policy of insisting on a right to inspect and supervise the schools assisted. But, with the growing influence of Dissenters as captains of industry and as participants in the government, it was only a matter of time until the Church would have to give up its monopoly of the public funds appropriated for education. Like most privileged institutions, it yielded reluctantly and not without a struggle. The voluntary systems of schools began to break down and were inadequate for the tasks imposed on them. It was estimated in 1867 that of the 4,300,000 poor children in England in need of an education, 2,000,000 were not in school at all, that 1,300,000 were in schools that received assistance from the state, and that 1,000,000 were in schools which received no aid and so lacked supervision and might justly be regarded as doing inferior work. At that time, the government was supplying only about one third of the £1,600,000 that the schools receiving state aid cost per year. The government assumed the responsibility for remedying this condition in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Local school boards were now to be elected by the ratepayers, and, in cases where the existing local schools were inadequate to take care of the children, these boards were to provide other schools under their own management. In these “board schools,” “no catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any religious denomination” should be taught. The voluntary schools were retained and received additional aid from the national treasury; they were not dependent on the local boards. A large majority of the voluntary schools were still conducted under the auspices of the national Church. On that account, Dissenters objected to the favors shown to that body, while High Churchmen objected to the undenominational character of the religious instruction given in the “board schools.” But, with occasional changes in details, the matter was left thus until after the beginning of the twentieth century.

The growing power of the common people made necessary a reconsideration of the legal status of the marriage relation. According to the theory of the Roman Church, marriage was indissoluble, being a sacrament, and so the remarriage of the divorced was permissible only by a dispensation from the head of the Church. The common law of England conformed to the theory of the Church, and a divorce *a mensa et thoro* did not admit of the legal remarriage of the parties. After the separa-

tion of the English and Roman Churches deprived Englishmen of access to the dispensing power of the papacy, a remedy was found in procuring divorce by private acts of parliament, applying to particular cases, passed after hearings in ecclesiastical courts. Obviously, only persons of wealth or influence could have recourse to this remedy. An act sponsored by Peel in 1836 made permissible the performance of marriages before civil authorities in the presence of witnesses as well as in the churches and chapels of the established Church, thus giving to marriage the legal status of a civil contract. But nothing was done to give to the poorer people the right of divorce and remarriage enjoyed by the more favored classes. A bill was finally passed in 1857 for the simplification of divorce proceedings, under the terms of which remarriage was not prohibited. A husband could then obtain a divorce from a wife guilty of adultery; a wife from a husband guilty of incestuous adultery, bigamy, or adultery accompanied by cruelty or unjustifiable desertion. The law thus came to regard marriage as a civil contract, but the time had not come when a man and woman were regarded as parties to the contract on an equal basis. And, of course, the whole measure was contrary to the beliefs of most churchmen and of many devout laymen. Keble pronounced the measure "a bill for legalizing adultery."

It was in this period also that Lord Shaftesbury and his collaborators pressed for factory legislation in a way that could not be wholly resisted, though the interests in control of the government were unwilling to grant the full measure of relief desired. Previous to the passage of the reform bill of 1867, the inspectors gathered information that was later useful and that in time led to a gradual, though slow, improvement in conditions. Some of the manufacturers were beginning to learn by experience that a diminution of excessive hours of labor did not necessarily mean an increase in the cost of production. Probably it was as much a growing public sensitiveness to the wrongs that had been revealed as it was the necessity that the wishes of enfranchised industrial laborers be considered which led to the passage of factory and work-shop acts in 1867, 1871, and 1874; of the Public Health and Dwellings Act in 1875; of the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1875, 1876, and 1880; and of the Employer's Liability Act of 1880. These measures illustrate a growing tendency to accept the doctrine that it was the business of society, acting through the instrumentality of the state, to protect the interests of its weaker constituents and to conserve

the health and lives of its members. Experience had slowly disclosed that these and similar matters could not be left wholly to individual effort without resulting in conditions that a growing humanitarian feeling, even among those who formally accepted a contrary philosophy, would not tolerate. Thus, while the doctrine of free competition and a struggle for existence was still widely accepted, the state was at the same time undertaking, albeit in a somewhat limited and inadequate degree, to prescribe rules under which the competition and struggle must take place.

In the field of public health, Florence Nightingale found in the military camps of the Crimean War an outlet for her burning zeal and enthusiasm. Later, she was able to enlist the influence of men of affairs and to overcome enough of the inertia long characteristic of the army to make real headway toward better conditions. This work in the army afforded a basis for improvement in cleanliness and quality of the nursing in hospitals devoted to the treatment of the civilian population.

Of the war office itself, maladministration and inefficiency had long been the notable characteristics. The army received little attention except in time of war, and the tendency then was to patch it up in order that it might somehow "muddle through." The reluctance of Wellington, in his later years, to agree to any positive action involving change hindered those who were inclined to favor improvements. At the time of the Crimean War, to quote Sir William Anson: "The soldier was fed by the Treasury and armed by the Ordnance Board; the Home Secretary was responsible for his movements in his native country; the colonial secretary superintended his movements abroad; the Secretary of War took care that he was paid and was responsible for the lawful administration of the flogging which was provided for him by the Commander-in-chief." Commissions were still the perquisites of those who could command sums for their purchase. The militia was under the control of the lords lieutenant in the counties. The poor showing made in the Crimean War led to some immediate remedying of conditions that were inexpressibly bad. But not until 1870, during the administration of Gladstone, were some of the worst inefficiencies rectified. Even then, the proposals of the ministers were held up in the House of Lords, and the Prime Minister had recourse to the expedient of having the Queen abolish by royal warrant the right to purchase commissions. This procedure was criticized as unconstitutional, but, as a matter of fact, it did not lose Gladstone the support of the House of Commons, nor did the

House of Lords take positive action, and the prerogative of the Queen was used on the advice of her responsible ministers.

This tendency not to push matters to extreme measures, but rather to find a solution of difficulties by expedients involving conciliation and compromise, was exemplified in the foreign policy of the period. The outbreak of the Civil War in America found the relations between the two English-speaking nations unusually friendly; its close left them sharply divided on a troublesome question. The dependence of the Lancashire cotton manufacturers on the southern planters for raw material and the natural sympathy of an influential element in the British ruling class with a society that they regarded as somewhat aristocratic in character inclined many to sympathize with the Confederacy. The widespread dislike of slavery as an institution and the feeling that somehow the war was directed against it won sympathy for the Union. Bright, Cobden, and others were able to keep this feeling alive, in spite of the hardships which laborers suffered in the enforced idleness that resulted, when the mills were unable to obtain needed raw materials because of the blockade of southern ports. The first serious disagreement between the two governments came when the British issued a declaration of neutrality and acknowledged the Confederates as belligerents, following a substantial recognition of the same fact by the American national government, when it proclaimed the blockade of the Confederate ports. This difference was intensified when an American naval vessel stopped a British ship and removed from it two Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, who were *en route* to England and France respectively. Lord John Russell, the foreign minister under Palmerston, demanded that these men be released and that a suitable apology be offered for the insult to the British flag.

This demand raised again the old question of the right of neutrals in time of war to be free from search and seizure by belligerents. But, this time, the two countries had reversed their former positions on the subject. Hard necessity obliged the American government to comply with the British demands, but this incident did not help to smooth the way for adjustment when vessels built and equipped in British ports began to prey on American commerce. The most famous of these vessels was the *Alabama*, against which the American government protested before it left port. Lord John Russell sent an order to detain the vessel before it sailed, as a result of the protest, but the order reached the port after the vessel had gone. In consequence

the American government insisted that the British were responsible for the damage that resulted. The matter hung fire as a source of friction between the two countries until 1871, when a settlement was made, as a result of an arbitration under rules which the two powers had previously agreed upon, which resulted in the payment of fifteen million dollars to the Americans as compensation for the damage. By thus acceding to the American view in large part, the British made a bid for American support of an interpretation of the rights of neutrals that would operate in their own favor should Great Britain become a belligerent, and the situation in Europe at that juncture seemed to make that event not unlikely.

No responsible group of British statesmen had an aggressive attitude toward any Continental power. In the popular view, Russia, to be sure, was still the national enemy, but the British fear of Russia had an Asiatic rather than a European foundation. Gladstone stated with essential accuracy the British attitude toward Continental powers in this period: "I do not believe that England ever will or can be unfaithful to her great tradition, or can forswear her interest in the common transactions of the general interests of Europe. But her credit and her power form a fund which, in order that they may be made the most of, should be thriftily used." Disraeli was in substantial agreement with that view, and he explained it by the growing interests of the nation in the outlying parts of the empire. "The abstention of England from any unnecessary interference in the affairs of Europe," he said, "is the consequence not of her decline of power but of her increased strength. England is no longer a mere European power; she is the metropolis of a great maritime empire, extending to the boundaries of the furthest ocean. It is not because England has taken refuge in a state of apathy that she now almost systematically declines to interfere in the affairs of the Continent of Europe. England is as ready and as willing to interfere as in the old days when the necessity of her position requires it." Perhaps one reason why British statesmen, for the time, intervened in Continental matters with little effect was their comparative lack of understanding of the forces then at work in European affairs.

While Cavour was busy with the intrigues and war with Austria that marked the beginning of the realization of Italian national ambitions, the British attitude was chiefly a desire to preserve peace. Some British statesmen sympathized with the introduction of a liberal constitutional government in the

Italian states, but they at first regarded the unification of these states as impracticable and undesirable. Not until events disclosed the reality of the national feeling in Italy were they reconciled to the ambitions of patriotic Italians. The same disposition to preserve peace and a reluctance to use force for that purpose characterized British participation in the long and intricate negotiations on the question of Schleswig and Holstein, which were the prelude to the war between Austria and Prussia and Denmark in 1864, that between Austria and Prussia in 1866, and that between Prussia and France in 1870. In the last case, the British government intervened before the outbreak of hostilities to reassert its determination to maintain the integrity of Belgium and procured from both France and Prussia agreements to hold that country inviolate. But the new Europe that was rapidly emerging was in many respects so different from the old Europe, with which the elder statesmen still in power in Great Britain had been familiar from their youth, that they welcomed it as little as they understood it. When a united and triumphant national Germany annexed the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, Gladstone foretold "that this violent laceration and transfer is to lead us from bad to worse, and to be the beginning of a new series of European complications," but no British protest was made against the cession. Less than a decade later, true to his interpretation of British policy, Disraeli purchased the interest of the Khedive of Egypt in the Suez Canal and began the long story of active British intervention in northeast Africa.

Meanwhile the British Minister found himself engaged against Russia both in the Balkans and in the Afghan region of Asia. In Asia there was actual war, though it reflected little credit on the British minister responsible for its precipitation and contributed less to the settlement of the questions at issue in that region. On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed at Delhi Empress of India, and the propaganda of imperialism was revived in a new form. While this was going on, the subjects of the Sultan of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina rose in revolt in the summer of 1875 and by that act gave the signal for a reopening of the general Balkan question. The negotiations that ensued were as tortuous as is usually the case with disputes in that region. Stratford Canning's counterpart in this generation was Henry Elliott, who had the confidence of the Turkish leaders and was pronounced in his hostility to Russia. At first, Great Britain, France, and Italy, the active participants in

the Crimean War, were left out of the negotiations. Russia tried to make terms with Austria against a possible day of reckoning with the Turks. Bismarck used his immense prestige in an effort to effect a settlement. Before anything was accomplished, instead of conciliating his discontented subjects in Bulgaria, as Elliot advised, the Sultan adopted the method that he was to apply so many times afterward of subjecting the rebels to massacre, pillage, and terror. Elliott's sympathy with the Turks led him to misjudge the situation and to furnish the government at home with inadequate information, which misled Disraeli into committing himself publicly to the view that there was little foundation for the reports that the opposition press was beginning to circulate. Gladstone, who had retired from political leadership after his defeat in 1874, now came forward with a pamphlet on Bulgarian atrocities, in which he denounced the "unspeakable" Turks and demanded their removal "bag and baggage" from the "province they have devastated and profaned." A wave of indignant emotion swept over the nation and made it necessary for the government to modify somewhat its policy of supporting Turkey. A conference, held at Constantinople in the last days of 1876 and the first of 1877, at which Great Britain was represented by Lord Salisbury, one of the ablest of her younger statesmen, failed to arrange a settlement of the question. War between Russia and Turkey followed in 1877, which ended with the Treaty of San Stefano, dictated by the victorious Russians, in 1878, after the British government finally, though not without much hesitation and seeming uncertainty of policy, gave the Turks to understand that no actual help would be forthcoming. This treaty would have established a much enlarged Bulgaria under Russian protection and an independent Serbia and Montenegro with enlarged territories. Austrian ambitions in Bosnia and Herzegovina were disregarded, and the aspirations of Greece and Roumania were as little heeded. Turkish territory in Europe was reduced to a comparatively small area around Constantinople. Both Great Britain and Austria-Hungary protested against the settlement and demanded that, if treaties formerly made by a congress of European powers were to be disregarded, the questions involved must again be considered by the same method.

A congress was held, accordingly, at Berlin in 1878. The Queen had by that time become an insistent convert to the policy of aggressive action against the Turks and demanded the adoption of measures with which Disraeli and his cabinet did not

agree. The wily Prime Minister had overplayed his hand of flattery and persuasion, and it was now difficult to dislodge from the royal mind feelings for which he was himself largely responsible. Probably he at no time seriously contemplated a resort to force, though it was natural that a threat of war should be in the air as he and Lord Salisbury made ready to go to Berlin. The more serious preparations for the congress, however, were in the nature of secret preliminary agreements with Turkey, Russia, and Austria, some of them in conflict with the others, but intended as a whole to obtain for Great Britain a measure of favor no matter which side chanced to be in the ascendancy. In the congress that resulted, the methods of nineteenth century diplomacy are seen at their worst. It was the last attempt, in that century of congresses, of a few statesmen from the great powers to meet and arbitrarily to apportion territories and draw boundaries in Europe, having primary regard to their own views and the interests of the governments they represented, giving little or no consideration to the peoples whose destinies were at stake. The Russian proposals were largely repudiated. Bulgaria was divided and left under Turkish suzerainty. Bosnia and Herzegovina became Austrian protectorates. Serbia became independent, but with no outlet to the sea. An enlarged Montenegro became independent also. Roumania was likewise declared independent, but Russia received compensating territory at the expense of the aspirations of the smaller countries. The Turkish government promised again that it would ameliorate the condition of its Christian subjects. Disraeli returned home and announced that he brought "Peace with Honour." Probably it was not the part he played in these negotiations, but rather the aggressive imperial policy manifest in so many directions that led to the final defeat and retirement of the old Minister in 1880. He did not long survive this defeat. He died April 19, 1881.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Ernest Barker, *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day*, chs. i-viii; O. F. Boucke, *The Development of Economics*, chs. vi-viii; *Cambridge Modern History*, XI. ch. xii; XII. ch. xxiv; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. ch. vii; Edward Jenks, *A Short History of English Law*, chs. xv-xix; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. xvi-xviii; Sir William Orpen, *The Outline of Art*, II. chs. xv, xviii; G. H. Perris, *The Industrial History of Modern England*, chs. vi-vii; Vida D. Scudder, *Social Ideals in English Letters* (1922 Edition), Part II. chs. ii-xii; W. T. Sidgwick and H. W. Tyler,

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GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the unification of Italy and Germany, see *Shepherd*, pp. 160-161. See also *Muir*, ff. 18, 24, 25. In the *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, see Nos. 104, 116, 117, 118; and, for the Balkans, Nos. 119, 120.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PROBLEM OF IRISH NATIONALITY

NATIONALITY, THE AGITATION FOR REPEAL, AND HOME RULE

If most British statesmen in the nineteenth century little understood the strange ferment at work in such Continental countries as Italy and Germany, they appreciated even less the reasons for their own failures in the island to the immediate west of Britain. Conscious of their own good intentions toward Ireland, they could not see why their best efforts met with so little favor among the people they were designed to benefit. Not aware that their policy in Ireland was fundamentally different from that which was adopted toward other peoples in the empire, these statesmen perceived dimly, even when they understood it at all, the explanation of the most conspicuous failure of British rule. Nor is it easy for a student unmoved by the partizan agitation which has beclouded the issue with a mass of prejudice to find an explanation for their failure. He will scarcely make progress at all unless he reminds himself at the outset that, by a series of circumstances in the more remote past, blame for which will always be a subject for fruitless speculation, Great Britain was in the end committed to the task of attempting in Ireland to achieve social and political ends she has undertaken nowhere else. Persistent, if unsuccessful, efforts to achieve these ends, extending over a long period of time, furnished the chief dynamic which made the Irish nation a reality that could not be ignored.

In the first place, in a sense different from any other state among the dominions of the British crown, Ireland was a subject state which its conquerors undertook to rule according to laws they imposed, administered by governors they appointed, and supported by force they directed. Such a régime could succeed only where the conquered people was thoroughly subdued or reconciled to the dominion of the conquerors, and neither was the case in Ireland. To make matters worse, after the final separation of the English from the Roman Church, the British undertook to impose their own established Church on the Irish

and levied tithes for its support. Obligated by this procedure to support institutions they did not desire, the Irish developed a devoted loyalty to the Church of their fathers, and it became a positive force in the country, while the Anglican organization grew correspondingly in disfavor. Even a greater object of resentment among the native population was the transfer, in the course of the conquest, of the lands to alien landlords, many of whom did not even reside in the country and so never identified its interests with their own. Instead, they regarded these holdings chiefly as sources of income and power and so won the dislike and distrust instead of the loyalty of their enforced dependents.

The passage of the Act of Union in 1801 was effected by methods that left unpleasant memories and, the Irish felt, by promises which, for whatever reason, were not kept, until action was forced long afterward by conditions arising in Ireland. Again, British power in Ireland was frankly used to make the subject country tributary to the economic interests of Great Britain. When changing conditions led the governing country to depart from its traditional policies, little heed was paid to the results the change might bring about in the subject island. For example, the growth of machine manufacture in England meant a gradual decay of manufacturing in Ireland. But the increased demand for foodstuffs created by the Napoleonic wars and by the growing industrial population in Great Britain contributed to make Ireland even more populous as an agricultural country than it had been hitherto. In fact, at just this juncture Ireland had the largest population in all its history. But the repeal of the British Corn Laws, though ostensibly adopted to afford relief for the famine in Ireland, in the end, deprived the Irish farmers of their privileged entrance to British markets. The British demand for cheaper food was supplied from America and other foreign countries, where land was plentiful, and the Irish were left to suffer from a condition for which they were in no wise responsible.

Finally, the planting of English and Scot nonconformist colonies in the northeastern counties of the province of Ulster in the seventeenth century introduced another discordant element into an island already sufficiently distressed. The persistent loyalty of the native Irish to the Roman Church operated to make these pronounced Protestants of Ulster intolerant in their fears of their more numerous neighbors. When, in later times, the regions around Belfast developed into a populous industrial



district and when the British government tended, as the Catholics felt, to favor the Protestant Dissenters more than the more ancient religious element in the population, which remained largely agricultural, this segregated colony added much to the difficulty of dealing with a situation already formidable. Nowhere else has the British government attempted to impose by force of arms on a conquered people (1) a prescribed government under the control of alien rulers, (2) a prescribed religion with which the people obliged to support it were out of sympathy, (3) alien landlords chiefly interested in the rents of their estates, and (4) a subordinate economic position involving the sacrifice of the subject power in the interest of the ruling nation. Until the Irish people were practically exterminated, or their spirit wholly crushed, it was unlikely that they would submit to a policy involving these conditions.

There is no better evidence that the British policy in Ireland was not the result of malicious or premeditated design than the habitual refusal of British governments, of whatever political complexion, to adopt the thorough-going measures necessary to enforce it. The explanation of this seeming inconsistency is that the British government was committed to its hopeless program in Ireland by thoughtless acts of aggressive statesmen, who were bent on accomplishing some purpose of the moment and were disregardful of more ultimate issues. Once a measure was adopted as a policy, it was not easy to ignore it without reflecting discredit on those responsible for its initiation, a step which a conquering power is naturally reluctant to take. Consequently, each succeeding British administration in Ireland was lucky if it did not add to the debt of grievances which the population held against their conquerors by the necessity of going forward with undertakings which its predecessors had launched. But to go on with these undertakings meant to build still higher the wall of misunderstanding and prejudice between governors and governed, which was already almost insurmountable. In the end, the British were reduced to choosing between undoing much that they had done and subjugating the Irish by overwhelming force. Once this alternative was clear, the choice of the British was never in doubt. But it was not made clear until the Irish, as a natural result of the agitation against the conditions from which they suffered, developed among themselves a group consciousness that could not be ignored or easily suppressed. This feeling was directed largely against the British, since it looked to the remedying of specific grievances for

which the British were held responsible. In the course of time, this prejudice against the British became almost universal and unreasoning. Any time of trouble for Great Britain seemed to be an opportunity for Ireland; any enemy of Britain, Ireland's potential friend. This attitude did not imply the sympathy of the Irish with the purposes of the power hostile to Great Britain at any given time, but simply a hope that the Irish might enlist the help of the hostile power in procuring a remedy for their own grievances.

The first objective of Irish agitators, after the passage of the Act of Union, was the emancipation of the Catholics, which they felt had been a part of the agreement under which the union had been achieved. The leader in this agitation was Daniel O'Connell, whose name is inseparable from the first efforts, to enlist Irishmen as a group in support of their claims against Great Britain. At his suggestion, in 1823, a society of Catholic peasants was organized to obtain a remedy of their grievance against the British. The prohibition by law of the organization of political societies with a central body reflecting any semblance of representation of subordinate groups caused these Irish agitators to utilize the priests and machinery of the Catholic Church as the basis of their organization. The result was that the Church became identified institutionally with the Irish nationalist movement, and the Irish population became, in consequence, more loyal to the Church. The priests of the Church became the natural leaders of the people and the chief lieutenants of the nationalist agitators. In the end, as has proved to be the case in other countries, despite this close alliance between the Church and the Irish nationalists, it is probable that patriotism grew to be a stronger emotion than ecclesiastical loyalty. While few people are more devoted Catholics than the Irish, when, on occasion, the central organization of the Church at Rome has been tempted to intervene in Ireland in behalf of the British view, it has discovered that O'Connell, a devout churchman, represented the prevailing attitude when he said he "would as soon take his politics from Constantinople as from Rome." Catholic emancipation came in 1829, after O'Connell and his fellow-laborers had so stirred the Irish tenants that they were willing to defy their landlords and elect him to parliament in spite of his ineligibility. In the excited state of the country, with actual disorders in some places and threatening conditions in others, Peel and Wellington decided to yield. But, in yielding, they raised the qualification for the

franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds and so made the measure of little effect in pacifying the country.

Now that O'Connell was a lawful member of the parliament of the United Kingdom, he coöperated with the government of the day in procuring a reform of the British parliament in 1832. But, in the meantime, sentiment in Ireland crystallized against the further payment of tithes in kind to support the Anglican Church. To suppress the resulting disorders Lord Grey's government had recourse to coercive measures, which inspired O'Connell to advocate repeal of the Act of Union. In the parliament that met for its first session in 1835, O'Connell and the advocates of repeal held the balance of power and were able to obtain some remedial measures in Ireland as the price of the support they gave to the government of Lord Melbourne. In this interval the agitation for repeal lapsed. Agricultural workers were waxing prosperous, and Ireland subsided into quiet, so that, in the election of 1841, O'Connell himself failed of election in Dublin. He was elected lord mayor of the city, however, and he decided to plunge into the advocacy of a resident parliament for Ireland. At approximately the same time, a group of younger men like Charles Gavan Duffy and John Dillon, the elder, started a newspaper called the *Nation*, and the agitation for repeal blazed forth in a spectacular movement. Soon O'Connell was addressing meetings attended by thousands of people. The "Young Ireland" party announced its intention "to create and foster public opinion in Ireland and make it racy of the soil." This work was facilitated by the lyrics of Thomas Moore, whose plaintive regrets for glories departed were admirably adapted for the perpetuation of memories of things that, in many cases, had never existed, save in poetic imagination. When he lamented that

The Harp that once through Tara's halls
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that soul were fled,

neither he nor those who took up his strains really desired a return to by-gone times and conditions. They simply adopted the familiar method of appealing to a glorified past for inspiration and incentive to present and future effort.

The poet and O'Connell spoke to the same purpose. Impressive meetings in the spring of 1843, addressed by the orator, led Peel to announce that the union would, if necessary, be main-

tained by force of arms and to pass a bill through parliament empowering the government to suppress seditious assemblies. Before the bill passed, O'Connell held a still larger meeting on Tara's Hill; after its passage, he made ready to hold another at Clontarf. As a matter of fact, O'Connell later felt, and said, that no political end was worth a drop of blood, but some of his earlier statements gave a different impression. "I belong to a nation of 8,000,000," he boasted. "If Sir Robert Peel has the audacity to cause a contest to take place between the two countries, we will begin no rebellion, but—if he invades the constitutional rights of the Irish people—then *vae victis* between the contending parties." Nevertheless, in view of the military preparations he knew Wellington to be making to suppress the Clontarf meeting, the Irish leader hesitated to subject his followers to certain slaughter, and, to the disgust of Young Ireland, he took steps at the last minute to prevent the proposed assembly. A week later he and some of his more prominent associates were arrested on the charge of attempting "by means of intimidation and the demonstration of great physical force to procure and effect changes to be made in the government, laws, and constitution of this realm." By resorting to a carefully selected jury, from which every Catholic was excluded, the government was able to procure a conviction, though the House of Lords set the verdict aside on an appeal, and the peer who gave the decision pronounced trial by jury under the conditions shown to have existed in this case "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." For all that, the agitation for repeal was stifled for a time and was soon overshadowed by the terrible conditions that attended and followed the great famine and the repeal of the Corn Laws. O'Connell died in 1847 on his way to Rome to seek for himself and his country the intercession of his religion. The younger group wasted their spent energy in a fruitless uprising in the following year.

Yet, within a decade, another group of Irishmen, including some who survived from the earlier movement, were busy organizing an Irish Republican Brotherhood, which reached its greatest strength at the time of the American Civil War and when Great Britain seemed likely to be involved in a conflict over the Schleswig-Holstein controversy. This Fenian movement, as it was known in America, where it was largely financed, was composed of members who solemnly swore "allegiance to the Irish republic now virtually established." This movement was suppressed, like the others, but not until it had resulted

in acts of violence in England, which helped to convince Gladstone, then coming into power as prime minister, that something ought to be done to pacify a people among whom rebellion and discontent were chronic. Once persuaded that it was his mission to pacify Ireland, Gladstone labored persistently at the task, adopting new methods and measures as he learned new aspects of the difficult undertaking on which he had embarked. He soon discovered that no measures of internal reform which a British parliament could be induced to pass would satisfy a people whose demands grew as they reflected on their grievances and organized themselves to obtain redress.

A generation of observation and experience convinced Isaac Butt, a Protestant barrister and member of parliament who had opposed O'Connell's agitation for repeal, that no settlement of the Irish question was feasible without a measure of self-government. Accordingly, he helped in 1870 to form the Home Rule Association, which became, two years later, the Home Rule League. In the parliamentary election of 1874, some sixty members, more or less committed to the aims of the league, were returned to Westminster. But the character of Butt little qualified him to take the lead in an agitation where quiet and respectful methods would accomplish nothing effective. He was soon supplanted by a younger group, of whom Charles Stuart Parnell was the most prominent member. The Parnellites interested themselves in other matters besides Home Rule, land reform for example, and on some of these matters Gladstone was willing to meet them half way. Nevertheless, when a bad harvest in 1879 led to the inevitable discontent in Ireland, the Chief Secretary in Gladstone's cabinet asked for and obtained from parliament authorization to proceed with coercive measures for the space of three years, the while the Prime Minister himself undertook to deal with the agrarian grievances. Parnell and some of his colleagues were confined in gaol, where they reached a compromise agreement to coöperate with Gladstone in his remedial measures. Scarcely had they been released, when Lord Frederick Cavendish, a new and friendly chief executive, and Thomas Burke, the Under Secretary, were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a band of irresponsible irreconcilables. Gradually Ireland was reduced to a state of quiet, and outbreaks of violence by Irish factions in England were reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, Gladstone thought it prudent to ask for an extension of the period of coercion. Parnell's supporters voted with Lord Salisbury to defeat Gladstone's ministry, and for the next

few months a government under Salisbury tried to deal with the land question. Neither of the British parties committed themselves to Home Rule in the general election that followed in 1885. The result was a House of Commons composed of 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 89 Parnellites. With so large a proportion of the Irish population united on the measure, Gladstone now became a convert. Soon after taking office, (April, 1886), with the support of Parnell, he introduced his first Home Rule Bill. This bill provided for the institution of a parliament in Ireland to deal with purely local affairs and for the elimination of the Irish members in the parliament of the United Kingdom.

The first Home Rule Bill divided Gladstone's party and so caused the defeat of his government in the House of Commons within a year after it took office. Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the administration of Lord Salisbury, which succeeded, undertook both to coerce the Irish into quiet and at the same time to ameliorate somewhat the internal grievances, the existence of which no party in Great Britain now had the hardihood to deny—to "kill Home Rule by kindness," as the saying went. Gladstone joined with the Parnellites in opposing the act authorizing coercive measures, which the government now proposed to make permanent. The government retorted by seeking to discredit the leadership of Parnell, using for that purpose forged letters, which the *Times* published, implicating him in the murders in Phoenix Park. Although this effort failed to accomplish its aim, and indeed, in the end, seemed to enhance the reputation of the leader against whom it was directed, Parnell discredited himself, when he was unable to offer defence on being named as co-respondent in a divorce case. Gladstone, in deference to British opinion, forced the Nationalist party to disavow its leader, who died in the fall of 1891. In the general elections held the next year, the advocates of Home Rule were returned with a majority in the House of Commons, and Gladstone, now an old man, took office again to redeem the promise he felt that he had made to Ireland. His second bill, which left the Irish members in the imperial parliament, passed safely through the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords (1893). Before it could have any chance of passing that body, another constitutional battle was necessary in Great Britain itself, and that battle Gladstone was too old to fight. Accordingly, he gave the reins of government into the impotent hands of Lord Rosebery (March, 1894),

whom the Queen selected for the place. The Rosebery ministry was soon (July, 1895) succeeded by one frankly opposed to Home Rule, and the question was shelved for another decade, while efforts to conciliate the Irish by internal reforms were revived.

These efforts at conciliation had a measure of success, and when, in 1904, George Wyndham, the Chief Secretary for Ireland in Balfour's ministry, suggested a tentative compromise on a measure granting in a limited degree local self-government to the Irish as an experiment, John Redmond, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Irish Nationalists, was inclined to agree. But it transpired that Wyndham did not speak for his colleagues in the ministry, and the whole administration soon broke up. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's government, which succeeded, in December, 1905, was in favor of Home Rule, but, as a result of the general election of 1906, it found itself with a majority in the House of Commons without the Irish and with some of its important supporters committed against the consideration of Home Rule in that parliament. Accordingly, it proceeded to give attention to overdue measures of reform in Great Britain. The increases in taxation made necessary thereby, and especially the proposal to levy a tax on land, caused the House of Lords, in 1909, to reject the budget proposed by Mr. David Lloyd George, now chancellor of the exchequer under Mr. Herbert Henry Asquith, who became prime minister on the death of Campbell-Bannerman in 1908. After the ensuing election in January, 1910, the Irish Nationalists again held the balance of power, and Mr. Asquith committed his government in favor of limiting the legislative power of the House of Lords and of Home Rule for Ireland. The death of King Edward VII in May, 1910, led to a postponement of action, but another election, in December of that year, revealed the country as of substantially the same opinion it had been in January, and the program agreed on went forward. After the passage of the Parliament Act in 1911, which made it possible for parliament to enact legislation in spite of the opposition of the House of Lords, provided the House of Commons was of the same mind two years after the first consideration of the measure, the third Home Rule Bill began its journey to the statute book, in which it was destined to remain an ineffective ornament. With variations to meet changed conditions and with some differences in detail, it followed the second bill sponsored by Gladstone. But, while its opponents in Ulster were arming and threatening rebellion if it should be put into effect, the world was plunged into war, and

Ireland, like other nations, found that the new troubles brought new conditions.

INTERNAL REFORMS

Ireland in the nineteenth century illustrates a phenomenon, frequent in modern times, of a subject people, stirred to consciousness by practical economic or social grievances, seeking therefor political or constitutional remedies. The British followed the normal course of the ruling power in such cases, giving first attention to the practical grievances, in the hope of quieting the demands for political or constitutional change. But this hope, as is usually the case, was disappointed, since the political and constitutional program, which originated in part as a means of accomplishing practical ends, became, as a result of the agitation in its behalf, an end in itself, cherished almost as a matter of supreme moment, for which an aroused people were ready to make any sacrifice however great. By the end of the nineteenth century many of the practical social and economic grievances of which the Irish had complained had been remedied or were on the road to remedy. In fact, in some respects, the government of the United Kingdom undertook to do more for the humbler classes of the Irish population than for the same classes in England. The Irish were not unappreciative of these belated acts, which were usually granted in response to more or less violent demands in Ireland. But the amelioration of the practical economic and social grievances, instead of quieting the demand for constitutional adjustment, seemed rather to open the way for greater concentration in Ireland on the points concerning which action had been withheld. The British tended to dwell on what had been, the Irish on what had not been done. An appreciation of this difference between British and Irish statesmen helps to make clear the manifest good intentions of both groups, though neither was ever quite willing to attribute this merit to the other. The trouble was not so much lack of good intentions as lack of understanding on both sides.

This difference in emphasis is illustrated by the first efforts of Gladstone to reconcile the two countries. The Fenian outbreaks directed his attention to the pressing need of the situation. There is a story that when, in 1868, the statesman, engaged in his customary avocation of cutting down trees on his country estate, received the message from the Queen, inviting him to form a ministry to succeed that of Disraeli, he put down his ax and

remarked: "My mission is to pacify Ireland!" Thus resolved, he gave first attention to a question which it required no little courage for a devout and orthodox churchman to attack. The tithes, which had long made the Protestant establishment in Ireland a grievance as well as a burden to the population, were reduced somewhat in 1838, by a bill sponsored by Lord John Russell, and were commuted into money payments, which were collected by the landlords as a part of the rents. As a result of this change, many of the Protestant clergy, while they had comparatively few and sometimes no parishioners to accept their religious ministrations, were nevertheless not unpopular members of the communities in which they resided, and, in many cases, they endeared themselves to their neighbors by benevolent activities, for which existing conditions afforded ample opportunity. But a state Church which did not command the allegiance of even a large part of the Protestant population of the island was certainly an anomaly, and its disestablishment was a real step toward better conditions. Gladstone's measure undertook to give compensation for the vested interests of all persons concerned and to reserve a part of the holdings of the establishment for the support of an independent Protestant Episcopal Church, which was set up. The remaining property of the Church was to be used for worthy educational and benevolent purposes in Ireland. After a generation of trial, the clergymen in the Church itself discovered that the disestablishment had operated to stimulate their legitimate work and to strengthen their organization, but its passage was opposed by much violent language, by dire prophecies, and by actual threats—among the latter that there were two hundred thousand men in Ulster who would resist. This last threat became all too familiar in the succeeding generations and finally became a fanatical obsession, which in the end was a sad reality.

The disestablishment of the Church was a measure so long overdue that the Irish had ceased to regard it as a matter of large importance. The Catholic population, from all too inadequate private means, had provided chapels of that faith to which, perhaps because it was voluntary, was given a large measure both of loyalty and financial support. Gladstone's first venture, therefore, did little to pacify Ireland. His proposal for fostering higher education by organizing the colleges of all faiths into a national university was not finally passed into law. Each college was to keep its distinguishing characteristics. In the examinations for degrees in the proposed university, theology, philosophy,

and modern history were to be eliminated from the curriculum as contentious subjects. So truncated a course of study had little to recommend it under circumstances where the excluded subjects were inevitably those of widest appeal. As early as 1831 parliament laid the foundation for a system of primary education by setting up at Dublin a central board of which half the members were Catholics. The schools were supported by the state, and only secular subjects were taught. Religious instruction was given at stated times by clergymen of the religious denominations preferred by parents of the children. In these schools, it was found expedient to eliminate the study of modern history in general and of Irish history in particular, and in later days a complaint arose that the growing use of English operated to discourage the Irish from speaking and cherishing their native Gaelic mother tongue.

But the real grievance of the Irish was in the condition of the land system. Protestant landlords, many of them absentees, had been in entire control of the old Irish parliament. The enfranchisement of Catholics meant the enfranchisement of tenants, and a parliament elected on that basis offered little prospect of perpetuating the supremacy of the old ruling class in Ireland. The later success of O'Connell and Parnell in organizing the Catholic population as a force in the country is evidence that the landlords faced an actual danger had Catholic emancipation taken place before the union. But the time came before the end of the nineteenth century, when practically all British parties agreed that it was inexpedient, if not unjust to the bulk of the Irish population, longer to maintain the privileged position of the landlords. There were, however, two sides to the question. Landlords of later generations were scarcely to blame for conditions they had inherited and for which it was not easy to find a remedy. They were themselves frequently victims of the same conditions that imposed hardships on their tenants.

The Act of Union, coming in the midst of the Napoleonic wars and of the rapid growth of industry in Great Britain, tended to make Irish agriculture more, and Irish industry less, profitable. Landlords subdivided their estates and let them to small farmers. The end of the war brought temporary hardships, but the favored position of Irish farmers in British markets and the continued growth of British industry made it possible for Ireland to support an extraordinarily large population for an agricultural country. Before the famine of 1846 and the following years, the number of people had reached almost eight millions, the

largest figure in the history of the country. Many authorities believed that this was entirely too large a population for so small a country to support by pursuits so largely agricultural. At any rate, we may safely say that the famine was not the only explanation of the disaster which it precipitated on both the Irish landlords and their tenants. Many of the landlords displayed inefficiency, prodigality, and slovenliness in the management of their affairs. They were not by nature hard-hearted or inclined to indulge in oppression. Even before the famine, the estates of many of them were heavily encumbered. These embarrassments of the landlords added to the burdens imposed on their tenants, especially when the landlords were absentees. Rents were raised, prospective tenants bidding against each other for the more desirable places. The result was that, in many places, the tenants reached the point of selling their grain, poultry, pigs, and the like, while they subsisted on potatoes or on potatoes and milk. The failure of the potato crop, which deprived these tenants of this unsatisfactory diet, did not interrupt the process of sending their grains and other foods to market to satisfy the claims of the landlords for rents. Nor did the government for a time stay this normal course of trade, which would have involved compensation of the landlords and other troublesome adjustments. For an interval, therefore, the Irish afforded the spectacle of a starving people exporting food which they had themselves produced. For relief, the government purchased corn (maize) in the United States and sold the meal at nominal prices, while it expended large sums for public works, always careful to do nothing that would conflict with private enterprise. The result was that much money was wasted, with little to show for it except the small measure of relief afforded to those in want.

The more far-reaching effects of the famine were not immediately apparent. The repeal of the Corn Laws, proposed as a remedial measure, resulted in the long run in making Irish agriculture impossible on its former basis. The pestilence which followed the famine helped to rid the country of some of its surplus population, which could no longer be supported, even on a basis of bare subsistence. It was estimated that nearly half a million perished. Thrice as many more emigrated to Australia, Canada, or the United States, by far the larger number going to the last country, where they cherished a hostile feeling toward Great Britain as a part of their attachment to the land of their nativity. As a measure of relief to the creditors of the land-

lords, a bill was passed expediting the sale of encumbered estates. In consequence, in many cases, the old landlords were replaced by purchasers who engaged in the venture as a speculation and who had fewer scruples than their predecessors in evicting old tenants when it was possible to obtain higher rents from others. This easy change of tenants discouraged the improvement of lands or buildings, since a tenant who embarked on these undertakings ran the risk, for his trouble, of having to pay a larger rent or else of giving up the fruits of his labor to a higher bidder. Furthermore, the influx of cheap grain from America, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, caused many landlords to evict their tenants and enclose their land for grazing. It is difficult to imagine a gloomier prospect than faced the agricultural population of southern Ireland after the middle of the nineteenth century. In such circumstances, a people is likely to accept any leadership that proposes a way out, and no suggestion is too violent to find desperate persons willing to adopt it. Infractions of the peace were chronic, and the repressive measures, which even the best disposed British statesmen felt it necessary to adopt, had a tendency to make more insidious the difficulties they were designed to remedy and more ingrained the suspicion of the Irish of any measure of relief that originated in Great Britain.

After the disestablishment of the Church, Gladstone tried to make a beginning at dealing with the pressing land question. In the province of Ulster tenants had been able, in case of eviction, to assert successful claims to remuneration for improvements made on the land. The land act of 1870 made these claims legal and extended the practice throughout Ireland. But the law left intact the freedom of the tenant to contract against these claims and of the landlord to fix rates of rental and to evict tenants in arrears. The chief significance of the act, therefore, is that it acknowledged the existence of conditions requiring remedial legislation. Unfortunately, the legislation enacted in this and future cases followed violent agitation in Ireland and tended to create the impression that the imperial parliament had time for Irish affairs only when compelled thereto by acts that could not be ignored. The Land League, organized by Michael Devitt in 1879, won the support of Parnell, and the agitation for better conditions for Irish tenants went hand in hand with that for Home Rule. The method of "boycotting," so-called from the name of its first principal victim, Captain Boycott, was devised as a deterrent for those who would take a farm

from which the tenants had been evicted. Gladstone's chief secretary for Ireland, W. E. Forster, took steps to suppress violence in Ireland in the parliamentary election of 1880, but the Prime Minister also brought in a bill for inaugurating a system of land courts to adjust differences between tenants and landlords. This act recognized that both tenant and landlord had a right in the land and restricted the right of landlords to raise rents or to evict tenants.

The claims agitated by the Land League, and thus recognized by statute, made clear the conflicting interests of the older type of landlords and their tenants and made it difficult to reconcile a majority of the landlords to the prospect of a nationalist Ireland. "Tenant right" in the land later came to rival and even to exceed in value the interest of the landlord, and it was only a matter of time when statesmen, regardless of theoretical reluctance to interfere with established property rights, would adopt measures looking toward the consolidation of the ownership in the hands of the real occupant, who had to depend on an all too small a unit of land for the sustenance of himself and family. Indeed, the act of 1881 contained a provision by which the state offered to advance to a tenant three fourths of the price necessary to purchase his holding, but this offer was rather an indication of what was to come than a practicable arrangement. An act passed in the administration of Lord Salisbury in 1885 appropriated five million pounds to be advanced to Irish tenants at something less than five per cent. to purchase the rights of the landlords in their holdings, and to be repaid over a period of forty-nine years. While Balfour's Chief Secretary was busy coercing Ireland in 1891, he piloted through parliament a bill extending the powers of the Land Purchase Act and appropriating an additional thirty million pounds for the purpose. The landlords themselves now recognized the futility of attempting longer to preserve the dual system of ownership in Ireland. A conference between several prominent representatives of the landlords and the leaders of the Nationalist party recommended, in 1902, a total abolition of the system. Accordingly, Chief Secretary Wyndham procured the passage through parliament of a bill appropriating one hundred million pounds for the compensation of the landlords. By 1920 more than two hundred thousand tenants had in this way come into possession of between ten and twelve million acres of land, for which they were paying in annual instalments, less in amount than the prevailing rents for similar units of land. In this way, a large body of small

landowners was created in Ireland, giving a new color and a new hope to Irish agriculture. This process was immensely facilitated by the movement led by Sir Horace Plunkett for teaching improved methods of cultivation to the farmers and for organizing them into coöperative societies for the marketing of their products. In 1918 the Irish Agricultural Organization Society had over a thousand branches with a total membership of one hundred and twenty thousand and transacted a business aggregating twelve million pounds.

This transfer of actual power from the older landlords to the newer was recognized in 1899 by the institution in Ireland of a system of local government, based on that which had been inaugurated in England in the previous decade. Whereas local affairs had previously been managed largely by grand juries dominated by the landlords, they were now placed in the hands of county councils elected by the voting population. The result was to deprive the older landlords of the last vestige of their privileged position and to make them merely one among the other members of the community. In the meantime, in the Protestant counties of Ulster, shipbuilding and other industries were growing on a scale that emphasized still further the differences between that colony and the rest of the island.

IRELAND IN BRITISH POLITICS

The consistent failure of the British to deal successfully with the Irish has had a profound influence on the affairs of Great Britain. For one thing, it has developed in many of the British people an apparent inability to regard the Irish as normal human beings. This deep-seated prejudice is largely unconscious and is, perhaps, a natural result of the generations of conflict, in which these British remember that some of their best intentioned efforts at reconciliation have been misinterpreted. It is not easy for a powerful and, on the whole, a liberal people to sympathize with or to understand the point of view of neighbors, whose vision is apparently so distorted that they see malice where a real, if vague and general, good will exists, and who persist in assuming enmity where friendship is meant. This state of mind, which the British are unable to understand, many of them attribute to inherent defects in the nature of Irishmen. The notion of inferiority, thus deduced, has tended to become an habitual assumption on the part of the British and has made them

distrustful of the Irish in Ireland in cases where they have been ready to bestow a large measure of confidence on other peoples in other places.

The Irish, on the other hand, not without plausible justification, have for so long trained themselves to regard England as the national enemy and have cultivated in themselves so assiduously the habit of assuming that no proposal arising in England is to be taken at its face value, that it is not easy for even the best-intentioned Irishmen to appreciate the point of view of the British. Both the British and the Irish, therefore, when dealing with the relations between the two countries, are apt to lack the insight and the impartiality they are able to bring to the consideration of other questions. No matter how firm a resolution a student of one or the other nationality makes to deal with the subject with an open mind, or how diligently or with what measure of good will he applies himself, almost invariably the fruits of his labor reflect a party bias. The partizans of each nation make a plausible case, until it is seen through the eyes of the partizans of the other. Probably neither nation is endowed with the bad disposition and evil intention attributed to it by the other. Rather, the long and many-sided conflict between them has engendered in each an obtuse imagination where the other is concerned which obscures the all too human proportions of good and bad characteristic of both and which makes a common ground of agreement exceedingly difficult to attain. This deep-seated prejudice on both sides has in some measure been reflected in British party struggles, especially where questions involving Ireland were concerned, and has even been projected into international relations.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States, for example, have more than once been influenced by the large Irish element in the American population. Many of the Irish emigrants in the nineteenth century were reluctant exiles, who cultivated in their new homes the ties of loyalty that bound them to the land of their birth. No small proportion of the financial support for the Irish nationalist movement has come from Americans of Irish descent or nativity, and in some cases these exiled patriots have shown themselves readier to proceed to extreme measures than those who remained in Ireland and who were, therefore, in danger of severe penalties if they embarked on undertakings and failed. American statesmen have not been able wholly to ignore the feelings of so numerous and influential a group in their constituency, and the friendship between the two

largest English-speaking nations has many times been less cordial in consequence. Something of this loyalty to the old country is felt by the population of Irish descent in the British self-governing dominions, and both Canada and Australia have, on more than one occasion, expressed to the imperial parliament a hope that a more satisfactory adjustment would be made between the two major islands of the United Kingdom. Perhaps a matter of even more serious concern for British statesmen was the knowledge that, in case of a war between Great Britain and another nation, there was always a danger and usually a probability that the enemy of Great Britain would be accepted as a friend of Ireland. This tendency of the Irish to make common cause with all enemies of Great Britain contributed powerfully to reënforce the distrust of the Irish felt by responsible British statesmen. They seemed persistently afraid to try in Ireland experiments on which they have ventured in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. They found it difficult to have the courage to act on the assumption that Ireland as an autonomous nation would behave differently from the Irish as a subject people. Since they could not be sure of the result in advance, the safer plan, from the point of view of Great Britain, seemed to be not to take the risk. This timidity of British statesmen, quite naturally, emphasized in the Irish the feeling that the British were unsympathetic with their national aspirations and so contributed to make an understanding between the two peoples more difficult.

An even more serious result of the unpleasant relations between the two countries after the union was the existence in the parliament of the United Kingdom of more than a hundred members who seldom felt or acted as other loyal subjects of the British crown. The presence of so large a group of members, who thought rather in the narrower terms of Ireland than in the broader spirit of the United Kingdom, afforded a constant temptation to rival British parties to make terms, whereby they accomplished some immediate political purpose in return for the passage of an Irish measure. As a British statesman wrote, after a generation of experience with the practice: "The nineteenth century has witnessed the persistent vengeance of Ireland. We destroyed her manufactures in the eighteenth century; in the nineteenth she has destroyed our ministries." There was scarcely an important British political leader in the nineteenth century who did not at one time or another depend on the Irish for support. The first parliamentary reform bill was carried with the help of O'Connell. The repeal of the Corn Laws was

effected largely with reference to Irish conditions. Both Gladstone and Salisbury made terms with Parnell, and Mr. Asquith later had the support of the Irish in passing British measures of far-reaching importance. On all of these occasions, the Irish acted substantially in a group and did not divide after the manner of British parties. The question of nationality thus became the dominant note in Irish politics, and most other things were subordinated to it. Even the divisions within Ireland were almost wholly on that issue—Protestant, industrial Ulster against the Catholic, agricultural south. One faction became in time fanatical patriots, worshipping at the national shrine; the other became equally fanatical in adherence to the union and in fear of the consequences should the program of the Nationalists be adopted.

When, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Irish question became the chief touchstone of party division in Great Britain, it was natural that the corresponding divisions in Ireland should be intensified. To those who were converted to the cause of Irish nationalism and who favored a measure of Home Rule, the Ulster Unionists appeared to be a recalcitrant minority that persistently refused to acquiesce in any feasible settlement of an all too troublesome question. It was scarcely to be expected, on the other hand, that British Unionists would resist the temptation to encourage the Protestants of Ulster in their fears. "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right" became a standing threat, used to oppose any measure looking toward the bestowal on Ireland of the national autonomy for which so large a part of the population of the island so persistently clamored. Statesmen who did not scruple to indulge in this dangerous form of argument were naturally tempted to take steps to insure that their prophecies should not be unfulfilled. This open encouragement of an habitual attitude was not without effect on a people long intolerant of the religion of their neighbors. A violent religious prejudice was thus engendered on both sides in Ireland, which no party in Great Britain thought of ignoring. All of the proposed bills for home rule carried provisions designed to guarantee a measure of security to Ulster, and the Irish Nationalists recognized that no proposal would find acceptance in Great Britain from which these guaranties were absent. The insurmountable difficulty was that neither the leaders of the Ulster party in Ireland nor its more extreme partizans in Great Britain would admit the feasibility of providing guaranties that could be depended upon to serve the purpose. They could not be

convinced that a Nationalist Ireland would keep faith, and no peaceful settlement of the question was possible as long as they were supported in this view by a substantial British party.

That many British statesmen who encouraged a spirit of resistance and intolerance in Ulster shared the dire forebodings of Ulster Protestants is undeniable, but there was an ever-présent danger that the less scrupulous would use this partizan fanaticism as a convenient weapon with which to attack political rivals, whom they were opposing on other grounds. Not for generations will impartial historians be able to disentangle the passions aroused in Great Britain in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth by the increase in taxation for social purposes from the equally violent feelings inspired by the Irish controversy. In few British political struggles has the clash of opposing forces been so bitter or the motives so mixed. Under the circumstances, it would have been remarkable had a tendency not developed, though in a large part unconscious, to seek in a troubled Ireland relief from a program in Great Britain itself that many British partizans of Ulster resented with as strong a feeling as they did the prospect of imposing a Catholic government on the Protestant counties of the Irish province. Once this fanatical spirit was aroused, compromise with it was difficult, as some of the most provocative of its sympathizers later discovered in a time of national danger, when they were anxious to settle the Irish question.

But no ulterior motive is necessary to explain the existence of suspicion between factions that for so long a time had so thoroughly distrusted one another. Seldom have human beings developed prejudices so deep-rooted. There was on each side an emphatic feeling that the other was thoroughly untrustworthy. As early as 1848, a man so liberal in spirit as was Richard Cobden could look back over his experience in parliament in the preceding seven years and write: "I found the populace of Ireland represented in the House by a body of men with O'Connell at their head, with whom I could feel no more sympathy or identity than with people whose language I did not understand. In fact *morally* I felt a complete antagonism and repulsion toward them. O'Connell always treated me with friendly attention, but I never shook hands with him or faced his smile without a feeling of insecurity; and as for trusting him on any public question where his vanity or passions might interpose, I should have as soon thought of an alliance with an Ashantee chief." John Morley, a half century later, encountered difficulties of his own

when he made bold to adopt a sympathetic attitude toward Irish ambitions. The point of view of some of his friends is revealed in his own statement: "Goldwin Smith hints that I am for Home Rule because I am ignorant of Ireland. His own personal knowledge of Ireland seems to have been acquired in a very short visit to a Unionist circle here thirty years ago. What can be more shallow and ill considered than to dismiss O'Connell as a agitator, not a statesman? O'Connell's noble resolution, insight, persistency in lifting up his Catholic countrymen, in giving them some confidence in themselves, in preaching the grand doctrine of union among Irishmen, and of toleration between the two creeds, in extorting justice from England and the English almost at the point of the bayonet . . . all this stamps O'Connell as a statesman and a patriot of the first order." But then Morley served in Gladstone's cabinet when the first Home Rule Bill was introduced. To even so dignified a journal as the London *Times*, O'Connell was that "rancorous and foul-mouthed ruffian."

Nor were the more polite circles of British society free from the bitter heritage of prejudice that Ireland bequeathed to her conqueror. Morley records in his *Life of Gladstone* that the decision of that minister to advocate the cause of the Irish Nationalists precipitated feelings so keen that "political differences were turned into social proscription. Whigs who could not accept the new policy were especially furious with Whigs who could. Great ladies purified their lists of the names of old intimates. Amiable magnates excluded from their dinner-tables and their country houses once familiar friends who had fallen into the guilty heresy, and even harmless portraits of the heresiarch [Gladstone] were sternly removed from the walls. At some of the political clubs it rained blackballs. It was a painful demonstration how thin after all is our social veneer, even when most highly polished."

On even so prosaic a matter as parliamentary procedure in the House of Commons, the Irish question left its mark. Previous to the advent of Parnell business had been transacted in the house by consent. Members retained a large freedom of debate, possible because they habitually restrained themselves from its abuse. The Irish leader elected to use this freedom to obstruct business by filibustering, in the hope thereby of obliging the imperial parliament to give attention to the grievances of his country. The government of the day, in consequence, in order to transact the necessary business, was compelled to introduce the closure. The time of the House was thus brought, more

than it had been before, under the control of the responsible ministers of the crown.

SINN FÉIN AND THE FREE STATE

Along with the agitation for autonomous government and for remedies for specific grievances, there appeared another less tangible but none the less potent factor in promoting the growth of Irish nationality. In the same year that Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was defeated (1893), Dr. Douglas Hyde organized the Gaelic League for the purpose of reviving and perpetuating the native Irish language and studying its literature. Ten years later the League was sufficiently powerful to have Gaelic taught in the schools of Ireland, and in 1910 a knowledge of the language was made a requirement for admission to the national university. John McNeill coöperated with Hyde in the work; a later apostle of the movement was Padraic Pearse, a devoted disciple of Hyde. Another literary group, though less narrowly national in its aims and methods, was nevertheless not without influence in behalf of the patriotic cause. The Irish Literary Theater was established in 1899 and had the support of such writers as William Butler Yeats, George Moore, and Lady Gregory. Most of these writers tried their hands in other fields as well as the drama and reflected aspects of the prevailing Irish mood. Growing out of this Gaelic revival came the beginnings of a political movement, of which Arthur Griffith was the apostle, which took for its motto "Sinn Féin" (we ourselves). Griffith was inspired by the example of the Magyars of Hungary, who, as he conceived it, had acquired autonomous government from Austria by the simple method of refusing to take part in the Austrian Reichsrat. His scheme was that the Irish should simply ignore the government at Westminster and organize for themselves a national assembly, for which he suggested the name Dáil Eireann. At approximately the same time, James Larkin and James Connolly were organizing the laborers of Dublin in a body of still a different character, which was destined to play an important part in later events.

The stone on which the third Home Rule Bill broke was the question of Ulster, or rather of the northeastern counties of that province. A majority of the people in these counties adhered in the twentieth century to a type of Protestantism that has no counterpart elsewhere in the modern world. Since the seven-

teenth century they had dwelt on the dangers to themselves should the Catholic majority in the island acquire power and they had cultivated their fears in more recent generations by celebrating the anniversary of the battle of Boyne and by habitually emphasizing the unpromising rather than the favorable aspects of their relations with their Catholic neighbors. It is not pertinent here to consider the ground for these fears; their existence was a reality not to be ignored. The question was, whether the members of this minority group were to be obliged, regardless of their own wishes, to cast in their lot with a new Irish government, even though they had to be coerced into obedience to the law if they finally elected to resist. No party in this controversy displayed a state of mind on this subject which was normal to it when considering other questions. British Unionists proclaimed emphatically that it would be an unpardonable crime to coerce Ulster. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionist party, announced publicly in July, 1912, that: "There are things stronger than parliamentary majorities. I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster people will go in which I shall not be ready to support them." Sir Edward Carson, himself a native of southern Ireland, who now took upon himself the leadership of the Ulster group, made bold to declare at the same time, "We shall shortly challenge the government to interfere with us if they dare." The implications of these incitements to rebellion at the prospect of undesired legislation are not clear unless it is remembered that these statements were made by leaders who spoke for a party that had not hesitated to use all manner of repressive measures in a vain effort to coerce into subjection the Catholic majority in Ireland. Apparently, in their view, it was one thing to coerce Catholics into obedience to the laws of parliament of which they were unwilling constituents, and quite a different thing to coerce Protestants into obedience to another government, the creation of the same parliament and strictly limited in its powers to act contrary to the interests of the minority group. As to the moral validity of this view, it is useless to speculate. The point is that it was the sincere attitude of most of the influential groups in Great Britain, and they were seemingly unaware that a point of inconsistency was involved. It was not simply the feelings of the Ulster Protestants, which are understandable under the circumstances. Difficulties arose, because a large section of British opinion made these feelings their own and adopted as an article in their political creed the belief that to coerce the Ulster minority would be

a terrible moral wrong, while to coerce the Catholic majority in the rest of Ireland was accepted as an imperative duty of the British government. This attitude is defensible on the assumption, on which it was really founded, that the inhabitants of southern Ireland were an inferior people and so deserving of less consideration than their neighbors in the north. The correctness of this assumption need not concern us here, but we should not expect to find this doctrine popular in southern Ireland, and we are not surprised that Irishmen were found ready to say hard things about statesmen who held this view and let it govern their actions.

After the third Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons in 1913, it became clear that, under the provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911, the House of Lords no longer had the power to prevent it from arriving in due time on the statute book. Accordingly, it was necessary for aggressive Unionists, such as Sir Edward Carson and Sir Frederick E. Smith, to proceed from violent speech to violent action or else leave the Ulster Protestants to their fate. In the spring of 1912, while the bill was yet under consideration, Pearse and McNeill addressed large crowds in Dublin in behalf of the proposed measure. "Let us unite and win a good act from the British," said Pearse. "I think it can be done. But if we are cheated once more, there will be red war in Ireland." A few months later the people of the north, under the leadership of Carson, taking their cue from the seventeenth century, held formal meetings against the bill, accompanied by divers religious ceremonies. Following the example of the Scots of an earlier generation, a "Covenant" was promulgated by the Unionist Council and duly signed by the members of the party in Ireland. Many who marched in the procession that accompanied Carson to the hall in which the covenant was promulgated carried dummy rifles. The covenant itself was skilfully drawn to come within the terms of the law. It was not a declaration of treasonable intent, but a threat to commit treason in a future contingency. The text of the document, however, is evidence of the spirit of those who signed it:

Being convinced in our conscience that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of his Gracious Majesty King George V., humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, hereby pledge ourselves in Solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened

calamity to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland; and, in event of such a parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names, and, further, we individually declare that we have not already signed the Covenant.

Suiting action to these formidable words, groups of men in Ulster began in 1913 to drill in military companies and to purchase surreptitiously abroad and to smuggle into the country arms and munitions of war. Reluctant to force the issue until the bill was actually passed, the government made no effective effort to interrupt these proceedings. This open preparation for the systematic use of force in Ulster naturally led to similar steps in the south. The National Volunteers were started by a group identified with Sinn Féin, but representatives of Redmond's Nationalist party soon lent a hand. As the fruit of an unsuccessful strike of dock laborers in Dublin, in the later months of 1913 and the earlier of 1914, Larkin organized and drilled another body known as the Citizens' Army, distinct from the National Volunteers, but destined to play an important part at a later juncture. Conferences between leaders of the opposing groups failed to effect a compromise and only served, as was announced at the time, to "bring out the difficulties." Unionist leaders began to suggest openly that in case of civil war it would be for the army to decide whether it would obey the orders of the government. This was a pointed suggestion, since, despite the reforms of Gladstone's day, the officers of the army were still drawn largely from the social class that tended to sympathize with the Unionists. Lord Roberts announced in the House of Lords that an attempt to coerce Ulster would wreck the army. That there was ground for this announcement was evident when, in the spring of 1914, a brigade of cavalry commanded by General Herbert Gough was ordered to coöperate with the fleet in preventing the further arming of Ulster. The General and fifty-seven out of seventy officers let it be known that they would resign their commissions rather than serve against their fellow Unionists. To make feeling more bitter, it happened that the Ulsterites were more successful in evading the government patrol than were their opponents in the south. The interception of a cargo of arms in the latter region was followed by a clash between the Volunteers and the British

troops. Later, hostile demonstrations against the soldiers by a mob resulted in a firing on the crowd, killing several and wounding some thirty more. Such was the condition of affairs in Ireland when the war began with Germany.

The immediate effect of the outbreak of the World War was to bring an announcement from John Redmond that the government might safely withdraw all troops from Ireland and depend upon the National Volunteers, coöperating with their brethren in Ulster, to defend the country. The time was approaching when, under the terms of the Parliament Act, the Home Rule Bill would become law. Before that time arrived, the Prime Minister announced that a bill would be introduced postponing the putting of the act into effect until after the end of the war; in the meantime, an amending bill dealing with Ulster would be introduced. The Unionist leaders described the passing into law of the Home Rule Bill as a breach of the party truce agreed upon at the beginning of the war; in the south of Ireland, there was dissatisfaction at the prospect of dividing the country when the bill should go into effect. The difficulties of Redmond in enlisting the support of the National Volunteers, already formidable by reason of the reluctance of the Sinn Féin element to support an imperial war, were increased, when Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of War, displayed a greater readiness to preserve the identity of the Ulster units than of those from southern Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George later said that in this matter the war office displayed "folly almost amounting to malignancy." Nevertheless, in the early months of the war there was practically no display of party feeling in Ireland.

By the early months of 1916 the Sinn Féin group was contemplating the usual attempt to find an opportunity for Ireland in the troubles of Britain. A rising was planned, to take place when the Volunteers should parade on the Monday after Easter. In the meantime, Sir Roger Casement went to Germany in the hope of procuring assistance. He found that no troops could be spared, but cargoes of arms were sent, which fell into the hands of the British. Sir Roger himself, endeavoring to return to Ireland on board one of the boats laden with arms, was captured. Learning of these mishaps, the Sinn Féin leaders took steps to call off the prospective uprising. The Citizens' Army in Dublin, under the leadership of Larkin and Connolly, persisted in the plan. The rebellion was easily suppressed by troops under the command of Sir John Maxwell. Some of the captured leaders, among them Connolly and Pearse, were tried by court

martial and executed. Casement, in England, met a similar fate. As might have been anticipated, these executions created a fresh quota of martyrs to the cause of Irish nationalism, and the men executed probably served the cause more effectively by their death than they would have by a longer life. Sinn Féin was soon rapidly gaining in strength. In May Mr. Asquith journeyed to Dublin and ordered General Maxwell to go no further with his executions. He also asked Mr. Lloyd George to undertake to negotiate an agreement between the Irish factions that would permit the Home Rule Bill to go into effect immediately. When these negotiations proved fruitless, and Mr. Asquith, in arranging a coalition cabinet for the conduct of the war, designated a Unionist, Mr. Henry Duke, as chief secretary for Ireland and Sir Edward Carson himself as a member of the cabinet, there is little wonder that Redmond and his moderate Nationalists began to lose prestige in Ireland, while Sinn Féin correspondingly gained in strength.

When Mr. Lloyd George succeeded Mr. Asquith as prime minister in December, 1916, he announced that the government was willing to grant Home Rule to any part of Ireland that desired it, but could not undertake to force it on any to which it was repugnant. The entrance of the United States into the war, with its large population of sympathizers with Ireland, made expedient a further attempt to settle the question by agreement. A convention was summoned in May, 1917, empowered to submit to the imperial parliament a scheme for the future self-government of Ireland. In June the Prime Minister announced the composition of the convention, in which he sought to have all factions represented. Sinn Féin prisoners were released in order to provide an atmosphere of good will for the undertaking. The convention labored earnestly under the presidency of Sir Horace Plunkett, but was unable to suggest a feasible basis of agreement. Before it adjourned John Redmond died, and with him perhaps passed the last hope of settling the Irish question by a constitutional agreement on some such basis as the bills proposed by Gladstone. Eamon de Valera, of the extreme wing of the republican faction, had already achieved prominence by being elected to parliament to succeed Major Willie Redmond, John Redmond's brother, after he was killed in battle. In October, 1918, De Valera and Arthur Griffith took the lead in securing a committee of Sinn Féin to formulate a constitution for Ireland, as an independent republic, and to "make use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold

Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise." Britain's troubles had finally brought opportunity to Ireland.

The success of the German offensive in March, 1918, led the British government to announce that the Conscription Act, which had hitherto been withheld in Ireland, would now be applied to that country. The result was very few soldiers for the British army, but a large flocking of the Irish to the standard of Sinn Féin. Another change was now made in the Irish government. The new officials arrested De Valera, Griffith, and other Sinn Féin leaders and began to take forcible steps to suppress the threatened rebellion. The signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, and the parliamentary election that followed soon thereafter revealed that Sinn Féin was in control of seventy-three out of the one hundred and five Irish seats and that the old Nationalist party was disappearing as a force in the country. The Sinn Féin members refused to attend at Westminster and met in Dublin instead, styling themselves the Dáil Eireann. This organization sought in vain to have Ireland recognized at the peace congress, though it was able to win sympathy in the United States and to cause both the American President and the British Prime Minister some embarrassment. In the months just after the armistice the British government in Ireland practically broke down, and the country was terrorized by the supporters of Sinn Féin.

All British parties were now weary of the Irish dispute and determined to be rid of the question in one way or another. Mr. Lloyd George was at the head of a ministry which had as its most numerous body of supporters the very men who a few years before had been ready to go to war to prevent the enforcement of the very moderate measure of home rule provided in the bill that became a law in 1914. In 1920 he carried through parliament, with the support of this party, a bill proposing to set up two parliaments in Ireland, one for the six counties of north-eastern Ulster and the other for the rest of the island, the unity of the country to be preserved by a joint council nominated by the two parliaments. The Protestant counties of Ulster, hitherto ready to fight to remain within the union, now proceeded to set up their separate government, since no other course was left to them. But the leaders in the south of Ireland were no longer interested in Home Rule. Whatever local government there was in that section was now administered by Sinn Féin. Murder and violence were naturally not infrequent, and orderly society was rapidly disintegrating.

To remedy this condition, the government appointed Sir Hamar Greenwood chief secretary in April, 1920, and reënforced the constabulary with troops and auxiliary police. The latter became famous as "black and tans," since, for lack of a sufficient supply of the dark green uniforms of the Irish constabulary, they wore black hats and arm bands and khaki. These new forces were soon engaged in the use of reprisals against the forces they were seeking to suppress, and the remedy took on much of the color of the grievance. When the parliament of north Ireland was elected in May, 1921, the voters in south Ireland proceeded under the terms of the act to elect a parliament there also, but the members were largely adherents of the Sinn Féin and did not assemble at the call of the Lord Lieutenant appointed from Great Britain. When the King went to Belfast to be present at the opening of the new parliament in Ulster, he was made to say in his speech: "I appeal to all Irishmen to pause to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and forget, and to join in making for the land they love a new era of peace and good will." A few days later, Mr. Lloyd George added a letter to Mr. De Valera as "the chosen leader of the great majority of southern Ireland," inviting him to attend a conference in London "to explore the utmost possibilities of a settlement." He sent a similar letter to Sir James Craig, the new Prime Minister of Ulster.

This first venture was not successful, but, after much sparring and the intervention of General Jan Smuts, of South Africa, the Dáil Eireann, of which De Valera was president, agreed to a truce in the fighting between the British and the forces of Sinn Féin and sent Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, Robert Barton, and Eamon Duggan to London to negotiate with representatives of the British government. It was soon clear that Ulster would not participate in any settlement there made. An agreement was finally reached in December, 1921, and was signed in behalf of Great Britain by Sir Frederick Smith among others, including the Prime Minister. This agreement was in the form of a treaty between two sovereign states and provided that Ireland should have the "same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a parliament having power to make laws for the peace and good government of Ireland, and an executive responsible to the parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State." In order

to make clear the separate character of the parliament of the Free State and its freedom of subordination to that of Great Britain, it was carefully stipulated that the oath administered to the members of the Irish parliament shall be: "I . . . do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty, King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to the membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." In case Ulster elected to remain outside of the Free State, as proved to be the fact, provision was made for the settlement of the boundary between the territory of the Protestant state and the new nation.

This treaty by no means ended the difficulties of Ireland. De Valera frankly announced his opposition to a treaty that he did not in the end mean to observe, since it did not involve complete separation from Great Britain and the inauguration of a republic. The wiser heads among his associates preferred that which might be had to the chance of gaining a little more in the war, which Mr. Lloyd George threatened as an alternative. The treaty was finally adopted by the Dáil Eireann, after prolonged debate, by a narrow majority, and Griffith and Collins, as leaders of the new government, undertook to suppress the revolt led by their former President and colleague. As soon as the provisional government of the Irish Free State was in existence, the British began rapidly to turn over responsibility in Ireland to the new authorities. On January 16, 1922, Dublin Castle, so long the center and symbol of British rule in Ireland, was formally transferred to the Free State government.

The results of the election, which took place in 1922, showed that the action of the provisional government in accepting the treaty had the approval of a majority of the people of southern Ireland. The Free State government, in consequence, took more positive measures to suppress the followers of De Valera, who still held out. After much destruction of life and property, victory finally rested with the new government. Among the unfortunate losses in this strife were buildings in Dublin containing many of the most valuable public and historical records of the island. Griffith died, and Collins was assassinated before the recalcitrants were reduced to subjection, and William Thomas Cosgrove had become head of the state. When the new constitution, framed in accordance with the terms of the treaty, was



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The six counties of Northern Ireland indicated thus 

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finally ready to submit to parliament, the duty of negotiating its passage through that body fell to Bonar Law, who had by that time succeeded Mr. Lloyd George as prime minister. Thus both Smith and Law, two of the men who had taken the lead in opposing at all costs the experimental Home Rule proposed by the Asquith government, finally officiated in launching a far more thorough dissolution of the union that Pitt had labored to effect in 1801. As the first governor general under the new dispensation, the King designated Timothy Healy, an Irish Nationalist of the old school, as if to signify that the British were anxious to be rid of the last vestige of responsibility for the Irish government. With the last Lord Lieutenant sailed the last remnant of British troops in southern Ireland.

Thus tragic circumstances finally obliged British statesmen to acknowledge the failure of their centuries of misdirected effort to govern Ireland. The almost insoluble constitutional difficulties of the problem were reflected in the three efforts that were made to frame Home Rule Bills. Ought the Irish to have representatives in the parliament of the United Kingdom if they were to have a parliament of their own? If the imperial parliament was deprived of its Irish members, but still retained jurisdiction over Ireland, there was manifestly room for complaint. If, on the other hand, Ireland should be given a parliament to regulate local Irish affairs, and the Irish members of the imperial parliament retained a voice in the determination of local matters in England, Scotland, and Wales, manifestly this arrangement, too, was open to objection.

It was a difficulty for which John Adams and James Wilson, among others, had tried in vain to suggest a solution to the British statesmen who lost the American colonies, in part, because they were unable to understand it or to admit the feasibility of the solution. British statesmen, in a later generation, finally learned the lesson from Canada, Australia, and the other self-governing dominions. There is no satisfactory half-way point between complete subjection and complete autonomy, where two peoples are concerned, each of which is conscious of its separate interests and traditions. In such cases, if a workable arrangement is desired, the implications of the doctrine of sovereignty are better held in abeyance. Whether it was necessary, in the nature of things, for the Irish to develop a separate national consciousness, is an interesting question for fruitless speculation, as is the question of whether any of the proposed measures of Home Rule might have furnished the basis of a permanent

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settlement had it been administered with good will on both sides. Whether, in the new treaty and constitution, the Irish, who have labored so long at a terrible sacrifice of life, wealth, and spirit, have at last brought their ship of state into a safe harbor, time alone can tell. Meanwhile, the boundary between northern and southern Ireland remains unadjusted.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge Modern History, XII. ch. iv; Robert Dunlop, *Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Part IV; Stephen Gwynn, *The History of Ireland*, chs. xxxviii-xlv; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. ch. viii; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. xx, xxv; G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. xxiv-xxv.

FOR WIDER READING

R. H. Gretton, *Modern British History*, I. chs. iv, xv; Stephen Gwynn, *Ireland*; Mary Hayden and G. A. Moonan, *A Short History of the Irish People*, Book VI; Francis Holland, *The Constitutional History of England*, III. ch. iii; Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders, *The History of England 1837-1901*, chs. xi, xvii, xix; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, III. chs. vi-viii; J. H. Morgan, *The New Irish Constitution, an Exposition and Some Arguments*; John Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Book VI. ch. xi; Books IX, X; A. E. Murray, *Commercial Relations Between England and Ireland*, chs. xvi-xix; P. S. O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin*; W. Alison Philips, *The Revolution in Ireland 1906-1923*; E. J. Riordan, *Modern Irish Trade and Industry*; E. R. Turner, *Ireland and England*, Part I. ch. viii; Part II. chs. ii-viii; Part III.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For maps of Ireland in the nineteenth century, indicating all the British invasions of the island, see *Muir*, ff. 41, 42. For a map of Ireland in 1923, see Stephen Gwynn, *The History of Ireland*, frontispiece.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE BRITANNIC COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY IN INDIA

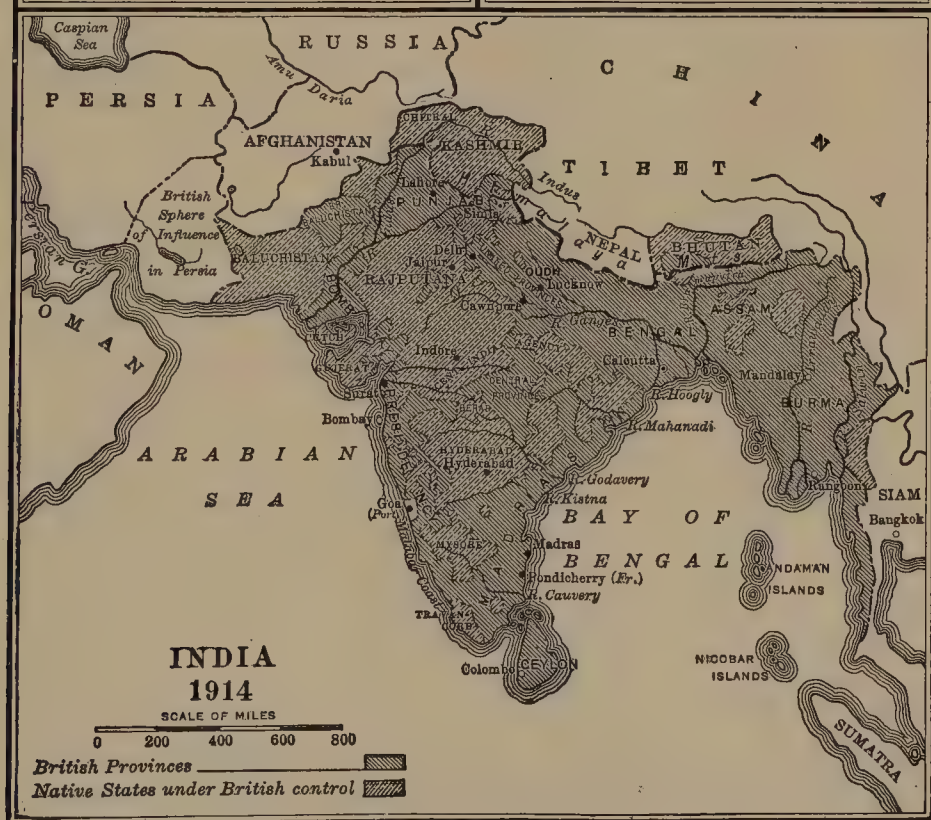
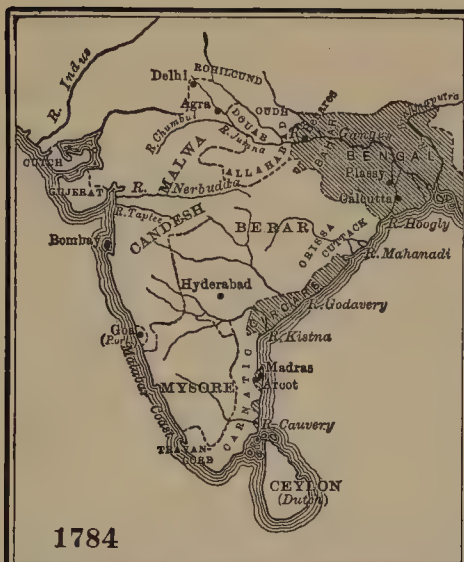
The passing of the East India Company as the intermediary for the government of India removed the necessity for a periodical reëxamination in parliament of conditions in that country whenever the corporation applied for a renewal of its charter. The government of India, therefore, developed into a bureaucracy, of which the average member of parliament had little knowledge and less understanding; the details of necessary legislation for India were attended to by the few who cared to inform themselves on Indian matters. India was represented in the British cabinet by a secretary of state, who had associated with him a council composed originally of fifteen, but after 1889 of ten members. This council was made up in large part of men who had served in India for a period of ten years or more and who had not, when appointed, been as long as that out of the service. In India the government was entrusted to a governor general, who was also viceroy. Queen Victoria was made Empress of India in 1876 and proclaimed at a Durbar in that year. The governor general, with his council, had the immediate responsibility of the government of India under instructions from the government in London. There were, of course, lieutenant governors in the several provinces, with other councils, and there was a diversity of relations between the Indian government and the numerous subject states not directly under British dominion.

In the last half of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth the British government in India was busy internally promoting measures designed to develop the economic resources of the country, such as the building of railroads, the encouragement of more productive methods in agriculture, the promotion of sanitation and education. All the while, there was constant fear of interference from Russia, or of other peoples acting because of pressure from Russia. Actual conflict was frequent. British statesmen in India were esteemed most suc-

cessful who were able to promote efficiency in the government and to keep the country in comparative peace and quietude. The last successful governor general of this type was Lord Curzon, who resigned office in the early months of his second term in 1905 on account of a dispute with Lord Kitchener, the commander of the army in India. Before the administration of Lord Curzon, the way was prepared for the storm that was to break in India in the next decades, but he helped to precipitate the trouble by one of his acts.

More than nine tenths of the nearly three hundred million people in British India were as yet illiterate. The prevailing system of caste and other social complications made the task of promoting a widespread system of popular education almost unimaginably stupendous. The British plan in the nineteenth century, copied in part from that in Great Britain, was to establish institutions of higher education of the European type for the education of a comparatively small group, in the hope that this education would somewhat penetrate to all strata of society. Many young men from India went to England and shared the conventional education of the British ruling class. Both those who went to Europe for education and those who were trained in institutions established in India tended to neglect the sciences and more practical subjects, confining themselves rather to a study of general ideas and literature. The natural result was to send back to India a substantial minority trained in British habits of thought and feeling, with an ambition, imbibed by contacts with Europeans, to govern themselves and to cultivate a pride in their own people and country. These feelings were intensified when the members of this educated class found themselves, in their own country, subjected to an inferior social status by their alien governors the while they were learning to cherish the achievements of their own peoples reaching back to antiquity.

The nationalist aspirations of this minority of Indian intelligentsia were organized as early as 1885 in the Indian National Congress, a body which has represented widely different shades of feeling since that time and which still exists. In its annual meetings Indian leaders found a forum for expounding their political hopes. The more conservative group of nationalists, who controlled the body in its early history, was led by the late Gopal Krishna Gokhali, who represented those desiring a constitution of the modern western type. The leader of the more radical nationalists in the same period was the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was several times arrested for sedition. His



faction was unable to get control of the National Congress until after the death of Gokhali, in 1915. The nationalist movement in India was thus made possible by the type of education which the British government in India provided and by the common language, English, thereby taught to the educated classes, affording them a medium of communicating with each other. Ample material with which to stimulate fanatical loyalty to patriotic ideals was lying ready at hand in the religions and traditions of the peoples.

An issue which stirred the emotions of a large section of the population in one portion of the empire was the division of the presidency of Bengal into two provinces by Lord Curzon in 1905. This presidency had expanded until it contained a population of between seventy and eighty millions, by no means all of them Bengalees. As the district was divided, the Mohammedan population was stronger in Eastern Bengal than the native Hindus, giving them there a predominance that they had not enjoyed in the united district. The native peoples were soon aroused against the partition, as a blow at the "Bengalee nation," and meetings were held at which the divinities of the Indian motherland were invoked to give a religious color to the feeling. The agitation found outlet also in boycotts against Mohammedans by Hindus and in even more violent unrest.

The partition of Bengal was the work of a governor general sent out from Britain by a Conservative government. The nationalist party in India hoped that the British Liberals would countenance their aspirations. Consequently, they looked forward to a better day when John Morley, afterwards Lord Morley, became secretary of state for India in a Liberal ministry in the same year that Lord Curzon resigned. Lord Minto succeeded Curzon as viceroy of India. Morley and Minto, disappointing the expectations of the Indian nationalists, declined to interfere with the partition of Bengal, regarding it as a *fait accompli*. Furthermore, Morley said frankly that in his judgment the population of India was not yet ready, and would not for a long time be ready, to undertake the responsibility of self-government. Like many other British Liberals, Morley felt that Great Britain had obligations to the illiterate nine tenths of the Indian population which it would be hazardous to transfer to the educated one tenth. Nevertheless, the Morley-Minto period of Indian government, which closed in November, 1910, gave India a new constitution in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Under this act, both the provincial and the imperial councils in India were

enlarged so as to admit an elective element in their membership, though this element was as yet to have no chance of actually controlling the government. The number of councillors to be elected was so small that special constituencies were designated to choose them, as, for example, chambers of commerce, universities, groups of manufacturers, and the like. While these measures fell short of the wishes of even the more moderate nationalists, and more so of the aspirations of extremists like Tilak, they were a real help in promoting an understanding between the natives and their governors.

Sir Charles Hardinge, later Lord Hardinge, who succeeded Lord Minto in India (1911), brought a sympathetic attitude to the administration of the Morley-Minto scheme. He was willing to take the part of India when other portions of the Britannic Commonwealth, notably South Africa, manifested an unwillingness to receive Indian emigrants on the same basis as those from other portions of the empire. Hardinge's task was facilitated by the visit of King George V to India in December, 1911, to attend the coronation Durbar that was held at Delhi. The visit of the King was made the occasion for announcing the removal of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the seat of the ancient empire. In order to appease the Bengalees for this removal and to allay somewhat the persisting dissatisfaction at the partition of Bengal, announcement was made at the same time of the reunion of the two parts of Bengal, though certain territorial adjustments were made to reduce the province to a manageable size. The new arrangement, however, did not please the Mohammedans, who were thereby deprived of their ascendancy in the Eastern Bengal. The war between Turkey and Italy and the Balkan wars that followed further excited the Moslems, and they developed an organization to agitate the views of their group.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the World War, Lord Hardinge was able to procure from India support for Great Britain that, all things considered, was remarkable. Indian troops went to the front both in Europe and Asia, and the Indian government, including the native princes as well as the British dominions, voted money. When Hardinge left India to give place to Lord Chelmsford in the spring of 1916, he was able to say in his farewell speech to the Legislative Council that, with the exception of Bengal, "the internal situation of India could hardly be more favorable." He expressed sympathy with the national aspirations of India, but gave warning against an attempt to

move too rapidly toward Swaraj, an admonition directed against the agitation for home rule conducted by Tilak, and more recently by Mrs. Annie Besant, head of the Theosophical Society of India. Lord Hardinge had scarcely given the reins into the hands of his successor when the Swaraj (home rule) movement became a problem of moment. In December, 1916, the National Congress and the Moslem League reached an agreement and began to make a common cause in behalf of home rule. The death of Gokhali in the previous year left Tilak and Mrs. Besant in control. The agitation in India reached such proportions that Edwin Samuel Montagu, who became secretary of state for India in the summer of 1917, undertook with Lord Chelmsford to make an investigation and to recommend a program of action. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, drawn up while Mr. Montagu was still in India in the spring of 1918, recognized frankly the growth of the Swaraj movement in India and the expediency of taking immediate steps to gratify this feeling. The intensive war efforts of that year, in which India took a creditable part, delayed action, and a bill based on the report was not finally passed until 1919.

In the meantime, a bill for suppressing sedition, proposed by a committee over which Mr. Justice Rowlatt presided, when published in January, 1919, caused a violent campaign of opposition among nationalists. The number and effectiveness of the nationalist group were now increased by the activities of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a devout ascetic, who achieved the title Mahatmi (prophet) and who introduced as a part of the nationalist agitation in India the method of passive resistance, which he had used with some effect in the struggle of his fellow-countrymen for equal treatment in South Africa. While Gandhi deprecated the use of force, it was inevitable that disorder should result from his agitation. At Amritsar in the Punjab, in April, 1919, Brigadier General Dyer, in dispersing a mob gathered in Jallianwala Bagh, used armed force, with the result that some four hundred people were killed and many more wounded. An Afghan war in the same year, added to the fear of Bolshevik inroads from Russia, gave rise to all manner of reports in the rest of India. The government was slow and tactless in dealing with those responsible for the unfortunate affair at Amritsar, and, in consequence, Gandhi attracted thousands of followers. Nobody disputed his devotedness or his pious intentions. He discovered in the British government a "Satanic" spirit and was soon urging the people of India to deliver themselves from the

materialistic civilization imported from Europe and to return to the ancient ways of their fathers. He still urged the use of "soul force" alone and opposed a resort to violence, but he made common cause with the Mohammedans, who believed devoutly in the use of the sword. The zeal of the Mohammedan faction was quickened by the hard terms the allies sought to impose on the Turks (the Sword of Islam) after the close of the war. The fanatical character of the nationalist movement that fermented for a time among the masses of people is illustrated by nothing more eloquently than by the union of Mohammedan and Hindu against a power regarded as a common enemy. The more substantial of the educated natives, however, did not share all of the enthusiasm of Gandhi, even while they seemed to countenance his movement. They were willing to coöperate with the British under the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution when it was finally put into effect.

This act, like that which preceded it, was framed frankly on the assumption that India was not yet ready for complete responsible government. As regards the central government, it substituted for the previous Legislative Council a bicameral legislature consisting of a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. More than two thirds of the members of the lower house were to be elected by the people of India under rules prescribed by the Indian legislature, the rest to be officials and appointed members. The purpose was to insure that all groups should have representation in the legislature. Though the executive was left in authority, it could not be assured of a majority in the legislature, and to carry on the government without a majority was difficult. The consequence has been an effort of the leaders to agree upon a program of action. In the provinces, the final authority in the fundamental matter of keeping the peace was reserved to the appointed executive and his council, but other matters, *e.g.* sanitation and education, were transferred to officers responsible to the provincial legislatures. The resulting contrivance was called a "Dyarchy"; that is, a separation into two groups of the functions of provincial government, one group to be exercised by the government responsible to the legislature, the other reserved to officials appointed by the lieutenant governor. In practice it was found expedient to ignore this arrangement in a large degree and to reach an agreement with leaders in the legislature on all matters.

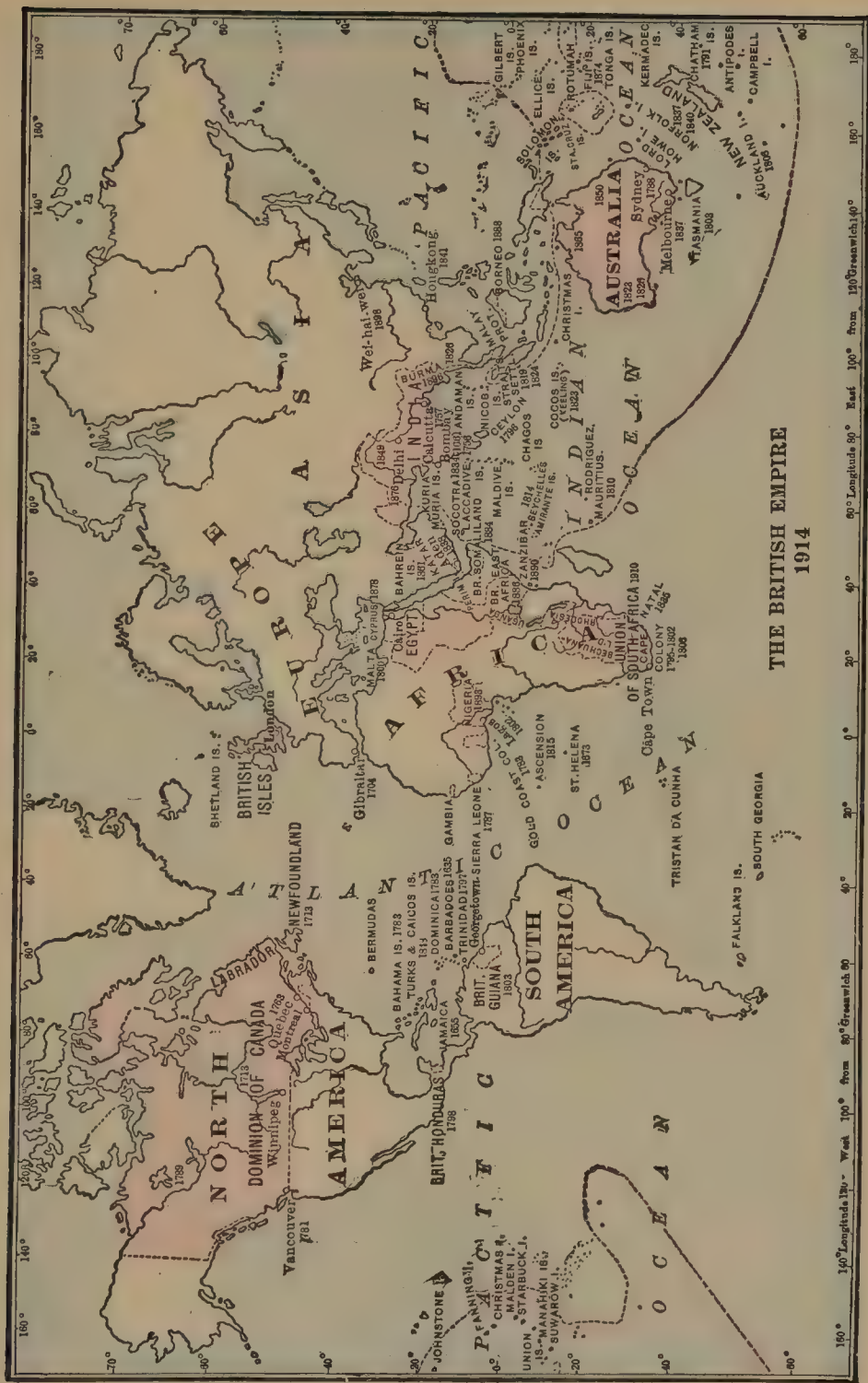
When the first elections under the new constitution were held, the extremists under Gandhi abstained from voting, refusing

to lend any countenance whatever to the "Satanic" government. Consequently the new legislatures were composed largely of moderates. Though many of them looked forward to the ultimate triumph of Swaraj, they were nevertheless willing in the meantime to work with the British. Gandhi labored to induce his followers to cease wearing clothes fashioned by the machines of foreigners and, by a passive strike, to force the materialistic Western civilization from the country, both as regards its comforts and its ideals. The new government was inaugurated in February, 1921, and, when Lord Chelmsford left India a little later, to give place to Lord Reading, conditions seemed to be more promising than for the previous few years. In March, 1922, Gandhi was arrested, justly as he admitted himself, though it was found expedient to release him two years later. It was difficult, in fact, for the government to know how to combat his agitation. In the election of 1923 the extremists participated, having decided that it would be easier to thwart the success of the new constitution within than without the legislature. About one half of the elected members of the central Legislative Assembly belonged to the factions advocating Swaraj.

The outcome of the British venture in India is thus as uncertain at this juncture as at any time in the past. Superficially, judging by the examples in Western countries, it would seem feasible for the Indian intelligentsia to be welded with patriotic unity in a movement for the independence of the Indian nation. But there are many obstacles to this outcome. The caste system still prevails in Indian society, and, in southern India, there are still millions whom it is a contamination for other natives to touch. This submerged group has been attracted to Christianity in mass movements, and it may not be easy for native patriots to control. Then, the alliance between the Hindus and Mohammedans is artificial and can scarcely last, unless the British government affords to the Swaraj movement other inept and tragic incidents, like Amritsar, on which to thrive. The mass of ignorant peasants may be swayed by appeals to superstition, but they have, on the other hand, a feeling of suspicion toward the professional and educated classes of their own people. When Lord Reading closed his term of service in 1926, he left India more quiet than when he took office, but the end of the Nationalist agitation is not yet in sight. Like the British venture in Ireland, the Indian empire now seems to be at a turning of the ways. What the next generation may see must remain for time to tell.

DAUGHTER NATIONS

British imperial statesmen in the latter half of the nineteenth century stumbled upon a solution for the problem that baffled their predecessors in the eighteenth century and that proved disastrous to the unity of the empire at that time. British statesmen in the earlier century held severely logical views concerning the supremacy of the mother country and the consequent impossibility of admitting the colonies to any but a dependent relationship. These views were emphasized by the doctrines of law and of the sovereignty of the state, later enunciated by John Austin and by other disciples of Bentham. These doctrines came in time to have almost a universal vogue among students of theoretical politics. Nevertheless, at the time when these doctrines were most widely accepted as sound theory, statesmen were discovering that a strict adherence to them in practical affairs would probably make the relations between Canada and Great Britain difficult, if not impossible to maintain. Nobody undertook for the moment to formulate rival doctrines, though Frederick William Maitland and other students of medieval institutions soon pointed out the inapplicability of the current theories to conditions that existed before the emergence of the national state claiming a supreme jurisdiction in a given territory. From the disquisitions of John Adams, James Wilson, and other controversial writers of the period of the American Revolution, tentative suggestions might have been derived pertinent to the case in point. But the statesmen responsible for the actual solution of the difficulty ignored the suggestions both of the earlier controversialists and the later theorists, though, in improvising a working arrangement, they in effect disregarded the doctrines that apparently stood in the way of success. If the imperial parliament is still in theory supreme in Canada, it is a supremacy that is nominal rather than real, and which exists chiefly because an occasion is wanting to put it to a test. In the past two generations Canada has grown up into a nation. If, as Rudyard Kipling has happily phrased it, she is "daughter" in her "mother's house," she is no less "mistress" in her own, and it is in her own that most of her interests lie. If the doctrines of the more logical political scientists are not always easily reconcilable with what has taken place in the realm of practical statecraft, it is not impossible that some accepted doctrines may in time come to be revised to conform to events. Meanwhile, the relationship that has arisen between Great Britain and the



self-governing dominions, that acknowledge a traditional allegiance to her, is so novel that conventional terms are inadequate to describe it.

The attempt made, on the basis of Lord Durham's report, to unite Upper and Lower Canada into a single provincial state was doomed to ultimate failure because of the lack of homogeneity in the population. In the first decade after the middle of the nineteenth century Canadian statesmen of both French and British descent were discussing the possibility of uniting all the British colonies in North America into a single organization as a means of opening a way for dissevering Quebec from Upper Canada. Alexander Tillach Galt suggested a scheme for federation in 1858 and made it a condition of his joining the ministry of Sir George Cartier. John A. Macdonald espoused the cause in 1859, and the support of George Brown was won later. After an interval of negotiation and misunderstanding, both with the home government and among the colonies themselves, a tentative constitution was finally framed, which, with slight modifications, was passed by the parliament in 1867 as the British North America Act. Not all of the colonies adhered to the new government at first. Nova Scotia came in in 1869, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. The territory of the Hudson's Bay Company was acquired about the same time and organized into districts that were afterward to become provinces in the Dominion. The territory of the new nation was thus extended to the Pacific Ocean. Newfoundland is still an independent dominion.

The problem of the statesmen who framed the Canadian constitution resembled in some respects that of the Americans who met at Philadelphia in 1787. But the Canadian constitution was framed at the close of the American Civil War and was influenced considerably by the discussion preceding that conflict. Macdonald was anxious to erect as strong a central government as possible, while others were jealous of the rights of the provinces. The French population in Quebec naturally claimed a measure of autonomy. As finally constituted, the legislature of the Dominion was bicameral, consisting of a House of Commons, apportioned over the entire country on a basis of population and elected by popular vote, and of a Senate, in which Quebec, Ontario, the maritime provinces, and later the western provinces have equal representation of twenty-four members each, making ninety-six in all. The executive was a governor general appointed by the crown, after consultation with the Canadian government. The governor general acts according

to the advice of a ministry responsible to the Canadian House of Commons, though, as the agent of the crown, he may, but now rarely does, withhold assent to measures passed by the Canadian legislature. The Senate operates as a check on the power of the ministry and of the lower house. The Canadian constitution thus borrows from both British and American experience. The conventions by which the responsibility of the executive to the legislature is enforced are of British origin; the bicameral legislature, with one house designed to safeguard the rights of the provinces, is an adaptation of the American scheme, as is also the division of power between the Dominion and the provincial governments. On this last point the Canadians guarded themselves against some of the difficulties of the nation to the south by making the central government paramount in all matters not specifically reserved to the provinces. Much of the credit for endowing the central government with this power is due to Sir John Macdonald, perhaps the most influential personality in organizing the Dominion.

After the death of Macdonald, in 1891, Sir Wilfrid Laurier came to the fore as Canada's most prominent statesman and was prime minister for the space of fifteen years. Under the administration of Laurier, Canadian autonomy grew in many directions. Before the death of Macdonald, Canada had obtained permission to be represented in London by a species of ambassador called a high commissioner. Soon the last British troops were withdrawn from the fortifications of Halifax, and the Canadian militia ceased to have a British officer as commander. A project was launched looking to the creation of a Canadian navy, as distinct from that of Great Britain. Canada was thus assuming responsibility for her own defence. By the Immigration Act of 1910, Canada assumed the right to regulate and control immigration, even from Great Britain. Two years earlier the mother country had agreed that a treaty should not bind Canada unless it had received the explicit assent of the Dominion government; on commercial questions Canada acquired the right to negotiate with foreign countries on her own account. The Canadians were thus becoming increasingly conscious of their separate existence as a national group, distinct from the imperial family of which their country remained a loyal member. There was little disposition to demand complete independence from Great Britain; in fact, the Canadians, of their own volition, gave preferential treatment to British goods and sent soldiers to participate in British wars, notably that with

the Boers in South Africa. The defeat of Laurier in 1911 and the accession to power of Sir Robert Borden meant no departure from the tendency toward national self-assertion.

The defeat of Laurier was occasioned by the agreement for reciprocal trade with the United States negotiated by his finance minister with the Taft administration at Washington. The popularity of that measure and of the government that sponsored it was little helped by the statements of President Taft and of Speaker Champ Clark of the American House of Representatives that seemed to look to an even more intimate connection between Canada and the United States. Canadians were still bound to Great Britain by a genuine feeling of loyalty. Nevertheless, when Sir Robert Borden proposed, in 1912, to construct and present to the British admiralty three major battleships, the proposal did not receive the approval of the Canadian Senate. Canada thus came to the World War unprepared for the strenuous part she was to play. Ultimately more than half a million men were enlisted and more than four hundred thousand sent overseas. The later war exertions called for a measure which Laurier opposed, but other members of Laurier's party joined with Borden's ministry and kept it in power until the end of the war. At the Peace Conference, in 1919, Borden insisted that Canada sign the treaty in her own right, as a member of the family of nations, and obtained for her membership in the Assembly of the League of Nations and a right to be elected to the Council of that body. Canada thus acquired substantial independence, while willingly acknowledging a fellowship in the Britannic group of nations. Sir Wilfrid Laurier died in 1919, and Sir Robert Borden resigned office in 1920. In the following year his party was defeated in the election, and Mr. McKenzie King, the new leader of the Liberal party, formed a government and undertook the task of reorganizing the country after the strenuous years of the war and its aftermath. His ministry lasted until 1926.

One of the chief tasks of the new ministry was the reorganization of the railway systems of the country, some of which were built with government assistance, and all of which suffered much from the wear and tear of the war. In a country still not thickly settled and of vast area, transportation is one of the fundamental problems. The Canadian Pacific Railway, the first of the transcontinental lines, was completed in 1885 and contributed much to make possible the unity of the nation. Other lines in other sections have since been constructed. But Canada

is still a new country, with many resources awaiting development. How long the traditional loyalty to the mother country will persist, now that it rests so largely on sentiment and a long-standing relationship, only time can tell. For the present it would seem that the growth of autonomy has meant the growth also of a willingness of Canada to remain a member of the Britannic family.

The history of Australia repeats, with many differences in detail and under entirely different conditions, the experience of Canada. That is to say, in Australia as in Canada a new nation has developed from British settlements, a nation built on British foundations, but having a flavor and spirit peculiar to itself. The Australian Commonwealth, composed of the six provinces, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, is a federal state of considerably later origin than the Dominion of Canada. The Commonwealth of Australia Act was passed by the parliament of the United Kingdom in July, 1900. The Australian government borrows from British experience in that, like Canada, it follows the practice of making the effective executive responsible to the legislature. But the problems involved in uniting states hitherto largely independent into a single federation led Australia to follow the example of the United States more closely in some respects than did Canada. In Australia, as in the United States, the Commonwealth government is restricted to those powers with which it was endowed by the constituent states, and the constitution provides expressly for an Australian High Court to determine finally disputed items on this point. This jealousy of the powers of the central government indicates the long struggle that preceded the launching of Australia as a united nation.

The several Australian colonies had developed a diversity of fiscal and commercial policies. New South Wales, the oldest colony, followed the mother country in adhering to free trade, while Victoria adopted protective tariffs in favor of certain industries. Under any reasonable scheme of federation, the regulation of foreign trade would be subject to federal control, which meant that one or another of the colonies would have to give up its traditional policy. There were also boundary disputes which remained unsettled. Each colony had built and dealt with its railroads after its own fashion, as it had regulated the sale and settlement of its lands. The establishment of an effective central government would necessarily mean a giving up of powers previously exercised by the several colonies. Among

other bones of contention were two not unfamiliar to students of the early history of the national government of the United States; namely, the location of the capital and the fear that the smaller states would be at the mercy of the larger. The settlement in each case followed the American precedent. The final decision on the one point was to build a capital in a new district, ceded by New South Wales for the purpose; on the other, the Commonwealth was provided with a bicameral legislature, one house apportioned according to population and the other composed of six representatives from each of the constituent states. A point on which much trouble was anticipated was the case of a deadlock between the two houses of the legislature, since the rights of the states would derive little protection if the executive was made responsible solely to the popular house. Experience thus far has not revealed this as the formidable difficulty it seemed. The remedy adopted was to provide for a dissolution of both bodies after the Senate twice fails to agree to a measure passed by the lower house. If the deadlock persists after a dissolution and reëlection, the question may be passed by a three-fifths vote of a joint session of the two houses.

The national movement in Australia was the fruition of the labors of many hands. Among the most influential leaders in the cause was Sir Henry Parkes, of New South Wales, though he did not live to participate in the final triumph of the cause for which he strove so effectively for so long. As early as 1850 the framers of the Australian Constitutions Act foresaw that in time hostile tariffs, for one thing, would make a union of the colonies in some form desirable. Suggestions of a union came from Victoria, but nothing beyond occasional conferences came of the matter until 1880, when a conference was held at Melbourne and later adjourned to Sydney. Spurred on by the danger that seemed to threaten from the French in the New Hebrides Islands, this conference devolved, in 1883, into a Federal Council, in which, however, neither New South Wales nor New Zealand would participate. As a result of a conference of Australian delegates in London in 1887, provision was made for the maintenance of a substantial naval force in Australian waters; three years later, on the initiative of New South Wales, a conference was held at Melbourne to consider the question of land defences. Before the meeting of this conference, Sir Henry Parkes, in a famous speech at Tenterfield, precipitated the question of a more intimate union by making the inquiry, "whether the time has not now arisen for the creation on this Australian

Continent of an Australian Parliament as distinct from a local parliament and an Australian government as distinct from a local government." His conclusion was: "The thing will have to be done, and to put it off will only make the difficulties greater which stand in the way."

A federal convention held at Sydney in March, 1891, after four weeks of labor and animated debate, produced a tentative draft of a constitution. But the defeat of Parkes in New South Wales and a financial depression made the adoption of this constitution as drafted impossible. However, the idea of Australian nationality was now a leavening force, requiring only time to germinate and to win the support of the people of the colonies. The draft of 1891 was made the basis of the labors of the second convention, which assembled in 1897. By this time the customs duties had become a question of serious importance, and New South Wales, following the leadership of Sir George Reid, again declined to accept the constitution as framed. But Reid had the qualities of a politician rather than those of a statesman, and he now recognized that a national union could not longer be postponed. After the other states acquiesced in certain not very important changes, which he proposed to save his face, he enlisted under the national banner, and the constitution was adopted and sent to London for enactment.

Being untrammelled by many of the traditions of older communities, Australia, in the past generation, has served as a sort of laboratory for political and social experimentation. The government has been used as an agency for undertakings which in other communities have been left in private hands. Some of these experiments were interrupted by the World War, in which Australia embarked with all her resources as a loyal partner in the Britannic Commonwealth and reaped the normal harvest of vastly increased national debts and losses in personnel. At the peace, Australia, on the same terms as Canada, became a member of the League of Nations and thus was welcomed by the world into the family of essentially independent communities. But Australia is still a continent with much unsettled land and with rich undeveloped resources. In a region near to Asia, with its teeming peoples, Australia has set itself resolutely to preserve its continent for a white population. Like Canada, it looks to the future rather than to the past as the time of its destiny. Its institutional life is still in its infancy, but it has already grown to a sufficient state to make it certain that, when it comes to its own, it will be a nation with a distinct individu-

ality, shaped by the conditions under which it was born and is growing up. At the peace, it received as mandates certain of the former German colonies and thus entered on a larger career as a participant in world affairs.

The Dominion of New Zealand has pursued a separate existence and, like Australia, has dealt with its domestic problems in a manner that would in some respects not have found favor in older communities. The population of the islands is now about a million and a quarter, of which the Maori constitute only about fifty thousand. These natives have a representation of four members in the national legislature. New Zealand, too, participated in the World War, received national recognition at its close, and was entrusted with mandates for some of the neighboring islands that had formerly belonged to Germany. The future relations between both New Zealand and Australia and Great Britain will be only what these two young nations elect that they shall be. Nobody in Britain believes that force would be used to compel further subordination to that country, and nobody in the daughter nations fears that event or believes that force would succeed should it be used.

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA

One of the striking political and geographic facts of the nineteenth century was the occupation of Africa by the European peoples and the opening of much of its vast territory for settlement. The British share in that undertaking was notable. A larger share of Africa, both in area and in population, has fallen to Great Britain than to any other power. Including Egypt, Great Britain now has direct relations of one sort or another in Africa with more than fifty millions of people occupying territory with an area of more than four and a third million square miles. The most important of these possessions are in the Nile valley and in South Africa. Space is not available to consider other African regions under British control.

British activities in Egypt date from the campaign there against Napoleon, who entered that country as a way station in an advance toward India. British statesmen of that period, notably Henry Dundas, foresaw the importance of Egypt, both because of its juxtaposition to Asia and on its own account. Through most of the nineteenth century the native peasant population of the country was governed by a Moslem ruling class,

which acknowledged at least a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. The completion of the Suez Canal again attracted the attention of the British to Egypt. In 1875 Disraeli, as prime minister, purchased the shares in that enterprise held by the Khedive, Ismail, who sold them to relieve financial difficulties which his extravagance and incompetence made chronic with him. Some of the European nations created a commission in 1876 to take steps to safeguard the interests of his creditors. In an effort to avoid submitting to this humiliation, he sought to stir his subjects by appeals based on democratic and national shibboleths. Young men from the ruling class began to seek training in the institutions of learning in Western countries. After a Mohammedan mob, revolting in 1882 against the existing government, had murdered a number of European subjects at Alexandria, a British fleet bombarded the forts of the city. Other nations that had hitherto coöperated now left the British to act alone, and, in consequence, the British soon found themselves involved in a country which they never professed a desire to retain but which it did not seem easy to abandon. Under Tewfik, who succeeded Ismail as Khedive, Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, ruled Egypt as a resident commissioner and adviser.

Since the time of Mehemet Ali, in the early days of the nineteenth century, Egypt had claimed the upper Nile valley in the Sudan. A fanatical native revolt now threatened Egyptian supremacy in that region. Several Egyptian armies under British officers failed to relieve the situation, and, in 1884, General Charles George Gordon, popularly known as Chinese Gordon from his earlier services in China, was sent to help extricate the remaining forces, preparatory to abandoning the district. Gordon had served previously in the Sudan, where he had done good work in suppressing the slave trade. Half prophet and half soldier, he had a unique fitness for dealing with the native population. But the situation was now beyond even his capacity. He soon found himself surrounded at Khartoum. The dilatoriness of the efforts of the government to send relief, due to a failure to understand the situation, proved disastrous to him and his force, and the British-Egyptian government was obliged for the time to abandon the Sudan. The region was again invaded in the next decade, and, under the leadership of Sir Herbert Kitchener, later Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, was reconquered and occupied (1897-1898).

Sir Eldon Gorst succeeded Cromer in Egypt in 1908. III

health obliged him to give way to Lord Kitchener in 1911. The Turkish failures in the Turco-Italian and in the Balkan wars stirred Egypt, and Kitchener agreed to the establishment in Egypt of an organic law similar to that granted in India under the Morley-Minto régime. Meanwhile, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy had acquiesced in the British occupation of Egypt, and the resources of the country were exploited under the direction of enterprising foreigners.

The outbreak of the World War created an embarrassing situation for Great Britain in Egypt, since Turkey, to which Egypt still acknowledged a nominal allegiance, entered the war on the side of the Central powers. To remedy this anomalous situation, Great Britain, in December, 1914, declared the Turkish suzerainty in Egypt at an end and claimed the country as a British protectorate. During the war there were repeated changes in the office of High Commisisoner in Egypt, and the British failed to win the support of the influential class of the Egyptian people, who now clamored more than ever for a recognition of their nationality. Two days after the signing of the armistice which ended the war, Zaglul, the leader of the extremist national party, called on the High Commissioner and demanded the abolition of the protectorate and the absolute independence of Egypt.

Though the Egyptian nationalists found little encouragement when they appealed for recognition to the peace conference, and Zaglul was arrested and deported to Malta and not permitted to proceed to England to conduct negotiations directly with the government there, violent outbreaks in Egypt convinced the British that the country must receive immediate attention. General Allenby was sent to suppress the disorder and to recommend further measures. Toward the end of 1919 a commission under Lord Milner arrived in Egypt to make a more intensive investigation. The decision was to recommend a treaty between the two countries whereby Egypt would be left largely to manage its own affairs. Zaglul was released and participated in the negotiations. When these negotiations broke down, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, acting on the advice of General Allenby, announced the termination of the protectorate (February, 1922). Egypt thus began her career as an independent nation. But British troubles in that quarter were not at an end. Great Britain retained control in the upper Nile region around Khartoum. The irrigation projects in that district, necessary if its resources were to be developed, might

conceivably diminish seriously the fertility of the lower Nile region, on which the population largely depends for sustenance. The two powers are thus under the necessity of devising an arrangement for living at peace, if strife is not to continue.

The national movement in South Africa has had even a larger variety of complications. The acquisition of Suez made the Cape Colony of less importance as a way station on the route to India. In the meantime, this colony had acquired an importance of its own. As we know, the British pursued an uncertain and even a vacillating policy in South Africa previous to the Conventions of Sand River and Bloemfontein. These agreements seemed to mean that thenceforward the British would confine their activities to the Cape Colony and Natal, leaving the Boer states to do as they pleased. But there was a party in the Orange River Sovereignty that did not favor separation from the Cape. Moreover, at this juncture (1858), Sir George Grey was sent to South Africa and recommended strongly that it had been a mistake to separate the states, urging that an effort ought to be made to bring them into a federal union. This recommendation came to nothing at the time, but, as Great Britain gradually learned by experience that it was possible to retain colonies by granting them autonomous government and that colonies of this character still had a value to the mother country, a new attitude developed toward South Africa. Lord Carnarvon, Secretary for the Colonies in Disraeli's ministry, made divers efforts to accomplish the union of the South African states. Among other things, he twice sent, though with no good effect, the historian, James Anthony Froude, to advise and mediate in a settlement. As a way out of a dangerous situation due to disorders in the Transvaal, the annexation of that country to the British crown was proclaimed in 1877. A war in which the British suppressed a rising among the Zulus helped for a time to reconcile the Boers to this annexation, and negotiations proceeded looking toward a federation of the South African states.

Even as early as 1879 a British general in South Africa, Sir Garnet Wolseley, pointed out in a communication to his government that the South African states were rich in minerals, including gold, and that the development of these resources would bring a large British population. He inferred that it was unwise to be too hasty in withdrawing or leaving the Boers to have their will. The Boers had been encouraged by Gladstone's previous statements to believe that the accession of that minister to office in 1880 would mean their independence. When they

found that instead he advised the retention of a nominal authority and looked forward toward a federation of the states under an autonomous government, they rose in revolt and defeated the British in the battle of Majuba Hill in February, 1881. The British now granted substantial independence to the Transvaal under what was called British "suzerainty," which proved to be an uncertain term.

Several things now complicated the South African situation. Germany and Portugal were competing with the British for territory. Then Paul Kruger took the lead in the Transvaal in organizing the nucleus of a Boer South African nation to challenge the supremacy of the British, seeking help where he might find it. Kruger succeeded in making an alliance with Orange Free State, so called from the settlement made after the battle of Majuba Hill. This growth of a Boer national spirit stimulated a more positive imperialism among British residents in South Africa, such as Cecil Rhodes and W. P. Schreiner. Finally, the exploitation of the gold fields in the Transvaal on a large scale in the late eighties led to the influx of British into that region that Wolseley had foretold.

The Boers refused to permit the new settlers, whom they dubbed "uitlanders," to take part in the government, even though they were soon providing the bulk of the revenues. Meanwhile Cecil Rhodes, as prime minister of Cape Colony and as participant in private undertakings, was pushing British power far toward the north into the land now known as Rhodesia and was making terms with native races. Emboldened by the appointment of Joseph Chamberlain as secretary of state for the colonies in 1895, Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, an associate of Rhodes in Rhodesia, led, with the connivance of Rhodes himself, an expedition into the Transvaal intended to be a nucleus for an uprising of the uitlanders against the Kruger government to obtain the share in power they coveted. Rhodes later tried to stop the "raid" before it took place, and it proved abortive. It had the effect, however, of uniting the Boer parties in all the South African provinces and of arousing sympathy for them in Great Britain. Nevertheless, it seemed unlikely that Kruger could maintain his cavalier treatment of the growing mining and independent population in the Transvaal.

Sir Alfred Milner, later Lord Milner, went to South Africa as High Commissioner in 1897, and a movement among the uitlanders in the Transvaal to obtain desired reforms failed soon afterward. Thereupon, more than twenty thousand of them

petitioned the High Commissioner to intervene in their behalf. In May, 1899, Milner recommended to the home government that the case for "intervention" was "overwhelming." A meeting between Milner and Kruger in the same month failed to afford a basis of settlement. Kruger had an exaggerated impression of the forces at his command and was not reluctant to see a trial of strength. The war that resulted lasted for two years and a half and cost the British a far greater expenditure of effort and wealth than had been anticipated. Ultimately Kruger took refuge in Europe, whither he went to seek more material assistance than the sympathy previously vouchsafed to him by the German Emperor. The war stirred all parts of the Britannic empire. Contingents of troops came to the front from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India. On May 31, 1902, the Boer leaders finally signed a treaty at Pretoria, acknowledging the sovereignty of the British over the entire region. Prominent among those who had come forward as leaders on the side of the Boers were Generals Louis Botha, Jan Christiaan Smuts, and James B. Hertzog.

Milner, left to improve the administrative machinery in the conquered states, governed them for a time as crown colonies, but failed to win the confidence and coöperation of the defeated leaders. Chamberlain himself visited the country in the late months of 1902 and the earlier ones of the next year. In spite of a temporary depression, following the over stimulation of the war, the economic life of the colony was soon under way again. Chinese coolies were introduced as laborers in order to put gold mining on a stable basis, a policy which played a part in the undoing of the Conservative government in Great Britain. By 1904 Milner and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, the Secretary for the Colonies, felt that the work of reconstruction had reached a stage which justified the granting of representative government in the Transvaal. The Boers under General Botha immediately became politically active in the Transvaal, and under General Hertzog in the Orange River Colony.

The transfer of power to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's government in Great Britain inaugurated a new policy in South Africa. The Liberal leader decided that it would be better to grant immediately responsible self-government to the conquered states, without going through the intermediate stage contemplated by his predecessors. The result was that, in the Transvaal, General Botha became the first prime minister with General Smuts a prominent member of his cabinet. In the Orange River

Colony, Generals Hertzog and DeWet were prominent members of a ministry headed by a civilian. This bold experiment was justified by its success. By this unique manifestation of confidence in their late enemies, the British won a loyalty and an allegiance they might never have achieved otherwise.

The movement for a closer union of the South African states was now revived. Leading South African statesmen, both Boer and British, realized that there were economic problems of importance at issue among the states that would lead to serious difficulties unless dealt with as the common problems of the entire region. Dr. Jameson, now prime minister of the Cape Colony, made the first overture for reopening the question of federation. Lord Selborne, the new High Commissioner, was in hearty accord with the proposal. In a review of the situation, which he made at the request of the Cape ministry, he concluded that a solution of the problems facing South Africa was difficult without the creation of a central government. A national convention, held in 1909, sitting for a time at Durban, and later at Cape Town, and still later at Bloemfontein, finally succeeded in drafting a constitution that proved acceptable to all the states. This constitution was enacted by the imperial parliament and put into effect in 1910. The constitution provided not for a federation of the several states, but for their union into a single state. Thenceforward, the provinces were to have only powers delegated to them by the union. Rhodesia and the native protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland were left outside of the power of the new nation. Lord Gladstone, son of the late Liberal statesman, was the first governor general of the Union, and General Botha its first prime minister.

This almost astounding foundation for South African unity faced more than one obstacle. Extremists in neither group relished the assumption by Botha of a position as a responsible minister of the British crown. To the British imperialists in the Cape it seemed almost like treason to the causes for which they had fought a few years before; on the other hand, General Hertzog and his kind soon withdrew and announced their adherence to a policy of preserving intact Boer power and the identity of the Boers as a separate people. Each colony was left to work out the suffrage in its traditional way as regards the native races. This arrangement was necessary, in that the Cape still permitted the natives to vote, whereas the other provinces did not. The existence of a native population outnumbering so

overwhelmingly the whites of both British and Boer descent made the relations between the races one of the most vexing problems facing the country, a problem likely to overshadow the difference between Briton and Boer. But the sensitiveness of the Boers as to their language made it necessary to retain it at least temporarily on the same terms as the English as the language of the schools and the government.

The World War involved South Africa, as it did the rest of the world. Generals Hertzog and DeWet led a revolt against the Union government, but their estimate of the feelings of the bulk of the population proved to be as mistaken as was that of the Germans. Generals Botha and Smuts not only suppressed this revolt of their erstwhile colleagues in arms, but proceeded to conquer the German possessions in southern Africa as well. At the peace, South Africa became a member of the League of Nations and was entrusted with German Southwest Africa as a mandate. General Smuts rendered genuine service to the British government, both as a commander in the conquest of German East Africa and as an adviser on the War Council, at the peace conference, and afterward. On the death of General Botha, in August, 1919, he became prime minister. But the narrower patriotic movement, in South Africa as elsewhere, had fed on the prejudices kindled in the war. After the general election of 1920 the Nationalist party under General Hertzog was the strongest single party in the House of the Assembly. Finding the coalition on which he depended for support not sufficiently strong, General Smuts again appealed to the people in February, 1921. The Nationalists now made common cause with the Labor party, agreeing to forego for the time being agitation for the immediate independence of South Africa from Great Britain. Hertzog succeeded Smuts as prime minister. In a recent pronouncement in that responsible position, he has asserted that it would be unfortunate for South Africa should the connection with Great Britain be dissolved. If this assurance be accepted at its face value, it justifies a faith exemplified by British statesmen that is almost without a parallel in political history.

There are many difficulties yet ahead in South Africa, conflicting feelings as between colonials and the people at home, as between Boers and Britons in South Africa, and as between white and native races. One at all familiar with the emotions that these conditions are capable of stirring does not need to be reminded that in the youngest of all the self-governing Britannic

nations there is now near the surface much fuel for kindling many flames.

LATER IMPERIAL DOCTRINES AND POLICIES

The British people in the nineteenth century were at no time approximately unanimous in their attitude toward their outlying dominions. Nevertheless, perceptible waves of feeling, easily explicable and not difficult to trace, followed each other as conditions changed. The colonies of the second British empire, at the very time when they were growing strong enough to justify some of the hopes of their founders, seemed by their unprecedented demands for autonomous government likely to defeat any chance that material advantages would accrue to the mother country from them. At this same juncture, responding to the leadership of Cobden, Bright, and others like them, who constituted what came to be known as the Manchester School, substantially all the elements in the ruling class of Great Britain accepted almost as a fetish the doctrines of free trade and free competition. In the eyes of these apostles of *laissez faire*, any interference with what they regarded as economic laws took almost the form of a moral wrong. The world, they felt, was the proper commercial unit, and trade ought to flow freely to its utmost bounds. The logic of these doctrines made colonies of little account commercially. In fact, the view became current that colonies were a positive burden from which the nation ought to seek deliverance as early as might be.

This view was spread by Goldwin Smith, and by Sir Charles Dilke in his earlier years. Smith's book, *The Empire*, was first published in 1863 and Dilke's *Greater Britain* in 1868. Wakefield, Durham, and the colonial reformers of the previous generation had sponsored a large measure of autonomous government in the colonies, but they had not foreseen the rise in the dominions of separate nationhood, which was already incipient in the sixties. The current political doctrines, inherited from the Benthamites, identified nationality with a political unit conceived, somewhat more simply than it ever actually existed in fact, as a sovereign state. Dilke had a more vivid imagination than Smith, but neither of them was any better able to apprehend the possibility of including in the same political system two essentially independent communities than were the British statesmen of the eighteenth century. But these writers and

many influential British statesmen in the nineteenth century differed from their predecessors of a hundred years before in frankly accepting as a fact the probable secession of the colonies from the British crown. A thought that troubled them was the difficulty of arriving at a suitable occasion when the separation might be achieved in peace, with mutual good feeling between the parties concerned. Even the permanent employees of the colonial office looked forward to this consummation. Sir James Stephens, permanent under secretary for the colonies from 1836 to 1847; Herman Merivale, who held the same office from 1847 to 1859; and Sir Frederic Rogers, later Baron Blachford, who held it from 1860 to 1871, all held substantially the same opinions. Writing to a colleague with similar views in 1865, Rogers said: "I go very far with you in the desire to shake off all responsibly governed colonies, and as to North America, I think if we abandon one we had better abandon all." "I had always believed," he wrote later, "that the destiny of our colonies is independence, and that in this point of view the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connexion, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible." Leading statesmen in all parties held similar views, but they naturally hesitated to express them when speaking in responsible capacities.

The administration of Gladstone (1868-1874) seems to mark the beginning of a reaction from this view. The union of the Canadian provinces into a dominion with an autonomous national government did not bring the Canadians any nearer to a point where separation from the mother country seemed feasible. The beginnings of the new French empire and the rise to nationhood of Italy and Germany suggested the possibility that others might wax should Britain begin to wane. True, the colonial states persisted in adopting tariffs which departed from the orthodoxy of the Manchester School, treating Great Britain in this respect as a foreign country. But even this assertion of autonomy did not sever the ties binding the parent country to the dominions. The withdrawal of British military forces from the territories of the dominions seemed to increase rather than to lessen the willingness of the colonies to perpetuate their connection with the mother country. But when it was proposed in 1869 to withdraw troops from New Zealand at a time when the colonials were engaged in a war with the natives, and in the face of a request that they remain, opponents of the government at home were able to arouse some interest in the question.

whether after all it would be a good policy to push the colonies to the point of separation.

The more this question was considered the more reasons there seemed to be not only for postponing separation to a more distant date but even for concluding that separation need not take place at all. An organization which became the Royal Colonial Institute was formed in 1869. A group of writers from the dominions themselves began to agitate the feasibility and the mutual advantages of a closer union between Great Britain and the colonies. It began to dawn on some students of the question that other ties than crude self-interest might exist to bind the outlying dominions to the central nation. "Over them all," said one editorial writer as early as 1869, "presides a feeling, an emotion, a sentiment, which can neither be weighed nor sold for so much a yard, but which is just as much a real force in the world as family affection or ambition, hatred or love." As British observers watched the progress of other countries, such as Germany and the United States, associated in larger communities on the federal principle, they began to wonder whether the British self-governing states might not be similarly united, though many of them lost sight of the vastly greater difficulties thereby involved.

This federal scheme characterized a movement for the maintenance of the empire which gained in momentum for the next several decades. A Liberal statesman, W. E. Forster, speaking on the colonial question in 1870, gave voice to a feeling shared by an ever increasing number :

Neither in England nor in the colonies do we intend that the English Empire shall be broken up. It may be a dream, but I still believe in its fulfilment. I believe that the time will come when, by some means or another, statesmen will be able to weld a bond together which will unite the English-speaking peoples in our colonies at present—unite them with the mother country in one great confederation.

This movement had reached such proportions by 1872 that Disraeli, who had formerly been a separatist along with the rest, thought it good party strategy to commit the Conservatives, of whom he was leader, to the perpetuation of the empire. "In my opinion," he said in a speech in that year, "no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."

The Conservative party soon acquired the feeling that it was and had ever been a part of its mission to make the empire permanent. Disraeli himself, having no reasoned convictions on the subject, soon had recourse to jingoistic declamation and to actions typified by the legal fiat which pleased the vanity of the Queen and appealed to the imagination of her Oriental subjects in India, by making her also an empress. In time the term "imperialism" made its appearance in current discussion, and the empire became the fashion. But as yet it needed a rational supporting doctrine and a workable formula of government, neither of which had been found.

Meanwhile, in 1869, John Robert Seeley, formerly professor of Latin in the University College, London, was made professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge. It was a part of his philosophy of his profession that the object of studying the past is to understand the present; in other words, that history is the school of statesmanship. To illustrate this thesis, he published in 1883 two series of his Cambridge lectures under the title, *The Expansion of England*. This little volume attracted immediate attention and was widely read. It helped to popularize the notion that the greatest achievement of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to plant the colonies and to defend them against rival powers. Trafalgar and Waterloo, not Yorktown, marked for him the climax of the enterprise. The colonials in these distant plantations, he reasoned, were but Englishmen abroad, an extension of the home country. On that account, it was ungracious and unthinkable that they should be turned adrift. The Imperial Federation League, organized because its promoters believed that "in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of federation is essential," made its appearance in 1884, and Seeley was one of its members.

Another literary apostle of the revival of imperialism in Great Britain was a disciple of Thomas Carlyle, James Anthony Froude, whose *Oceana, or England and her Colonies* was published in 1886. Froude had been active in agitating the imperial question since 1870. From 1874 to 1880 he was a supporter of the colonial policy of Disraeli's administration. He traveled widely in the colonies, though his practical efforts at statesmanship were scarcely more successful than were his ventures as an historian, when judged by the standards of careful scholarship and accurate statement.

Federal schemes lost much of their attractiveness when con-

sidered at closer range. For one thing, it was not easy to unite in the same federation a mother country wedded to free trade and dominions with a partiality for protection. Moreover, the self-governing dominions constituted by no means all of the British empire. What was to be done with the crown colonies and with India? Furthermore, a federation meant a yielding of power to the federation for which neither Great Britain nor the dominions were as yet ready. Indeed, the dominions seemed to be growing in their distinctiveness as separate nations as they grew in wealth and population, even while they drew toward the mother country in a feeling of genuine loyalty. No scheme of *zollverein* or federation which was suggested seemed quite to suit the conditions that existed.

Nevertheless, imperialism became so much the fashion that Tennyson took up his pen in its behalf, and a younger and more vibrant writer, Rudyard Kipling, inspired its many-sided emotions in the multitude. But there was yet no clear way out of the *impasse* faced by a political theorist when he undertook to reconcile the autonomy of the dominions with their subordination to the mother country. The assistance rendered by the dominions in the South African War and the exaggerated propaganda, stimulated by any war of considerable proportions, helped to commit the country irrevocably to the imperialistic program. A spirit of chauvinistic braggadocio characterized many statements then made. But accompanying this blatant outburst was the growth of a sober conviction, as a result of the unexpected difficulties of the war, that the task of imperial reorganization could not much longer be postponed. Kipling sensed this feeling and said so bluntly:

Let us admit it fairly, as a business people should;
We have had no end of a lesson; it will do us no end of good.

Not on a single issue, or in one direction or twain,
But conclusively, comprehensively, and several times again,
Were all our most holy illusions knocked higher than Gilderoy's kite;
We have had a jolly good lesson, and it serves us jolly well right.

* * * * *

It was our fault, and our very great fault—and now we must turn it to use;
We have forty million reasons for failure, but not a single excuse!
So the more we work and the less we talk the better results we shall get—
We have had an Imperial lesson; it may make us an empire yet!

The poetic gift of the same author enabled him a few years later to appreciate and express a relationship which the doc-

trinaire logic of political theories still obscured for statesmen. Celebrating the tariff act of 1897, by which Canada voluntarily granted preferential rates to Great Britain, he wrote in his *Our Lady of the Snows*:

A Nation spoke to a Nation,
A Queen sent word to a Throne:
"Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I set my house in order,"
Said our lady of the Snows.

Perhaps Joseph Chamberlain, who personified the imperialistic spirit among British statesmen in the late years of the nineteenth century, understood something of the situation too. He led a secession of Liberals from Gladstone's party on the introduction of the first Irish Home Rule Bill. The administration under Salisbury that followed made extensive additions to the territory of the empire by sharing in the partition of Africa. By 1895 Chamberlain could have had almost any office in the ministry, but he elected to become secretary for the colonies, a cabinet office hitherto regarded as of secondary importance. He made it an office of first-rate rank. In 1903, after the close of the South African War, he resigned office to advocate a return to protective tariffs in Great Britain as a necessary preliminary measure to provide the mother country with compensatory favors to bestow in return for preferential treatment desired from the dominions. Chamberlain advocated this policy as a means of promoting the solidarity of the empire. But he sat in parliament from a Birmingham constituency, and the hardware industry in that city had already begun to feel the pressure of American and German competition. A tariff to insure a monopoly of the home and colonial markets seemed an easy way out of a situation which apparently threatened the prosperity of important industries. But the case was different with cotton and other manufacturers, and the movement for tariff reform helped to keep the Unionist party out of office for the next decade and more. It is not easy to determine how far the support given to the tariff reform movement actually came from those who frankly desired protection for their industries and how far it was inspired by a desire to promote national unity.

In any event, it was not an entire return to the mercantile

theories of empire prevalent in the eighteenth century and earlier. There was no thought of putting pressure on the dominions to oblige them to give the mother country a favored place in their markets. The theory rather was that it would be unreasonable to expect the dominions to continue favorable commercial relations with Great Britain unless Great Britain had favors to grant in return. While those who agitated a tariff reform talked much of cementing the unity of the empire, in reality, most of them understood less of the spirit that was binding these dominions in a common loyalty than did others who made less ado on the subject. It was a Liberal ministry, we recall, that granted an audacious measure of responsible, autonomous government to South Africa and so won in some degree the loyalty of that young nation. The work done by Frederick William Maitland and other discriminating students of medieval legal and political institutions helped to open a way for a rational explanation of this unprecedented relationship, when they pointed out that European society had existed for centuries without institutions actually exercising the extreme form of sovereignty ordinarily attributed to modern national states; that, indeed, laws may be formulated and enforced without the existence of such states. Of course British statesmen trained in the more orthodox schools accepted these views reluctantly, when they accepted them at all. In fact, conditions rather than doctrinal logic impelled them to acquiesce in the notion that two nations can exist substantially independent of each other and yet sharing a common loyalty, with the question of sovereignty at least left in abeyance.

Attempts have been made to formulate doctrines suitable to these novel relationships. Even before the World War, men like Richard Jebb undertook to teach the British to think of the self-governing dominions as partners in the same commonwealth. To escape from the odium formerly attaching to the superiority claimed by a majority of British statesmen when thinking of the colonies, they substituted the word "Britannic" for "British" when referring to the entire group of nations. No sooner was the concept in existence than the constituent nations of the commonwealth began to question whether the two realms of policy in which they had not previously participated should not now be opened to them; namely, the questions of defence and foreign relations. The rapid rise of the German naval power inclined the home government to consult the dominions and to welcome their assistance on the question of defence.

After the revival of the imperialistic spirit in the eighties, "colonial conferences" for advisory purposes were held at intervals until 1902; the next meeting after that year was called the "Imperial Conference." The dominions were represented in these conferences by their prime ministers and Great Britain by her prime minister and colonial secretary. Australia had begun to build the nucleus of a navy before the outbreak of the World War. Canada had manifested her loyalty by proposing a substantial contribution to the British navy, a departure from the notion of imperial partnership caused by local political conditions. The proportionately large contributions made by the dominions in the war led to a more intimate association of their governments with that of the mother country. Word comes at this writing (1925) that the British prime minister has recommended the establishment of a separate department in the cabinet for dealing with the dominions as distinguished from the colonies. As we have already noted, the treaty that ended the war was signed by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as separate participating nations, and they became constituent members of the League of Nations. Both foreign relations and defence have thus become matters which the British government scarcely dares to settle without regard to the wishes of other partners in the Britannic Commonwealth.

For centuries British foreign policy has been intimately related to the problems of empire. The foremost item in the foreign policy of the mid-nineteenth century was, as we know, the fear of Russia. The South African War, as much as anything else, made the British public aware that, since the Congress of Berlin, a new alignment of forces had taken place on the Continent, and indeed in the world at large. That congress was followed in the next year by an alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary, with Germany the dominant partner. Despite the terms of the treaties made at Berlin, France seized Tunis in 1881, and, in May of the following year, Italy was induced to join the alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, completing the Triple Alliance that was to last in form until the outbreak of the World War. This union of the three powers of central Europe was followed by a drawing together of France and Russia, in spite of the skilful diplomacy of Bismarck, which, during his term of power, kept the empire to the east of Germany friendly with his system. After the retirement of Bismarck in 1890, an alliance between France and Russia was consummated (1894), and further elaborated in 1896. Queen

Victoria acquired from her husband a friendly feeling toward Germany, and Lord Salisbury shared with most British statesmen a fear of Russia in Asia and a distrust of France in Europe. The participation of both Great Britain and France in the partition of Africa afforded further grounds for suspicion between the two nations. Europe was thus well on the way to division into two armed camps, distrustful and fearful of each other, before British statesmen were fully aware of what was going on.

Aside from the fear of Russia in Asia, the chief characteristic of British policy was a self-complacent insularity. This complacency was interrupted in the winter of 1895-96 by President Cleveland's sharp message on the question of the Venezuelan boundary. That matter had scarcely been referred to a court of arbitration, when a further explosion was caused by the Kaiser's letter to President Kruger, after the failure of the "Jameson Raid," congratulating him on "having succeeded without appealing for help from friendly powers" in repelling "the armed hordes which had burst as disturbers of the peace" into his land.

This episode and the incidents that followed were links in a chain of events fraught with immense significance in both Great Britain and Germany. From that time dates the rapidly expanding German naval program, supported and propagated by an agitation based on the fear of British seapower. An American naval officer, Admiral A. T. Mahan, published in 1890 *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, which had a profound influence on the thinking of influential statesmen in both Great Britain and Germany and which gave to many Germans, the Kaiser included, an exaggerated notion of the part actually played by the navy in the growth of the British empire. Beginning with the British resentment of the attitude of the Kaiser on South Africa, the builders of the German navy used succeeding points of friction between the two countries as arguments for procuring support for their program. British statesmen were not yet ready to take the threat of the land powers too seriously. After the flare up over Venezuela, they cultivated the friendship of the United States and, by a friendly attitude in the Spanish-American War, overcame many of the obstacles in America to making this disposition mutual. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, as first negotiated in the early weeks of 1902, was in reality inspired by the fear that Russia would make common cause with Germany or with some other Continental power in her plans in eastern Asia. As renewed five years later, it committed Japan to help

Great Britain in the defence of India also. The constant pushing of Russia toward the south and west in Asia seemed likely to bring the British and Russians into ultimate conflict when the British push toward the north met the Russians. The intervention of Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Japan, France, and other powers in China on the occasion of the Boxer troubles brought Great Britain and Japan to a realization of their common interest in opposing Russia. So it was arranged that Great Britain should support Japan in her special claims in Korea; and Japan, Great Britain in her claims in China. All of the powers united in a professed disposition to keep China open to the trade of the world. In all of this period, hitherto, both German and British statesmen showed a disposition to draw together. In fact, in 1902, the last year of the Boer War, the two nations acted together in collecting a claim against Venezuela, though this coöperation was resented by a vociferous section of British public opinion; thus enabling Admiral Von Tirpitz, the apostle and builder of the German navy, to overcome opposition to his program. Another point of contact, which proved in the end to be a source of friction, was the scheme, financed in large part by German capital, for building a railroad across Asiatic Turkey to Bagdad. The proposal required British coöperation, if the enterprise was to be developed to the best advantage, but this coöperation British statesmen finally found themselves unable to undertake. Then the preferential duties which Canada adopted in 1897 involved that dominion in a tariff war with Germany, which was a further source of friction. This difficulty was intensified by the inroads on British maritime trade made by German industrialists in some of the branches in which they were learning how to produce more cheaply than the British.

But it was the persistence of the Germans in the construction of a large naval fleet, supplemented later by a merchant fleet as well, which stirred in the British such distrust of German intentions and fear of German power that they were willing to become reconciled to ancient enemies, whom they loved not more but feared less. When Théophile Delcassé undertook the management of French foreign affairs, he adopted as one of his aims the policy of making friends with Great Britain. This policy was realizable after Salisbury passed from the active political scene in Great Britain and was succeeded at the British foreign office by Lord Lansdowne. Delcassé began by yielding to a British threat at Fashoda in north Africa, and the two nations came to

terms in that region on the understanding that France would, with British acquiescence and support, confine her activities to Morocco, leaving Great Britain free to carry forward its projects in northeast Africa. Similar compromises were made of difficulties in other parts of the world. King Edward VII paved the way for good feeling between the peoples, to accompany this diplomatic understanding, by a well-staged visit to Paris and by receiving the French executive in London. Thus these two age-long rivals were drawn together by their common fears of a stronger power. Russia was still merely the ally of France, but the Russo-Japanese War soon made the weakness of that empire apparent and opened the way for the reconciliation that was obliged to come if the Franco-British agreement was to endure.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, III. chs. iii-v; G. M. Dutcher, *The Political Awakening of the East*, chs. i-ii; A. D. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, IV. chs. vi, ix; Edward Jenks, *A History of the Australasian Colonies*, ch. xiv; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, chs. xxiv, xxv; Ramsay Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*, II. Book XI. chs. i, ii, iv, v, vii-ix; Howard Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, chs. xx-xxv; V. A. Smith, *History of India* (2 ed.), Book IX; *These Eventful Years*, I. ch. xxix; II. chs. liv, lvi, lix, lx; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, Part V, chs. vii-viii.

FOR WIDER READING

G. L. Beer, *African Questions at the Peace Conference*, Part IV; C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism*; J. G. Bourinot (G. M. Wrong ed.), *Canada Under British Rule*, chs. viii-ix; Sydney Charles (Earl) Buxton, *General Botha*; *Cambridge Modern History*, XII. chs. xv, xvi, xvii, xx; Frank R. Cana, *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union*; Sir Valentine Chirol, *India Old and New*, chs. vi-xvi; R. A. Eastwood, *The Organization of a Britannic Partnership*; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Twelfth Edition, pertinent articles; G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe 1878-1919*, chs. i-x; R. H. Gretton, *A Modern History of the English People*, I. chs. vi, vii, xix, xx; II. i-v, ix, x; Richard Jebb, *The Britannic Question*; A. B. Keith, *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*; *Constitution, Administration, and Laws of the Empire*; W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada*, chs. xviii-xxv; Sidney Low and L. C. Sanders, *The History of England 1837-1901*, chs. xiv, xix; Sir Charles Lucas, *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*, chs. v-xi; C. M. MacInnes, *The British Commonwealth and its Unsolved Problems*; Nicol McNicol, *The Making of Modern India*; V. R. Markham, *The South African Scene*; Sir Herbert Maxwell, *A Century of Empire*, III. chs. iv, v, x-xiii; Viscount Milner, *England in Egypt*; C. H. Northcott, *Australian Social Development*; A. St. Ledger, *Australian Socialism*; R. P. Thomson, *A National History of Australia*,

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New Zealand and the Adjacent Islands, Part II; R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation*; C. H. VanTyne, *India in Ferment*; B. R. Wise, *The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Shepherd, pp. 170-171, indicates the growth of British dominion in India and in other parts of Asia; p. 172, the rise of Australia; pp. 174-175, Africa, both north and south; p. 212, the Dominions of Canada and Newfoundland. See also *Muir*, ff. 63, 64, 65. For the world in 1910, see *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 140; for the Pacific Ocean in the same year, No. 139; for Australia, 128; for New Zealand, 129; for South Africa, No. 133; for Egypt, No. 132; for Africa, No. 130; for Canada and Newfoundland, No. 126; for India, No. 122. For Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Africa in 1920, see J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, pp. 507, 544, 571, 595, 608. The political divisions of the Indian empire are indicated on a map in V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, appendix.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRACY

The term "democracy" may be thought of as having political, economic, or social implications, though none of these adjectives is an exclusive term. Social democracy would involve a removal of differentiating peculiarities and a shaping of individuals in moulds so similar as to deprive society of much of its human variety. Perhaps no considerable number of thoughtful people feel that it is feasible, or even desirable, except in a limited measure. Economic democracy would involve a distribution of wealth on a basis never yet achieved, and probably not achievable under any scheme of social organization with which the world has yet experimented on a large scale. Political democracy involves a participation of the responsible adult members of society in its government on substantially equal terms. The democratic movement in Great Britain has involved all of these three aspects in some degree, though the actual achievements are more largely in the field of political democracy. Even in that field, a wholly democratic society is as yet far from attainment.

At the bottom of the democratic movement in Great Britain was the extensive growth of urban life that followed the introduction of machine manufacture and the industrialization of a large element in British society. The mid-Victorian constitution, described so felicitously by Walter Bagehot, was based on a system characterized by an eminent writer who laments its passing as one "under which the aristocracy and the plutocracy balanced each other, and divided all real power between them."¹ We have considered in earlier chapters the methods by which the "plutocracy" obtained a share of power and the changes in governmental machinery thereby involved. The grasp of this enlarged ruling class on the reins of government was firm and not easy to loose. This class was in control of the legislature, and so of the executive responsible to it. Quite as important, from

¹ W. S. McKechnie, *The New Democracy and the Constitution*, p. 72.

the same groups came most of those holding responsible legal positions as judges and attorneys. The study and the practice of the law, involving a constant recurrence to the experience of the past and an habitual regard for precedent, is in its processes stimulative of a conservative point of view and likely to inspire in a majority of its devotees a fear of change. But a majority of British lawyers were also drawn from a class long accustomed to privileges as a matter of course and so little inclined to sympathize with any disposition of the less favored to call these privileges in question. Consequently, when groups of industrial workers, made aware of the common hardships they shared by their association *en masse* in a community life that had little to recommend it from their point of view, began to take steps in common to obtain a remedy for the grievances they felt, they met with little sympathy from those intrusted with the responsibility of interpreting and administering the law.

From the time when industrial laborers began their long struggle to organize themselves and to assert a share in the control of the society of which they were a part, they encountered this difficulty. All combinations of laborers, we recall, were prohibited by statute in the war panic of French Revolutionary and Napoleonic times. Then, as we have further seen, by the intervention of the Benthamite radicals, the laws against combinations were repealed in 1824 and only restored in a small measure in 1825. But the courts were unwilling to assume that the national legislature had left them helpless in the face of a movement that seemed to threaten the existence of many things long cherished in the circles in which the trustees of the law were wont to move. While no such actual conditions had ever been faced previously, it was not difficult to discover, in a legal system that was the fruit of so long a period of history, remedies that might, if the judges so desired, be shaped to serve their purposes. Since the time of Edward I it had been a criminal offence for two or more persons to conspire to procure a false indictment. Moreover, the relations between masters and servants were not yet legally on a free contract basis. The Statutes of Laborers of the fourteenth century are illustrations of the assumption by the government of the responsibility of prescribing the terms of labor when laborers were passing from the basis of status, prevalent in the middle ages, to the modern system, under which they are more or less free to contract at will. Much of this older regulation by law of the relations between masters and servants survived into the nineteenth century. If an employer broke a contract, he was

liable only to a suit for damages; a workingman wilfully breaking a contract was guilty of a criminal offence.

Among the first indications, after the repeal of the combination acts, of the tendency of the courts, probably for the most part unconscious, to lean toward the side of employers of labor in their interpretation of the law was when, in 1831, it was held that an employer was not liable for damage to an employee for injuries for which he would have been liable had they happened to a third party. At that time the labor organizations that existed were enmeshed in the movements sponsored by Robert Owen and the Chartists. After the failure of these movements to accomplish their immediate aims, a "new model" of trade union appeared and soon became the prevalent type, though, for a time, it was limited to the more skilled trades. The new model was a combination of a friendly assurance society with a trade union. The officials of these new unions were men of conservative views and cautious ability. By the middle of the century they had begun to form amalgamated societies and to associate the several trades under the leadership of men like Robert Applegarth. Employers became frightened. The statute passed in 1825 forbade an attempt to force a workman to leave his job by violence, threats, or intimidation. A justice of the Queen's Bench, Sir William Erle, held that for two or more persons to combine to procure a breach of these sections of the law, regardless of any further action, was in itself a "criminal conspiracy" at common law and punishable as such—this in the face of contrary rulings by previous judges. Thus the chief weapon of a trade union, the strike, was made practically illegal by a judicial decision, for which it was not easy to find historical justification in the law.

The executive officials of the trade unions at this time were, for the most part, men who were opposed to the use of violence and who were interested in preserving intact the funds of the organizations. They thought in the familiar terms of the current liberalism and sought to appeal to parliament for remedies. A strike of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers against overtime and piece-work in 1851-52, though it failed of its purpose, attracted the sympathy of the public and had the effect of making the union stronger and more influential in society at large. The economic depression which began in 1857 gave rise in the succeeding years to a series of strikes in various trades, and Applegarth, with William Allan, William Newton, and Daniel Guile, and their associates, who became known as the "Junta," undertook to win for trade unions a recognized social and political status. This

intimate association of the union leaders stimulated the fears of the more conservative members of the ruling class. The Junta participated in the agitation that led to the passage of the parliamentary reform bill of 1867. The passage of that act naturally tended to make the leaders of labor more conscious of their power.

One of the first specific conditions for which a remedy was sought was the removal of the discriminations made by the law in its treatment of masters and servants. The act passed in 1867 remedied the grosser injustices of the existing law, though the employer, if held accountable at all, could still escape with a fine, which a laborer was not likely to be able to pay. In the meantime, in 1861, Erle's doctrine of "common law" criminal conspiracy had been unostentatiously incorporated in a statute. Then, in 1867, the court decided that the funds of trade unions were not, as had been supposed, within the scope of the law protecting those of other friendly societies. In fact, the court added that trade unions, if not criminal since 1825, were at any rate "in restraint of trade," and so unlawful. The unions thus found their funds unprotected by law and the legality of their very existence called in question. But they were strong enough, now that their members were voters, to procure the appointment by parliament of a commission to study the question and make a report. Sir William Erle, who had retired from the bench, was made chairman of this commission. But fortunately the Junta was able to procure the appointment to it also of a friend of the unions in the person of Frederic Harrison, the Positivist philosopher and critic. As an appendix to the report, Erle wrote a treatise in defence of his interpretation of the doctrine of criminal conspiracy, which has more than once been cited by American courts in defence of their decisions on the same question. But the report was followed by a movement in parliament in behalf of the unions, which eventuated in the passage of an act in 1871 expressly providing that a trade union should not be regarded as illegal simply because it was in restraint of trade. The same act provided for the registration of unions, under a system of trustees, to afford protection for their funds, without involving the necessity of organizing them into corporations, which would make them, as fictitious persons, liable to be sued for damages on account of their acts. But an act amending the criminal law, passed in the same year, made it possible for the courts to pronounce illegal the familiar methods used in the conduct of a strike, though the strike itself was adjudged legal. The conse-

quence was another statute, passed in 1875 by a Conservative government under Disraeli, providing that "an agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute" should not be indictable as a "conspiracy if such an act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime." The same act undertook to legalize "peaceful picketing," without which it was difficult to conduct a successful strike. The Master and Servant Act of 1867 was at the same time replaced by an Employer and Workmen's Act, the very title of which indicates the revolution in the law the laborers had been able to effect.

These challenging conditions brought into existence a Trade Union Congress which, though a loose organization, was the nucleus for action by labor on a national scale. The real vitality of the movement for the next two decades, however, was in the unions of the several trades. Similarly, the power exerted in parliament by laborers was in the several constituencies. Neither Liberals nor Conservatives were likely to name candidates who were hostile to the demands of the local laborers in constituencies having a large labor vote. Furthermore, no party in parliament dared longer to neglect wholly any organized demand that came from labor. Progress was made, therefore, in promoting sanitation in factories, in restricting the labor of women and children, and in the whole round of factory legislation. But the trade unions were still largely restricted to the more skilled trades, and their leadership was conservative. Indeed, so conservative were the organizations that some of the younger and more aggressive members began to fret at the lack of achievement, which they felt ought to have been much greater.

Two such men, John Burns and Tom Mann, took the lead in helping Benjamin Tillett to organize a strike of the London dock laborers on a large scale in 1889, a strike which attracted public approval both in England and abroad. Large contributions to the strikers came from as far away as Australia. The success of this strike was facilitated by the growth of humanitarian sympathy with classes suffering from privation. This same sympathy was effective in two strikes that preceded that of the dock laborers, one by the unorganized girls employed in match factories, another by employees of the London gas companies. A rapid organization of less skilled labor followed these successful strikes. Within a year after the dock strike, two hundred thousand members were added to the trade unions. But these new unions differed from the older ones in that their members could

not afford the necessary contributions to establish large insurance funds. Their chief function, therefore, was to serve the workers in what came to be called "collective bargaining."

Some labor leaders were already meditating a more active participation in politics. John Burns took part in the government of the metropolitan district of London, as it was organized under the London County Council. He was later appointed a member of the cabinet under a Liberal ministry. Various socialist projects and programs were in the air. J. Keir Hardie began to urge trade unionists to sever their relations with the older parties and to embark on an organization of their own. Hardie was elected to parliament in 1892, avowedly as a member of an Independent Labor party. In the general election of 1895 twenty-eight candidates stood as members of this new party, but all were defeated, while some of those members of trade unions who stood as Liberals were elected. The faction in the Trade Union Congress in favor of a separate political organization was growing. A committee was appointed in 1898 to draft a scheme for such an organization, and two years later an organization was set up with J. Ramsay McDonald, an efficient organizer, as its first secretary. In the general election of that year only two of the fifteen candidates put in the field were actually elected, and a majority of trade unionists seemed as yet reluctant to leave their old political moorings. But the courts came to the assistance of the new movement in the "Taff Vale" decision and furnished the stimulus needed to arouse the laborers to bestir themselves in defence of their interests.

In a strike against the Taff Vale Railway in Wales, there was tumultuous picketing. The manager of the railroad, contrary to the advice of his counsel, who agreed with the prevailing view that the statutes of 1871 and 1875 covered the case, sued the union responsible for the strike for damages. The House of Lords, acting as court of final resort, decided that the union was liable and, therefore, that the supposed protection afforded to the funds of the unions by leaving them unincorporated was in fact nugatory. The unions were alarmed for their existence, and, in the general election of 1906, twenty-nine members were elected to parliament representing the Labor party, besides a dozen other members of the unions who stood as Liberals. The ministry then in power under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman naturally gave immediate attention to remedying the situation created by the unexpected decision of the court. The Trade Disputes Act of 1906 expressly made not actionable (1) an act com-

mitted by a combination of persons which would not be actionable if done without such combination; (2) an act which merely induced a breach of contract of employment or interferes with trade, business, or employment, or the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or labor as he will; (3) any alleged responsibility by a trade union as a body for the tortuous acts of its officials or its members.

As a result of the parliamentary elections of January and December, 1910, the Liberals were without a majority over all other parties and depended in part on the more than two-score members of the Labor party for support. In consequence, the two parties coöperated in passing much legislation for which laborers had long agitated. But the Labor party was composed of a diversity of groups, varying from socialists of one school or another to somewhat conservative trade unionists of the older sort, who had no great enthusiasm for the venture in politics. The Labor members of parliament were supported, and the expenses of their campaigns for election paid for, by contributions levied and collected by the trade unions. A lack of interest in the political movement was beginning to be perceptible, when, in 1909, the courts again came forward in the "Osborne Judgment" with a decision prohibiting the expenditure of trade union funds for political purposes, particularly for the support of the Labor party. Again parliament was aroused to action. An act passed in 1911 provided for the payment to members of parliament of a salary of four hundred pounds per annum, thus relieving the unions of this burden. Another act, passed in 1913, permitted the unions to engage in political activities, provided that the funds were managed so that members who wished it might be exempt from contributing to the political funds.

What would have been the fate of the Labor party had not the World War occurred at this juncture is, of course, conjectural. But it is clear that no small part in bringing it to the strength it had achieved was played by the political ineptitudes of responsible groups in the older ruling classes, of the courts in particular. There were at the same time, however, somewhat less tangible forces that coöperated to stimulate among others than laborers an attitude which, for want of a better term, we may call a democratic spirit. It was from these new allies of labor as well as from the officials of the older trade unions that much of the leadership of the Labor party came when it was eventually given a short lease of power.

THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT

The birth of the democratic spirit that has manifested itself in Great Britain in late years is easily traceable to the forces that shaped the public attitude in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. These parents might probably disown their offspring, should they return to earth, but the relationship is none the less clear. Even the long discredited Bentham played his part. Had he not a conviction that the state could regenerate society by the process of making laws? Karl Marx, a British product in large part, borrowed his theory of value from Ricardo and turned the argument against the class whose interests the doctrines of the earlier economist were used to defend. William Morris was, in some measure, a later disciple of Ruskin. And so we might recall Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, Dickens, and the rest. The novels of Benjamin Disraeli doubtless played their part. It was impossible for these substantial and widely read writers to criticize, ridicule, and reveal the weaknesses of British society in the nineteenth century without arousing some desire to find remedies. A recent writer has summarized the matter in a suggestive paragraph:

No one can follow the subtle activities of conscience and thought through the Victorian age from the beginning, and treat socialism as a slight matter. Too many converging lines lead to it. One may almost say that every positive impulse of reconstruction, no matter from what point it started or on what path it traveled, has moved unconsciously toward this one goal. The impulse of the artist, wishing to beautify the visible world which man has made so ugly, through the united efforts of a free race alive to beauty; the impulse of the philanthropist, longing for the relief of the manifold forms of material distress produced by modern conditions; the impulse of the philosophic dreamer, seeking an ideal social harmony; the impulse of the practical man, noting the waste of a free competitive system, and the economy of centralization; the impulse of the Christian, believing that the Holy City is surely coming down from Heaven to earth, and that it is his business to translate the great social petitions of the Lord's Prayer into action; the impulse of the skeptic, believing that the race must now bend all its efforts to make life a blessing here, since it has lost all hope of fulfillment or compensation hereafter,—all these play into the strong, comprehensive, growing intention to affect the course of social development now, even if it has never been affected before, by the action of the resolute human will. People of three great classes—those who care most for the graces, those who care most for the comforts, those who care most for the virtues, of life—are drawn toward socialism with a force which all feel, and many, an increasing number, do not even seek to resist. The extension of the authority of the democratic state over industrial matters seems to all these different

temperaments to offer at least the first and most hopeful experiment in the direction of social betterment; and the spread of the socialistic spirit in artistic circles, in the Church, in city politics, and even, through the unmoralized form of the Trust, in industry itself, has been so amazingly rapid that the mention of it has in ten years passed from a heresy to a platitude.¹

We are not to infer from this that a majority of the British are or at any time have been professed socialists. "The professed socialist," says another writer, "is a rare, perhaps an unnecessary, person, who wishes to instruct and generally succeeds in scaring humanity by bringing out into the light of conscious day the dim principle which is working at the back of the course of events." Whether it came from John Stuart Mill, as some authorities would say, or from the publication in England of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and the same writer's later lectures, as others believe, we know, at any rate, that many individuals of light and leading began in the last two decades of the nineteenth century to agitate definitely for social changes.

In 1886 Charles Booth, a man of wealth, began, with the assistance of a corps of experts, an investigation of the conditions of the London poor, inspired in part by the thought that the facts, when revealed, would estop some of the loose criticisms of conditions already current. The work continued for the following seventeen years, and the published results fill as many volumes. The humanitarian leaven, the presence of which in British society we have noted before, had now worked until a large number of people could not repress a disposition to do something remedial in the face of the many appalling conditions revealed. This same emotional attitude led William Booth in 1878 to establish the Salvation Army. It impelled men in the established Church, like Canon Samuel Barnett, to give a life of labor and care to their less fortunate fellows. The needs of the situation appealed also, as we have noted, to Cardinal Manning, and in fact to adherents to all creeds, softened by feelings of human kindness. Social settlements were established in the slums. Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, was founded in 1885 in memory of Arnold Toynbee, who helped much to popularize the term "Industrial Revolution" as a name for the movement which, it was now discovered, had brought many disagreeable things in its train as well as a large enhancement of the wealth of the nation. The fact became recognized that substantially a tenth of the people in the

¹ Vida D. Scudder, *Social Ideals in English Letters* (1923 ed.), pp. 281-282.

metropolitan district (the submerged tenth) were subsisting under conditions that did not afford them a decent minimum of the comforts of physical life.

Many person were influenced directly by the teachings of Karl Marx and professed a desire to inaugurate his communist program by expeditious methods. But perhaps the most influential group in Great Britain in the end, though never numerous in actual membership, was that organized in 1883 as the Fabian Society. Among the number were Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, and George Bernard Shaw. Webb and his wife, Beatrice, by their labors as historians, have recovered and told the story of the organization of industrial labor from its beginnings. Recognizing that the collective action advocated by themselves and their associates could be achieved the more easily and effectively by units of local government than on a national scale, they made intensive studies of the foundations in the past for the complicated structure of English local government. Professor Wallas, in his *Life of Francis Place*, helped to show the continuity of aspirations and methods of the earlier and later leaders of the labor group. Subsequently Wallas has written in *The Great Society* and in *Human Nature and Politics* of the less tangible but profoundly real psychological and human difficulties in the way of realizing forthwith the hopes of those who advocate the collectivistic program. Perhaps the most influential member of the Fabian group was Shaw. Keen, clever, incisive, scintillating, he is esteemed by some a sort of Mephistopheles, the most familiar caricature of him being in that rôle. Others, for whom there is a measure of justification, think of him as on the side of the angels. As Shakespeare was preëminently the dramatist of the nation, so it is plausible to think of Shaw as the dramatist of democracy, though there are many who deny that he is either a dramatist or a democrat. But we recall that Shakespeare also was thought by the most eminent of his contemporaries to lack art. The time has not yet come when the potency or merit of Shaw's work can be measured. He is rather a dissecting critic of conventional society in the nineteenth century than the propagator of a program for a new order. But there are few more effective critics than he. The difficulty, which may increase instead of diminish with the passage of time, is in disentangling his influence from that of his associates and other contemporaries.

Shaw is not the only literary man of the time who had dissected the social system of his day. John Galsworthy and Ar-

nold Bennett deserve honorable mention, to say nothing of Herbert George Wells. Wells mingles with his criticisms projects for a variety of utopias, in which he undertakes to suggest schemes for improvement as they occur in his fruitful imagination. One of the most widely read writers of fiction in his day, he has also undertaken to translate into the language of the ordinary man a synthesis of the development of mankind and of human institutions from prehistoric times to the present, making clear his explanations of the sorry pass to which he feels that the world has in some respects come. Writers on economics and politics, such as Mr. J. A. Hobson and Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, who do not really belong with this group, nevertheless advocated a measure of interference by the state in economic and social matters, which Liberals in an earlier time would have reserved for individual control. Whether the tone of society was changed more by these criticisms and the positive propaganda which accompanied them in pulpit and press and on a diversity of platforms, or by the growing realization that, unless something was done to ameliorate the hard conditions brought to light, the whole social fabric was in danger of destruction, is hard to say. Perhaps the conditions and the bringing of them to light both helped to promote the propaganda and afforded a favorable atmosphere for it to work in.

Such men as W. H. Mallock came forward to defend the existing order. Few influential leaders, however, undertook to defend things quite as they were. They differed as to the changes that ought to be made. As the collectivistic program became an actual achievement, both by national legislation and by an extension of the functions of the agencies of local government, observant persons began to distrust the democratic character of the bureaucratic organization which they saw gradually assuming greater and greater powers over and responsibilities for the people at large. These observers suggested that no adequate method had yet been devised for making this social engine efficient and responsible to those whom it was designed to serve. Mr. Hilaire Belloc, in his *Servile State*, was among those who dissented sharply from the growing collectivism exemplified in the legislation of the first decades of the twentieth century. Being an adherent of the Roman Catholic Church, Mr. Belloc suggested a new panacea, "distributivism," which is a sort of return to the social system of the middle ages, with the Church assuming larger functions. Mr. Gilbert Chesterton, though delighting in paradoxes and so not easy to place as a proponent of

positive programs, deserves to be mentioned among those who are distrustful of collectivism and who would look backward for inspiration. This backward look, however, implies no approval of the conditions that the collectivists are seeking to remedy, but rather a preference for a different physic for the disease.

Scholars such as F. W. Maitland, Sir Frederick Pollock and J. N. Figgis showed the way for a departure in political theories from the doctrines of the sovereign state, which came into vogue to suit the views of statesmen of the nineteenth century. They pointed out that society contains many groups besides the state which function as personalities with a will and which have a more or less permanent character. The latest variation of socialist agitation, the Guild Movement, is in some measure inspired by the thought that the example of medieval society may have something to teach the present day. Mr. A. J. Penty, for illustration, who was among the earlier apostles of the movement, was formerly a Fabian and by profession an architect. Faced with the task of writing a tract on socialism and architecture, he came to the conclusion that it was unreasonable to expect the fine arts to flourish in a collectivistic society. Ruskin's remedy for the ugliness, which he felt oppressed England under the industrialist régime, was to procure a greater leisure for laborers in which to cultivate a love for the beautiful. Penty concluded that what was needed was a restoration of the guild system, so that a pride in craftsmanship might be developed and made one of the aims of a workman. Another process of reasoning, which led to similar conclusions, began with the obvious fact that a mere choice of representatives by a majority vote in constituencies apportioned roughly according to population may leave entirely unrepresented many of the groups in which society is actually organized according to their social functions. One remedy suggested was the organization, perhaps along with the existing parliament, of another body based on vocational groupings. Among those who have become active protagonists of some such program are Mr. A. R. Orage, editor of the *New Age*, and Mr. G. D. H. Cole, a fluent writer on economic and social questions.

The Guild Movement seems latterly to have influenced the Fabians, or else their observations of actual experience have revealed to them difficulties involved in making a collectivistic government responsible to the people, who are its constituents and properly its beneficiaries. Professor Wallas's later books, with their suggestions concerning ways and means for stimulat-

ing group emotion and so for manipulating the electorate, evidence a realization of these difficulties. The opinion seems to be growing that the organization of a democratic government is not the simple matter it seemed in the halcyon days when it was assumed that, given the right to vote, men and women would behave as discriminating, rational beings and would know as a matter of course how to take care of their own interests.

Another aspect of the agitation for democracy made difficult the achievement of a genuinely democratic spirit. Inevitably, the bulk of the agitation itself was based on the assumption that a large class in society had not yet achieved the portion of goods, material and less tangible, that ought justly to fall to it. While influential groups among the more fortunate classes developed sympathy for their less favored fellows, nevertheless, the latter obtained a gradual amelioration of the conditions from which they suffered by organization and by striving as a body. But this very process of organization and strife helped to crystallize in society a stratification essentially undemocratic, since it arose from the disposition of the favored classes to defend for themselves the things of which the less favored were seeking to attain a share.

In the end, however, though all individuals lack much of counting for the same in the government, though wealth is yet far from being distributed according to any method that could be described as democratic, and though society in all of its aspects recognizes a thousand distinctions and discriminations among individuals and among the classes into which they are divided, it is nevertheless a fact that much more than formerly there is a general disposition to take account of the needs and wishes of the common man and to make provisions for his welfare. Slowly a national conscience has emerged which will not tolerate conditions that in past ages were accepted as a matter of course. If democracy in any extreme sense is still a distant prospect, it is, at any rate, not so far distant as it was before the ferment of the past century did its work.

ACHIEVEMENTS TOWARD DEMOCRACY

After the enfranchisement of a large number of industrial laborers in 1867, responsible political leaders of the older parties recognized that the wishes of the new voters must be taken into account. Perhaps, indeed, they were more fearful than they

needed to be concerning their own fate, if they did not make friends with this new power, which had yet to be organized and taught how to exert its strength. At first, the influence of the new voters was chiefly felt in the several constituencies, and no startling social programs were inaugurated. Except the statutes enacted to thwart the tendencies of the courts to interfere with the activities of trade unions, the chief new legislation was a further elaboration of extensive regulations already begun. Beginning in 1870, larger provisions were made for the extension of public education in the elementary branches. Later, encouragement was given to higher technical education as well. Factory and workshop acts were passed in 1867, in 1871, in 1874, and in 1878. An act for promoting better housing was passed in 1875. Acts for protecting and promoting the interests of sailors working on merchant vessels were passed in 1873, in 1875, in 1876, and in 1880. In 1880 was passed also an employer's liability act, making employers liable for damage to their employees as to other persons suffering through their negligence.

While many of the statesmen of the period were scarcely aware of it, the individualistic doctrines of the previous generation were already on the wane. Perhaps the members of parliament who were now limiting hours of labor, prohibiting children from working, and imposing conditions for promoting sanitation in factories were unaware that they had experienced a change of political faith. Subconsciously, they knew that their constituencies now contained voters who were vitally interested in matters of this sort. But they were not hypocritical in their feeling that they did these things because they needed to be done and because the state was the only agency at hand strong enough to enforce remedies for the conditions that had been revealed. When Samuel Plimsoll, for example, made the public aware that under the prevailing conditions it was possible for owners, for their own profit, to risk the lives of seamen in unseaworthy ships, knowing that they could cover losses by insurance, even Disraeli's government could not long resist the pressure of popular feeling that resulted. In consequence of the statutes that were enacted, some five hundred rotten vessels, according to Plimsoll's estimate, were broken up, and, in the seven years immediately after the passage of the acts, more than eight hundred ships about to sail were stopped and repaired or had their loads reduced.

The emergence of the Labor party as a factor to be reckoned with in parliament convinced statesmen of the older parties that

even further concessions must be made to meet the rising demands of this powerful group. Although the Liberal government, after the election of 1906, did not depend for existence on the support of the Labor group, it was manifest none the less that circumstances would not always be thus favorable. Worldly wisdom would have impelled the Liberals, had a genuine disposition been lacking, to cultivate the friendship of these growing factions in parliament. Perhaps the Liberals felt that timely concessions of half-loaves might delay if not postpone indefinitely a complete achievement of all that was demanded by those who were sponsoring the venture of Labor in politics. John Burns, who had become a member of the cabinet, helped to formulate measures that would satisfy the wishes of his fellow trade unionists. The increase in the Labor membership in the House of Commons as a result of the general elections of 1910, and the subsequent necessity that the government have the coöperation of those members if it was to function, hastened still more the achievement of those aims of Labor which Liberals could bring themselves to accept.

The impressive volume of legislation that resulted dealt with diverse aspects of the same subject rather than with different subjects. Apparently it was accepted as inevitable that, for a time at any rate, a numerous element in the population of the country must live on an income so small that practically all of it would ordinarily be required to provide a respectable minimum for subsistence. But normal life is beset with unexpected uncertainties. Moreover, three centuries of unsuccessful attempts to relieve the necessities of the poor convinced the thoughtful, not only that the poor would be with them a long time, but that, unless preventative measures could be devised, the burden would wax rather than wane. Furthermore, the development of extensive means of communication carried appeals from the unfortunate to every sympathetic heart. It was scarcely possible longer to remain in ignorance of conditions that abounded on every hand. Consequently the view became current that the state, representing the total community of the people, had a parental responsibility for the helpless which began at birth and continued into old age.

As recently as the accession of Queen Victoria, there was scarcely a British statute evidencing the interest of the state in the welfare of the children that were to grow up to be its future citizens. As the result of a long series of measures passed since that time, culminating in an act passed in 1908, it is now the

duty of the attending physician or midwife to give notice of a birth within forty-eight hours after it occurs, and never afterward, if the infant be among those who have a small share of this world's goods, is the public solicitude allowed wholly to lapse. Visiting public nurses advise the mother of the child as to its proper care. Within a few years it must be sent to school, where, if under-nourished, it will be fed. A school is provided under public supervision at public expense, if the parents lack means to afford one of their own choosing and to pay the cost themselves. Nor may a child be set to work, except as the state prescribes, until it reaches the age of responsible adulthood. Thus, within the century during which the industrial laborers have been fighting their way to a share in power, their children have been transformed from their former status as practical chattels of their parents into wards of society.

Old age, however, is as helpless as childhood. Even before 1906 there was a growing conviction among all parties that sooner or later measures would have to be adopted to lighten the later days of those old persons who spent their lives as laborers in a society that did not pay them a sufficient income to enable them to lay by in store for themselves. Some, however, were found to oppose a measure that went counter to the doctrines by which traditionally the industrialization of England had been defended. The first act, providing for an allowance of five shillings per week to persons of seventy years and older, was passed in 1908, and at this writing (1925) a proposal is pending in parliament to reduce the age of eligibility and to extend the application of the measure. No organized party opposes the program.

But illness is almost a disaster for families that require for respectable subsistence so nearly all of the normal earnings. Even the expenses incidental to childbirth, sometimes a more frequent occurrence in these households than in those of the well-to-do, are enough to involve the family beyond its capacity to recover. It was scarcely feasible, in society organized on a basis of economic individualism, for the state to assume all of these charges. By an act passed in 1911 it divided with the persons themselves and with their employers in unequal proportions the burden of providing insurance against illness for all those with incomes below a stipulated minimum. Participation in this insurance was made compulsory. With the fund thus provided, the state undertook to give necessary medical attention to those in need of it and to make allowances to families deprived by illness of the income wage earners. A ma-

ternity benefit to take care of that inroad on the family purse was also provided.

Another act, passed in the same year, provided a similar scheme of insurance against unemployment in seasonal trades and in others in which unemployment was chronic. This act involved also an extension of the work of labor exchanges, previously established, through which the government attempted to bring unemployed laborers into relations with possible employers. Persons thus insured were to receive an allowance while out of work, but they were obliged to accept employment when it was found for them at the normal wage for the trade. The conditions caused by the World War made this law unnecessary while the war was going on; in subsequent years unemployment has been one of the most vexing of all national problems.

But if the state was to assume this large share of responsibility for people whose normal income was close to the margin of subsistence, steps ought to be taken at the same time to insure that as few as possible should receive an income below that minimum. This question was involved in what were called "sweated industries"; that is, industries in which conditions made it possible for employers to reduce the amounts paid to laborers below a reasonable minimum. The Trade Boards Act of 1909 set up machinery for making wage adjustments and for establishing minimum wages or rates in the difficult trades of this type. This method was later expanded somewhat and applied to coal miners in order to settle a strike in that industry.

Perhaps the more successful achievements of the collectivist program are to be seen in the smaller governmental units. Municipalities, in a majority of cases, have undertaken not only to supply their inhabitants with water and sewerage but also to furnish gas, electric current, tramways, public baths, libraries, museums, and other similar utilities. The municipalities have also undertaken in some cases to deal with one of the most serious of all the problems of community life in Great Britain; namely, housing. The rapid growth of industrial towns without the provision of adequate facilities for sheltering the population, the failure to keep up the older cottages in the rural districts, poor enough at best, or to construct others to take their places, resulted in the growth of slums and in overcrowding to an extent that made impossible the ordinary decencies of life and hazarded the very existence of life itself, especially for the very young. The investigations, that helped to pave the way for measures designed to improve the conditions among the poorer

classes, revealed that the large infant mortality and the disease, vice, and other social perils among adults were intimately related to the inadequacy of housing. Remedial measures were projected by the national government. Some projects were carried to completion both by municipalities and by enlightened employers, such as George Cadbury, at Bournville, Lever Brothers, at Port Sunlight, and others, who surrounded their factories with admirable tenements for their laborers. The World War interrupted this work and, when it was possible to return to it again, the increase in the cost of building and the pressing need that something be done made the question one of vital importance for the nation.

Next to the demand for an economic minimum, the most fundamental aspiration of the organized labor group was for an education. Perhaps a part of the explanation of this yearning for knowledge was due to the feeling that lack of it was somehow to blame for the sad plight in which most of the ignorant found themselves. Curiously enough, after the extension of the suffrage, those in more favored circumstances were readier to satisfy this thirst for learning than they were to gratify the more material wishes of the poorer classes. But the proposal to provide education for all classes offered serious difficulties. It was not easy to formulate explanations of the existing social facts which would contribute to the contentment of the hitherto neglected groups in the circumstances under which they had previously lived. Though a minimum of education was ultimately provided for all and, in fact, made compulsory by law, there are yet many who have doubts and misgivings concerning the future on this basis.

This problem is complicated in another respect by the fact that the state and its subordinate units did not undertake the task, even of elementary education, until long after groups associated with the national Church and with other religious bodies had entered the field. When the state finally awoke to its responsibility, it was economically unwise and politically inexpedient to interfere with these voluntary beginnings or to duplicate the material equipment the ecclesiastical organizations had accumulated. In the end, a policy was adopted of giving financial assistance to these schools in return for a right to supervise their work. But an extension of government control raised the question of the interference with religious instruction, which the earlier schools were originally intended to give. Schools both built and conducted by the state have for the most part served

only the children of the poor. The modern counterparts of the old ruling class still patronize select institutions that cater to one or another social class. The supporters of the national Church were so well intrenched in the House of Lords that not until the World War revealed what seemed to be some of the deficiencies of English education was a compulsory national scheme provided by law (1918), and the financial difficulties of the post-war period prevented the provisions of this scheme from being wholly carried out. With this persisting stratification of the educational machinery, it is not easy for all classes of society to learn by a process of rubbing elbows in childhood the truth, if truth it be, that:

The Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady
Are sisters under their skins.

There is, therefore, not much evidence of the growth of a democratic spirit among individuals to accompany and support the extensive collectivist undertakings on which the state and the municipalities have embarked, sometimes as a result of contests and sometimes as a result of compromises among the social groups into which the people are still divided.

The Prime Minister in whose administration the largest body of this legislation was enacted defended the program advocated by himself and his colleagues with the statement: "Property must be associated in the minds of the masses of the people with ideas of reason and justice." This pronouncement by Mr. Asquith reveals a conviction that the existing social order must demonstrate its right to exist by showing a capacity to adjust itself to serve popular needs. In several of its proposals, besides that relating to public education, Asquith's administration found its measure blocked by the House of Lords. An example was a bill designed to restrict somewhat the sale of intoxicating beverages. But the measure that finally forced the issue between the ministry and the House of Commons, both now largely responsible to popular feeling, and this last citadel of the older privileged classes was the rejection of the budget proposed by Mr. David Lloyd George as chancellor of the exchequer in 1909. Both the Old Age Pension Act and the naval rivalry with Germany, then attaining to extensive proportions, made it imperative in that year that the government raise larger sums of money than formerly. The budget proposed went even further than the accomplishment of this purpose. Income and inheritance taxes were largely increased, both because the additional revenue was

needed and as a means of promoting what was represented as a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation. This budget also made a beginning toward dealing with an even more difficult question. Since the enclosures of earlier centuries, the bulk of the land in Great Britain had been in the hands of a comparatively few landlords, who held it free from taxation except as far as it was productive of rents. It was in this way possible to withdraw large areas of land from cultivation and to reserve them for the pleasure of person in affluent circumstances, who profited by any enhanced value that might accrue without the necessity of contributing on that account to the support of the government. It was felt that many who ought to be occupied in the cultivation of land were deprived of an opportunity, while the nation imported a large proportion of its food. The budget of 1909 carried provisions for assessing what was called the site value of land, as distinguished from its rental value, with a view to levying taxes. It was the hope that these taxes would, at the same time, produce a respectable amount of revenue and force a larger area of land into cultivation.

Although it had been accepted as good constitutional practice that the House of Lords should not reject a budget, the opponents of the ministers, who were able to command a majority in the House of Lords, contended that this particular budget contained proposals so radical that they ought not to be adopted without an appeal to the voters. By rejecting the budget, therefore, the House of Lords challenged the ministry to a contest with the electorate which, as might have been foreseen, really turned on the question of whether, in a country as democratic as Great Britain had come to be, it was longer tolerable that an hereditary and privileged group should retain the power to block the action of the more popular house of parliament. The decision was against the House of Lords.

ORGANIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY

When the House of Lords rejected the budget of 1909 by declaring an unwillingness to consent to it until it had been "submitted to the judgment of the country," the House of Commons replied, "That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by the House for the service of the year is a breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons." As a matter of

fact, this was merely one of many demonstrations that the House of Lords, by its very composition, was unlikely to be in sympathy with any contentious proposals made by the Liberal, Labor, and Nationalist groups, which, taken together, then constituted the major parties of the country. That is, for a generation and more, the upper house of the national legislature had been an assembly of partisan complexion with a social composition that made it almost out of sympathy with many things that must be normal planks in a democratic platform. It was unreasonable to expect that the militant groups now in power in the House of Commons would permanently remain at so serious a disadvantage in contests with their Conservative (now Unionist) opponents. The budget of 1909 was, as we have seen, much more than merely a finance measure. Nevertheless, by refusing to accept it, the House of Lords invited the fate it met. Even so, the act that was passed was not as revolutionary as might have been the case in a land less addicted to half-measures and compromises.

After the general election on the budget in January, 1910, the ministry could not have failed to proceed in dealing with the House of Lords without putting its own existence in jeopardy. The Irish Nationalists demanded a Home Rule Bill as the price of their support, and the last experience of Gladstone had proved that the House of Lords would reject such a bill. The Laborites demanded more social legislation, involving an increase in taxation and an encroachment on privileges which the influences dominant in the House of Lords still guarded. Among the rest, Mr. Lloyd George was sponsoring an act for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, where it no longer commanded the willing support of a majority of the population.

The death of King Edward VII in May, 1910, delayed somewhat the settlement of the question. The coöperation of the King was necessary in case the House of Lords refused to acquiesce in the proposals of the ministry. A vain attempt was made to reach an agreement by compromise and so to relieve the new King of the necessity of participating in a constitutional struggle so soon after his accession. Even after another general election, held in December, 1910, which left the political composition of parliament practically as before, it was necessary to make a public statement that the King had authorized the creation of a sufficient number of new peers to insure the enactment into law of the proposals of the ministry. Even so, in the face of certain ultimate defeat, more than a hundred

recalcitrant lords disregarded the advice of their wiser leaders. Fortunately, enough of the more moderate-minded actually voted with the government to pass its bill in 1911, as in 1832, without the necessity of carrying out the threat made in the name of the King.

In its final form, the Parliament Act of 1911 provided that in the future money bills should become law when passed by the House of Commons, regardless of whether they were passed by the House of Lords. As regards general legislation, the House of Lords retained the right to delay action. To be enacted in the face of the opposition of the peers, a measure had to be passed by the House of Commons three successive times in substantially the same form, with at least two years elapsing between the first and last action. The act also shortened the legal duration of parliament to five years, making it practically impossible to take advantage of its provisions on general legislation unless the proposed measure were initiated early in the life of a parliament. In order to prevent the attachment of matters of general legislation to a money bill, the decision, when that point of order was raised, was left with the speaker of the House of Commons, a non-partizan officer. The first important measure to pass counter to the wishes of the House of Lords was the act disestablishing the Church in Wales, which the World War did not interrupt and thwart as it finally did the Irish Home Rule Bill.

In other respects, however, the World War helped to bring to consummation proposals long agitated for the extension of the right to participate in the government to a larger number of people. The fourth general parliamentary reform bill, passed in 1918, (1) made adjustments in the apportionment of representation which, until that time, had remained substantially as it was left in 1884; (2) it extended the suffrage to include practically all responsible males of the age of twenty-one and above; (3) it restricted the privilege of plural voting, so that no person could vote more than twice in a given election; (4) it granted to specified groups of woman above the age of thirty the right to vote. The enfranchisement of women was the most radical of these provisions.

There had been a growing sex-consciousness among women since the last years of the eighteenth century. The vote ultimately came to be demanded as a sort of social panacea by the women, just as it had been by disfranchised men in earlier generations. Again, following the experience of the men, the feminist agitators succeeded in procuring changes in the laws regu-

lating the holding of property, which had previously discriminated against women, before those in control of the government were willing to grant a right to share in that privilege. The change of heart on the question of suffrage, when it finally came, was effected by much the same methods earlier used by the men.

Susan B. Anthony, the American apostle of equal rights for women, visited Great Britain in 1902 and stirred Christabel and Emeline Pankhurst to organize in the next year the Women's Social and Political Union. "It is unendurable," said Christabel Pankhurst at that time, "to think of another generation of women wasting their lives begging for the vote. We must not lose any more time. We must act." The accession to power of the Liberals, with later a large accretion of Laborites, without any action being taken looking to the granting their wishes, caused the organized women to adopt more militant tactics. Ministers were harassed whenever they appeared in public. Property was destroyed; for example, mail in pillar boxes and plate glass windows of the shops in Oxford Street, London. When those guilty of these acts of violence were imprisoned, they endangered their lives by abstention from food and thus offered themselves as candidates for martyrdom to the cause they were advocating. When released, they resumed their annoying behavior. By the outbreak of the World War, the government, in exasperation, was undertaking to deal with the agitators by law. In the period of the war militant agitation ceased, and, while men were absent at the front, women performed many of the tasks hitherto reserved to members of the other sex. At the close of the war they outnumbered the men and could plead in addition their services in a trying time. It was scarcely reasonable, and certainly not expedient, longer to oppose their wishes. For more than a generation a limited number of women had been voters in municipal elections. The act of 1918 enfranchised for national elections women over thirty years of age who were householders, wives of householders, or university graduates. It only remains to enfranchise women on the same terms as men to make the suffrage in England as democratic in extent as the wildest enthusiast hoped a generation ago.

But this extension of the right to vote carried with it no guarantee of a capacity to exercise the right discreetly. Experience seems to reveal that many things may not be settled wisely by an indiscriminate occasional exercise of the right to vote for one of the several candidates who offer in a single constituency. In the smaller towns, where there is some possibility of general

knowledge of the persons offering and of a direct consciousness of the need for the services to be rendered, some pride in the municipal community has developed, bringing a disposition to be interested in its affairs. In Greater London no such spirit is manifest in any effective degree. To hinder the development of a spirit of unity, the old city, in its limited boundaries, retains the picturesque trappings of its ancient dignity, and more than a score of other subordinate boroughs have a separate corporate existence. Moreover, responsibilities of local government devolve on other agencies also, such as the guardians of the poor, and the ratepayers have a tendency to be more concerned to avert an increase in their burdens than are the more numerous voters, whose payments are nominal, to concert action to procure an enlargement of services that might be rendered by governmental agencies.

As regards parliamentary elections, voters are, of course, usually limited to a choice of one of the candidates offered by one of the regularly organized parties. There has been much talk of proportional representation, but nothing has been done to put any scheme into effect. The parties can make appeals to the voters only as they have the organization and the means. The extensive enlargement of the electorate has made the organization of such appeals a problem beyond the scope of anything dreamed of by political agitators a half-century ago. The perfection of radio communication makes it possible for a human voice to reach an audience beyond the ken of earlier orators, but it is doubtful whether this mode of appeal is as yet effective. Meanwhile, the rise in prices has made the multiplication of printed matter burdensome. One result is that the daily vehicles for purveying news and opinion have become themselves in a sense vested interests, sometimes under the management of persons as much concerned in making them profitable enterprises as in rendering service to the public. In any case, those in charge of these important properties may, quite naturally, prefer to spread abroad facts and arguments tending to support views held by themselves and by those with whom they habitually associate, rather than those of a contrary sort. It is easy to see that, normally, those who thus have so large a responsibility for purveying public information and a correspondingly large part in shaping public opinion will not sympathize with many of the projects agitated—say, by the Labor party.

This situation, in the aggravated form it has assumed, is so recent, that no steps have yet been taken to remedy it. In an

extensive industrial strike since the World War, the union laborers employed by the larger metropolitan journals, by a direct threat to stop work unless their striking fellow-laborers in other trades should at least have access to the advertising columns of the larger papers, procured a hearing for the strikers that might otherwise, quite lawfully, have been denied. But, as matters now stand, the national government seems to be vested in a comparatively small body, the cabinet, which is actually responsible to the voters in the constituencies that elect the members of the House of Commons. The members of the House of Commons, however, are no longer the primary links between the cabinet and the voters in the constituencies, except as they reflect votes actually counted. For the most part, the voters themselves respond to conditions as interpreted by a widespread propaganda, the manipulation of which has become one of the fundamental arts of politics. It is easy to see, therefore, that the control of the essential implements of propaganda is a problem which must be faced at an early date.

In the meantime, the British government, as it operates to-day, is the product of the historical forces that have shaped it. Says a recent writer on the subject, who knows it both from study and from intimate experience as a statesman:

The late Mr. Page, in his letters to President Wilson, emphasized the greenness of the English grass and the complacency and sleepiness of the English attitude towards reform. The charges, though in humorous form, are correct. It takes strong miseries and agitations and often the experience of fear of suffering or revolution to effect in these any essential change. Britain has never had an Abbé Sieyès. It has never had an Alexander Hamilton. It has remained quiescent until some plague or famine or corruption—the plague of cholera, the famine made by food taxation, the revelation of municipal corruption—has compelled it, almost against its will, to take action. Then it has taken action drastically—crushing through all vested interests and submerging whole classes. And then it has gone to sleep again.

. . . the operations [of government] resemble the actual conditions of the countryside and city congestion. Here a narrow lane chokes up a great avenue of locomotion. There a town consists entirely of winding, irregular labyrinths of tiny streets. Old decayed buildings block up or disfigure the new places of rich residence; and some of the worst slums in the world nestle beneath English Cathedrals or within a stone's throw of the British Parliament. Occasionally attempts are made to "straighten out" these material disorders, just as attempts are made to "straighten out" the constitutional anomalies. But these are never forced through and finished complete. Jagged edges always remain, and around these jagged edges gathers a further accumulation of things which intelligence, were it allowed complete domination, would not endure for a moment.

And so we leave this governmental system, the product of centuries of continuous experience, still far short of the aspirations of many who live under it. Perhaps it will never wholly satisfy them or those who come after them. New occasions in new times are likely to bring new conditions inviting further change.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

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FOR WIDER READING

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GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo*, appendix, contains maps showing the distribution of the parliamentary constituencies in Great Britain and Ireland after 1885 and of the population in 1901. Muir, f. 44b, contains a map showing the distribution of the population in 1911.

CHAPTER XXX

TIES THAT BIND AND FORCES THAT SEVER

WORLD FORCES AND FEARFUL NATIONALITIES

International relations during the generation in the immediate past are replete with striking, with almost startling paradoxes. With a vast majority of the leading statesmen in all of the more powerful nations genuinely desirous of peace, and with few, if any, actually wishing for war, they, nevertheless, precipitated the most extensive war of all time. The bulk of those who finally decided in favor of war did it with unfeigned reluctance; they decided thus because they were afraid of the consequences should they decide otherwise. They came to this stage of fearful uncertainty largely because, while in the depths of their hearts they longed for peace, all the while they made ready for war. Yet, while making ready for war, at the same time, they concerted measures looking toward peace, and there is no reason to question the sincerity of the impulses that moved them in either direction. To read the riddle of this paradox is to understand the forces that produced the late ruinous war and the agitation since its close looking to the contrivance of measures for preventing a repetition of so tragic an experience.

At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century there were many indications leading to the conclusion that the Western nations would probably never again indulge in war on a large scale. The generation of the French Revolution and Napoleon bulked large in the school histories and was regarded as an heroic time the like of which would probably not be seen again. Few persons of intelligence in Great Britain fifteen years ago dreamed that the next decade would witness events that would overshadow those of the previous century and would lead to a new orientation of modern history. This easy confidence that the future offered prospects of peace was based on a more substantial foundation than we sometimes realize when we remember what actually took place. Familiarity with a world in which the war is an inescapable reality makes us doubtful

whether it ever could have been as unexpected as it actually was to a majority of people. To admit the utter lack of prevision that characterized most of even the better informed and more intelligent persons seems, in view of what happened, an almost incredible confession of ignorance. It is well, therefore, to remind ourselves again of the solid reasons why a war of world-wide proportions seemed an unlikely prospect in 1910.

For one thing, the commercial and financial fabric, woven in the previous century of industrial development, transcended national boundaries. A nation could no longer think of being self-contained economically. Capitalists in the older and wealthier nations had made, and were still making, large investments in the newer countries, where enterprise promised quick and rich returns. Producers of raw materials went about their business in the sure faith that they would find a market for their products thousands of miles away. Manufacturers depended both on these producers of raw materials and on the chance of selling finished goods to still other peoples, perhaps other thousands of miles in a different direction. All staple commodities that were widely used were sold at prices fixed in markets world-wide in extent. Growers of wheat in the Mississippi valley, in Russia, and in Australia sold their surplus grain in competition with each other. It was clear to even a superficial observer that the existence of this complicated, interrelated economic system depended upon the maintenance of peace among the great nations. No large struggle between nations had taken place since the rise of this extensive international economic system. It seemed unreasonable that one would take place if business men had the power to prevent it, and nothing was more patent than the large influence exerted on the governments of the day by men of that type.

The development of international trade involved innumerable interests and persons besides those directly engaged in profiting by enterprises related to it. Society in all of its aspects had become habituated to dependence on commodities that had to be brought from the ends of the earth. Neither Great Britain nor Germany produced within their actual boundaries either rubber or petroleum. Yet, even by 1910, transportation by gasoline motor was a vital factor in the maintenance of the existing society. For these vehicles, both the fuel and the tires came from distant lands. The lack of these commodities would involve serious inconveniences, at least for a time. Copper wire was almost essential for electric transmission, but there was little

**THE "NATIONS" OF EUROPE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Scale of Miles





crude copper to be had in these two countries. Tea, coffee, and cocoa seemed almost indispensable, but none was produced in Europe. In the provision of these goods, laborers in distant lands depended for their subsistence on foreign customers, even as the customers depended on these distant thousands, whom they had never seen, to minister to their comfort and pleasure.

The existence of commercial, financial, and other business activities on this unprecedented scale both made possible and was made possible by an extension, in ways hitherto scarcely imagined, of means of travel and communication. Men of affairs could read each morning at breakfast news of the doings of the previous day throughout the world. A journey across the sea was a common experience and could be made in comfort, even in luxury. Travel had become a normal part of everyday life. Information about happenings throughout the whole world was more widely dispersed than was information concerning events occurring in Great Britain a century before. Under international agreements, mail was freely interchanged among the peoples of all civilized lands.

Among the numerous personal contacts thus formed, the actual acquaintance and the community of interests that developed among scientists and scholars grew into a relationship which it is scarcely too much to call a brotherhood of learning. Discoveries in all fields, except in those of the applied sciences where manufacture and sale at a profit was feasible, were the common property of all people as soon as published. Since the learned worked at common tasks, using similar methods, and thus had common problems, they only needed to know each other in person or by reputation to become aware of common interests unlimited by national loyalty. This consciousness of common interests among groups in the western nations extended even to industrial laborers. The ideals of the Marxian movement were "international," and some of its protagonists had dreams of the laborers of the world bound together by ties stronger than the bonds that held a patriot loyal to his country.

There was another force, perhaps largely subconscious as yet, that tended to draw the nations together and to make them aware of a common interest. Along with the knowledge that war on a large scale would be destructive of much of this social fabric created at so great an expenditure of wealth and pains, there developed a fear that just such a disaster might overtake the world unless positive steps were taken to prevent it. Thoughtful men in all nations began to call attention to this danger,

to point out the unprofitableness of war (Norman Angell's *The Great Illusion*, 1910, is a British example) and to urge that something be done to make its recurrence on a large scale impossible. This feeling was emphasized by the heavy financial burdens entailed on all classes of people by expenditures for military and naval armaments. This question naturally attracted the attention of enthusiasts and doctrinaires, but sober students of affairs and statesmen gave it attention also. In fact, so pervading was the fear of the consequences should a war take place that there were few statesmen who did not profess sympathy with any proposal that promised effectively to prevent it. The only question was whether dependable prevention was in the realm of the possible. The difficulties in the way, for the most part heritages from the past, were at once apparent, when actual proposals began to be made looking toward disarmament and organization for a peaceful adjudication of international differences.

In 1898 Russian statesmen faced the prospect of replacing at immense expense the artillery of the army with improved weapons. A suggestion was made that Austria be approached in the hope of procuring a postponement of this expenditure in both countries. But such a proposal was apt to be interpreted as a confession of weakness on the part of the nation making it. As an alternative, an invitation was sent to all the important nations of the world to meet in conference for the purpose of concerting measures for the limitation of armaments. This invitation was accepted in 1899 by twenty-eight powers, including all the European nations, the United States, and Japan, an indication of the widespread feeling on the subject among the people to whom statesmen were responsible. Little was actually accomplished toward the limitation of armaments, since Germany objected to military and Great Britain to naval proposals. A pious resolution was passed to the effect that "the limitation of military charges which weigh on the world is highly desirable for increasing the moral and material well-being of humanity." Perhaps the most tangible, hopeful result of the conference was the establishment at The Hague of a permanent arbitration tribunal, to which international disputes might be submitted for adjudication by nations so desiring. Measures were projected also for limiting the scope of war and for making its conduct more humane. Following a traditional policy, the American delegates advocated the provision of an extensive immunity for private property at sea, but the British, careful of

the potentialities of maritime prowess, declined even to discuss the subject.

When a second conference met at The Hague in 1907, the Tsar did not include in the call the question of a limitation of armaments. German statesmen declined to discuss that question. The British were, by this time, alarmed at the German naval program, and the change of ministries which brought Campbell-Bannerman into office as prime minister (December, 1905) meant for the moment a more positively pacific foreign policy. The United States shared with Great Britain the desire that a limitation of armaments be discussed. The British were now ready to make some concessions concerning maritime war, but the main point of guaranteeing protection to trade with belligerents, the admiralty was unwilling to concede, and so the actual achievements of the conference were on matters of detail. The British representative introduced the question of a limitation of armaments in an eloquent speech. "I know you will agree with me," he said, "that the realization of the wish expressed in 1899 would be a great blessing to the whole of humanity. Is this hope capable of realization? I cannot give a categorical reply. I can only say that my government is a convinced adherent of these lofty aspirations, and that it charges me to invite you to co-operate in realizing this noble object. . . . To-day the sentiment of solidarity of the human race is more than ever spread. It is this sentiment which has rendered possible this conference, and it is in its name that I beg you not to separate without asking the governments to devote themselves very seriously to the question." Thus much the conference did in reaffirming the resolution of 1899, but no more. The "sentiment of solidarity of the human race" was as real a force as the spokesman intimated, but there were also other forces at work which it was as yet unable to overcome. We must seek in these other forces an explanation of the outbreak of the war, in spite of all that operated to prevent it.

One of the most fundamental of these divisive forces was the universal assumption that a nation must depend on its own power to guarantee to itself security. If a nation must stand alone and accept the full responsibility of self-protection, it was unreasonable to expect it to tolerate any thought of limiting its freedom of action for that purpose. Moreover, the experience of the past seemed to indicate that a nation not prepared to defend itself ran the risk of spoliation by rapacious neighbors. Most of the implications of the sovereignty of the national state were

involved in these assumptions. If a nation must depend for protection on its own prowess and potentiality, manifestly that nation was safest which had most power and the greatest facility for its use. One element in protective potentiality was an accumulation of arms and implements of war and of men trained to fight. But these forces, associated for defence, might also be used to endanger the safety of other nations. With entire freedom of action in such matters left to the several nations, no nation could have a sure guaranty of protection save in a similar accumulation of weapons of war and of men trained in their use. Moreover, widespread warlike preparations in any nation, though with no other motive than self-protection, were nevertheless susceptible of misinterpretation by neighbors not too well protected. Furthermore, granting the pacific intentions of the statesmen who thus armed their nations at any given time, there could be no permanent guaranty that subsequent statesmen might not be tempted to use for aggression that which was made ready for self-defence.

In a world of armed nations, each reserving to itself sole and final judgment as to the justifiable occasion for a war, any nation not confident of its security was likely to be afraid for its safety. Normally, this fear would lead to action. This action might be in the form of an increase of armaments. It might take the form of efforts, either by diplomatic intrigue or by force, to extend the power of the nation by the acquisition of territory or of economic privileges, so as to afford a more extensive basis for power and security. It might take the form of a compromise of lesser fears in alliances with other nations for protection against a more powerful rival, feared the more. But an alliance of this sort was likely to beget other alliances in opposition, and so to call for still further alliances in return.

But such alliances could not be negotiated in the face of a previous contrary alignment nor would the burdens entailed by extensive armaments be borne until those on whose shoulders they rested most heavily were aroused to a feeling that there was actual need for the sacrifices they were called upon to make. It was necessary that these fears of rival powers be brought into the realm of open discussion and made vivid if adequate protective measures were to be adopted. But this constant dwelling upon the subject was apt to stimulate other fears and to lead to more extensive protective measures. Finally, there was always a danger that a temptation would arise to have the struggle done with at once and so to destroy utterly the

power of the dangerous rival. Statesmen responsible for the safety of a nation could scarcely afford to encourage agitation looking to a diminution of the sentiment on which they had to depend in concerting measures for the common safety.

Almost inevitably, the agitation to support measures for national defence was based on a fear of some particular power or group of powers. The natural result was to render suspect to the populace of the agitated nation every act of the power feared. This power, in turn, began to think of the preparing power as an enemy and to be suspicious of all its measures. Diplomatic interchange on a basis of friendly confidence between two such nations was almost impossible. Each was suspicious of the other and able to find premeditated hostile designs where no thought of them existed. Once discovered, these unreal hostilities become the basis for counter-action. Thus, moving in a vicious spiral, hostile feeling between two nations or groups of nations mounted until statesmen knew no longer how to control it. Of such a sort is the explanation of the explosion that took place in the summer of 1914.

The understanding reached between Great Britain and France in 1904 indicated eloquently that the British were beginning to take the threat of German power seriously. German statesmen did not wait long before testing the reality of the combination which seemed to be, and which was, whether consciously or not, directed against their country. The question of Morocco, in which France had an interest because it was a neighboring territory in both Europe and Africa, had been considered at a congress of the powers held at Madrid in 1880, in which Germany took part. After the occupation of Egypt by the British, Morocco and Tripoli alone of the north African districts remained unclaimed by a European power. After the pact with the British in 1904, the French naturally desired to establish themselves in Morocco. Delcassé obtained the consent of Italy by a recognition of that country's previous claims in Tripoli, and of Spain by offering a partition in case a departure from the existing arrangement should prove necessary. Without consulting Germany, France now proceeded with an extensive project for reforming the government of Morocco, though professing an intention not to interfere with the independence of the Sultan. The Kaiser paid a visit to Tangier, in the spring of 1905, to emphasize the German interest in the matter, and his government insisted that the question was one of general concern, that the independence of the Sultan and the commercial

equality of all nations in the country must be preserved. Delcassé insisted that his country should not yield to the German demands, and resigned office when soberer members of the French ministry thought it wiser to accept the mediation of President Roosevelt of the United States to effect a compromise. Germany scored a point in procuring the consideration of the question by a congress, which met at Algeciras in the early weeks of 1906. At that congress, the chief contentions of France were supported by the United States as well as by Great Britain. Although the calling of this congress was a partial defeat for the policy of Delcassé, it had the effect of adding strength to the ties binding together Great Britain and France in a common fear of Germany. A war with that power had been faced as a real possibility. The effect in Germany was similarly impressive. The Franco-British agreement stood revealed as a fact to be reckoned with and combated in the future. As regards Morocco itself, the congress was inconclusive. The country was to be policed by forces under officers from France and Spain jointly, with a Swiss Inspector General. All of the interested powers were to participate in the economic life of the country.

If Great Britain was to make common cause with France as a permanent policy, as this clash with Germany seemed to indicate, it was necessary to come to terms also with France's chief ally, Russia. The Russo-Japanese War, ended in 1905 by the Treaty of Portsmouth, weakened Russia both as a maritime and as an Asiatic power. The British alliance with Japan afforded protection on the Pacific coast of Asia. By an expedition to Tibet, in the summer of 1904, the British stayed the Russian advance toward northern India. Meanwhile, during the war between Russia and Japan, British sympathy had frankly been with the national ally, while German sympathy had been with Russia. Before the close of war, the Kaiser and his advisers succeeded in procuring the signature of the Tsar to an agreement, made at Björkö in 1904, providing for a tentative defensive alliance between Germany and Russia, to come into effect at the close of the war. But this treaty was afterward repudiated by Russian statesmen, who realized that it put in jeopardy the alliance with France. In 1907 the British and Russian governments reached an agreement, whereby the outstanding difficulties between the two countries were adjusted. Afghanistan was left in *statu quo*. Persia was divided into two spheres of influence, allotted to the two powers with the understanding that the independence of the country itself should be preserved. The

rise of a national movement in Persia made this a difficult arrangement to maintain, since there was much sympathy with Persia both in Great Britain and in the United States, but the fear of Germany was sufficient to impel the British ministers to adhere to their bargain. In the summer of 1907 the Russians and Japanese compromised their interests in eastern Asia. Thus were aligned against the Central European powers Great Britain, France, Russia, and Japan, with Italy and Rumania nominal allies, waiting for a profitable opportunity to change sides.

The defeat of Russian ambitions in eastern Asia turned the attention of the statesmen of that country to her ancient aspirations in southeastern Europe. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russia had looked forward to the time when she could find an outlet to the Mediterranean through the straits leading into the Black Sea. Great Britain was even now not inclined to sympathize with this ambition. For the moment, British statesmen were interested in saving the Macedonians from Turkish misrule and anxious to work in concert with other powers for that purpose. Austria-Hungary complicated this arrangement in January, 1908, by procuring from the Sultan of Turkey permission to build a railroad through the Sanjak of Novibazar. Russia complained that this was in violation of previous agreements. But, in the summer of 1908, a nationalist movement in Turkey, in which the Young Turks overthrow Abdul Hamid and established a constitutional government, gave the whole question a new turn.

The Russian Minister, Izvolsky, now sought to capitalize Austria-Hungarian ambitions in the Balkans to procure the support of that power for Russia's hope of gaining an outlet through the Straits. Without consulting France or Great Britain, he announced to the Austria-Hungarian minister, Aehrenthal, his readiness to discuss the annexation by Austria of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Sanjak, if the Straits could be opened to Russian ships of war. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been previously opposed by Russia, and Izvolsky's suggestion came now as a pleasant surprise. Aehrenthal decided to take advantage of the offer without delay. The acquiescence of Bulgaria was obtained by providing that the complete independence of that country should be effected at the same time. After obtaining also the acquiescence of Germany, Aehrenthal proceeded to proclaim at once the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, without waiting for Izvolsky to forward among his

friends the procuring of the compensation that was to reward Russia for acquiescence. But the war with Japan had left Russia in no position to oppose Austria-Hungary, and neither France nor Great Britain would give more than moral support to a cause, in which they felt their ally to be more badly treated than was actually the case.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary did not improve the relations between that power and the new Turkey. Its most impressive effect was in Serbia, where it was inflammable fuel to feed the fires of the growing South Slav national movement. "My country," said the Serbian Foreign Minister, "feels it almost like physical pain, so that the very soul of the people cries out." The new forces in Turkey were soon as closely allied as ever with Germany and Austria-Hungary, but the South Slav agitation persisted, in spite of all efforts to suppress it. After a futile protest by Russia and her allies, the rest of the world assumed that Bosnia and Herzegovina were as much parts of the Austria-Hungarian empire as were the other units of that conglomerate of suppressed nationalities.

The next outward manifestation of the growing fear which keyed up the overwrought nerves of the rival camps into which Europe was now divided came in Morocco. Since the compromise at Algeciras, Great Britain and Germany had tried in vain to find a basis on which mutually to limit accumulations of naval armaments, and the mad race went on. The Moroccan question flared up again in 1908, when the French objected to the efforts organized by the German consul at Casablanca to encourage desertions from the French foreign legion. The two governments thereupon tried by direct negotiation to arrive at a more definite interpretation of the Act of Algeciras, and for a few months a more satisfactory basis of agreement seemed to have been reached. But the government of the Sultan of Morocco was on an unstable basis, as regards both its finances and its army, and the French ministers soon decided that they must intervene more effectively in the government of the country. The Germans felt that if the French once took over the government of Morocco it would become substantially a French province, and there were chauvinistic groups in Germany quick to criticize the government should it prove lax in asserting German rights. While negotiations were under way, and as evidence that consideration must be paid to German interests, a German gunboat, *The Panther*, was sent to Agadir in the summer of

1911. Immediately British party strife, then more than usually violent, was stilled. In fact, British statesmen, being less in the secret, seemed rather more indignant at the expedition of *The Panther* than were the French. Mr. Lloyd George, who was reputed as among the least bellicose members of the cabinet, announced in a speech in the City that "Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and prestige amongst the Great Powers of the world. If a situation were to be forced on us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent place Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievements, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure." To Germans this speech seemed needlessly violent and provocative. Nevertheless, the German demands were moderated somewhat, and the French were given the right to carry forward their plans in Morocco in return for the cession to Germany of French territory in the Kamerun district on the west coast of Africa.

This settlement of the Moroccan question left a sense of disappointment and defeat in the German public mind. Tripoli was now the only remnant of the north African coast not under the protection of a European power. Italy decided, therefore, that it would be imprudent to wait longer in carrying out the plans she had long ago made for that district, with the knowledge and consent of Delcassé. In the autumn of 1911 a war occurred between Italy and Turkey in which Tripoli was the stake. The result, in a little while, was to draw Turkey closer to the Central powers and to cause them to depend less on the support of Italy.

The war between Italy and Turkey encouraged the Balkan states to consider measures for extending their national boundaries at the expense of the latter power, so long their suzerain. Russia, naturally, in view of her own interest in opening the Straits, did not discourage this movement. In March, 1912, she signed a treaty with Serbia and Bulgaria, guaranteeing their integrity and promising support should one of the great powers attempt to annex Balkan territory then under Turkish rule. When Poincaré, the French Minister, saw this pact, he recognized in it the germ of a future war and in alarm said so. Aehrenthal, the Austria-Hungarian Minister, died at this juncture and was succeeded by the less able Count Berchtold. While

Poincaré was at Petrograd, Berchtold suggested the recommendation to Turkey of a policy of decentralization, and Poincaré persuaded the Russian Minister, Sazonoff, to agree to the suggestion. But Berchtold seemed in no hurry, while Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece were unwilling to let slip the chance afforded by the Turco-Italian war to better their condition.

Montenegro began the war, and Turkey soon made peace with Italy in order to give her undivided attention to putting out this new and more threatening fire. The great powers, acting in concert, were at first inclined to say that no important departures should be made from the existing boundaries. The Kaiser let it be known that he would not march on Paris or Warsaw for the sake of Albania, but he supported his ally, Austria-Hungary, nevertheless. When the military victory of the Balkan powers over Turkey made territorial adjustments necessary, neither Austria-Hungary nor Italy was willing for the Serbs to retain the territory they had conquered on the shores of the Adriatic. At a conference held in London, in the winter of 1912-13, a tentative settlement was arranged by creating an independent kingdom of Albania and by greatly extending the territories of all the participating Balkan states. Before this settlement could be put into effect, the war was renewed as between Greece and Serbia, now joined by Roumania, on the one side and Bulgaria on the other. Turkey also was soon again in the fray. The treaty signed at Bucharest, in the late months of 1913, left Serbia and Montenegro thwarted in their most cherished designs, but with a greatly enlarged area and population and with a consciousness of power born of military victory. There could be no more favorable atmosphere for the growth of a militant, irrepressible national feeling.

NATIONS MAKE WAR

The Turkish failure in the war with the Balkan federation left the Ottoman Empire defeated and discredited. A German officer, General Liman Von Sanders, was sent by his government, in response to an invitation from the Turkish authorities, to command an army corps and to assist in reorganizing the shattered army. This move naturally aroused fear and distrust in Russia, and Sazonoff endeavored to enlist the coöperation of his allies in hindering the completion of the measure. Although

EUROPE, 1914

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

Cities with over 1,000,000 London
Cities with 500,000 to 1,000,000 Naples
Cities with 200,000 to 500,000 Leipzig
Smaller Places Venice
Capitals with less than 200,000 BERN
Capitals @ Other Cities o





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a compromise was reached on this issue, a Russian military journal announced at the close of 1913: "We all know we are preparing for a war in the West. Not only the troops but the whole nation must accustom itself to the idea that we arm ourselves for a war of annihilation against the Germans; and the German Empire must be annihilated." The whole question was discussed at a Russian Crown Council in the following February, at which it was agreed that should Turkey lose control of the Straits, Russia would not tolerate their coming under the control of another power. The growing feeling on the subject was expressed in an article by a Russian professor, who had studied in Germany:

The tension is felt by every one of any intelligence. The signs are not only in the Press. The feeling against the Germans is in everybody's heart and on everybody's lips. It has only recently become vocal, but it has long been ripening. The cause is the thwarting of age-long Russian ambitions in the Near East. It is now clear to Russians that if everything remains as at present, the road to Constantinople lies through Berlin. We have no desire to attack Germany. We have too much admiration for German civilization to wish for ourselves Attila's victory. We meet with no recognition of our present situation, and we are resolved to win for ourselves the position due to us. War with Germany would be a misfortune, but we cannot escape from a bitter necessity when it is really necessary. Only the possession of the Straits can end this intolerable situation, in which Russia's export trade can be stopped at any moment. The southward urge is an historical, political, and economic necessity, and any state which resists it is *ipso facto* an enemy.

Thus Germany's feeling that other nations were in a conspiracy to strangle her and that the Slavs and Mongols were perils was balanced by the Russian feeling that her national potentialities could never be realized or her safety certain as long as her expansion toward the south was hindered.

In the meantime, Great Britain had undertaken to be responsible for the security of the French coasts on the Atlantic and the Channel, in order that the French fleet might be concentrated in the Mediterranean, relieving British ships in that quarter. British and French and British and Belgian military authorities had conferred concerning probable methods of co-operation should an occasion arise to make it necessary, though the British insisted that they reserved entire freedom of action, save in the matter of protecting the French coast from attack. Great Britain and Germany went forward in an attempt to adjust their differences in the East in the matter of the Bagdad rail-

way, and at length succeeded in reaching an agreement, which was destined never to be put into effect. Germany and France increased their military strength, each in mortal fear of the other.

The outbreak actually came in the Balkans. On June 28, 1914, the Heir-Apparent to the Austria-Hungarian throne, while on an imprudently managed visit to Sarajevo, was assassinated by South Slav conspirators. Thereupon, Berchtold and his associates determined that Serbia must be severely disciplined. The Kaiser, in the early days of July, gave his consent to whatever action his ally might find it necessary to take. A severe ultimatum, dispatched to Serbia on July 23, was the result, an ultimatum purposely framed in terms that could not in reason be accepted by the Serbs, since the dominant group in Austria-Hungary felt violent action to be necessary in order to avert a serious threat, that might otherwise involve the very existence of the Hapsburg empire.

These severe demands, addressed to a power seemingly so small, gave a popular impression in Great Britain that Austria-Hungary was acting as a bully, and so won a measure of sympathy for the Serbs. The matter looked quite otherwise to the old Emperor Francis Joseph and his advisers. During his own term on the throne, Francis Joseph had seen the Italian national spirit rally the flower of his western empire around the small kingdom of Piedmont, resulting in a dismemberment of his dominions. To the north, a similar force had ejected him from the German Confederation, set up at the behest of Austrian statesmen at the Congress of Vienna, and had built around Prussia the powerful German empire, with which he was now glad to be allied. He had constantly to be on his guard to conciliate the Czechs, Magyars, and other nationalities still contained in his dominions. In the light of his experience, it seemed plausible that, if the South Slavs were not reduced to subjection, it would be a matter of a short time when they would further dismember his empire and perhaps shut it off from access to the Adriatic. His sentiments were accurately expressed in the letter framed by Berchtold for him to send to the Kaiser:

The crime against my nephew is the direct consequence of the agitation carried on by Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavists, whose sole aim is to weaken the Triple Alliance and shatter my Empire. Though it may be impossible to prove the complicity of the Serbian government, there can be no doubt that its policy, intent on uniting all Jugoslavs under the Serbian flag, must encourage such crimes and endanger my house and constitution if it is not stopped. My efforts must be directed

to isolating Serbia and reducing her size. After the recent terrible event, I am certain you also are convinced that agreement between Serbia and us is out of the question, and that the peace policy of all European monarchs is threatened so long as this center of criminal agitation remains unpunished at Belgrad.

Once assured of Germany's support, the Austria-Hungarian government made haste to take action. Although, by the advice of Russia, the Serbian reply to the ultimatum was so largely an acceptance of its terms as to seem, even to the Kaiser, to remove the necessity for the use of force, the Austria-Hungarian authorities felt otherwise, and proceeded with their preparations to dispatch troops before the German statesmen had a chance to change their minds. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, offered his services as mediator, but Austria-Hungary would not listen to compromise. Russia soon let it be known that she would not stand aside should an attack be made on Serbia. By July 27 the situation was so grave that the British fleet, assembled for maneuvers, was not dispersed. The British ministers appealed to Berlin for help in offering mediation. But the matter was rapidly getting beyond the power of statesmen to control. Once Austria-Hungary had decided to discipline Serbia and Russia had refused to acquiesce in the proceeding, European fears and rivalry were so organized that war on an extensive scale was almost inevitable. A complete realignment of the powers would have been the only feasible alternative. But the existing alignment was the fruit of conditions as they had come to be, and a departure from it was easier suggested than brought to pass.

When the Germans undertook to use suasion with Austria-Hungary, the latter power was already at war with Serbia. Russia, therefore, determined on mobilization to help the smaller Slav power. But Russian mobilization obliged the German authorities to decide whether to come to the assistance of their ally at once, or, as they feared, to postpone the struggle with Russia to a later date, when that power would be better prepared and Germany without her ally. Moreover, there was a possibility that the Russian mobilization might be on such a scale as to threaten Germany as well as Austria-Hungary. Germany sent an ultimatum demanding that Russian mobilization cease, failing which, war would be declared. But war on this scale would, of necessity, involve Russia's ally, France, and the German authorities desired to ascertain the attitude of Great Britain. They were willing to guarantee the safety of

the French coasts, for which the British were responsible, and of French territory, though not of the territory of the French colonies. But when the British addressed inquiries to both France and Germany as to their intentions concerning the neutrality of Belgium, of which they were joint guarantors, while the French disclaimed with alacrity any intention of violating that neutrality, the Germans offered the plea that to make answer would reveal their plan of campaign. This plan of campaign had, in fact, as we have seen, been known in advance, and the British and Belgians had concerted plans for meeting such a move.

While some influential members of the British cabinet, such as Lord Morley and John Burns, resigned at the approach of war, the German attack on Belgium afforded an admirable basis for the British ministry to mobilize the national sentiment in behalf of action, which, in any case, they were under obligations to take. The German Chancellor, both in his conversation with the retiring British Ambassador and in his public statement to the Reichstag, used expressions that much facilitated the arousing of British feeling. The war had not long been under way before the machinery of propaganda was elaborated, and soon no measure was neglected that seemed likely to help create in the British people an attitude of hostility and suspicion toward all things German and a determination to push the struggle to a successful conclusion at all hazards. There was no longer room for discriminating thoughts or statements. For the duration of hostilities, reason was banished, as regards the enemy nations, and its place taken by every sort of hostile feeling and antipathetic passion. No story of German evil-mindedness and evil doing was too wild to find some credence. A fear of the consequences of a German victory was thus instilled, which grew in proportion to the efforts and sacrifices necessary to prevent that victory from coming to pass. This drawing together of all groups in the nation in a common mood of fear and determination against the national enemies was equally as pronounced in other countries as in Great Britain. In the wars of a century before, only two fully aroused nations participated in the strife. Now almost the entire continent of Europe was divided into two groups of nationalities, each nationality aroused to fight by an increasing fear that its honor, if not its existence, was at stake. It was a struggle unique in the history of the world, both in its physical extent and in its spiritual character.

Great Britain's ally in the Pacific, Japan, was soon called

on to help in driving the Germans from that quarter. With the assistance of the British dominions in the same vicinity, the work was done with expedition. All the British dominions, faced with the prospect either of joining in a war which the British statesmen had made without their privity or of undertaking to remain neutral in a war in which the British were belligerents, did not hesitate, of their own volition, to join forces with the mother country. The result was that a feeling of nationality and a consciousness of power was quickened in the dominions by the very measures in which they gave extreme manifestation of loyalty to the Britannic Commonwealth.

When Turkey finally threw in her lot with the Central powers (November, 1914), Russian statesmen saw in the situation a chance to achieve their ancient ambitions in that region, and France and Great Britain no longer felt able to oppose their designs. After the failure of the first German rush toward Paris and the beginning of the trench warfare, so long to be characteristic of the fighting on the western front, both groups of belligerents began to cast about for allies. Italy still had territorial ambitions which could be satisfied only at the expense of Austria-Hungary. Germany was unable to induce her ally to make promises sufficient to win Italian support. The Entente group, trading with territory belonging to an enemy and not yet acquired, made a more liberal offer, and Italy joined the war on that side in May, 1915. After initial successes against both Germany and Austria-Hungary, Russia collapsed. Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary then vied with each other in making offers to conciliate the support of the Polish nation, now beginning to take form in the midst of the difficulties of the powers that more than a century before had despoiled the land. It was scarcely to be expected that Bulgaria would join the Entente after the experience of 1913, and in October, 1915, it came into the war on the side of the Central powers.

The war had not been under way for many months before the vital part to be played in it by seapower became manifest. German ships were withdrawn from the seas, and the British soon began to extend the list of contraband and otherwise to interfere with the trade of the Central powers, which had formerly been interpreted as legitimate. Since submarine boats were the only naval implements that the Germans had much prospect of using with effect, their government warned neutrals, in February, 1915, that there was danger in traversing the region around the British Isles. The British replied in the following

month with a declaration of a practical blockade of Germany, at the expense of interference with the trade of neutral countries, an action hitherto admittedly illegal. Thus Germany, following the example of Napoleonic France, challenged the supremacy of Britain on the element where she was traditionally most powerful. This maritime and commercial strife naturally damaged the interests of neutrals, the most powerful of which was the United States, and they began to accumulate grievances against both sides. But, in the case of the Entente powers, there was always the chance of a monetary adjudication, since only property interests were involved. Such was not the case with the Central powers after the sinking of the British ship, *Lusitania*, in May, 1915, with a large loss of American life. The more discreet German statesmen were able for a time to procure a careful administration of the submarine war on Entente trade, so that comparatively few American lives were lost. But, as the pressure of want caused by the blockade and the hardships of war became more intense, the party that favored an indiscriminate use of Germany's only effective marine weapon came into power.

Seeing this time approaching and impressed with the destructiveness of the war, President Wilson of the United States tried to inaugurate a movement for terminating the strife and for setting up machinery for settling international disputes and for averting further hostilities. These efforts were unsuccessful, and the renewal of unlimited submarine warfare by the Germans brought the United States into the war in April, 1917, on the side of the Entente, though not as an allied power. Shut off from procuring needed reënforcements of material from her allies, Russia was by this time reduced to straits, and before the United States entered the war the dissolution of the old government in Russia was in process. While the Austrians were becoming discouraged, in the early months of 1918, Russia was counted out of the war entirely; in March of that year the revolutionary government signed a treaty with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk. Germany was thus able to marshal her forces both to help the Austrians against Italy and to begin a great attack on France. The attack on Italy proved almost disastrous to that country, and relief had to be sent by allied powers. In the meantime, British and Indian armies had been making headway against the Turks and their German allies on the east and were pressing up from Asia. But, in the early months of 1918, the Germans pushed again toward Paris and, by the

use of long range guns, actually threw shells into that city, apparently threatening its capture.

This immediate danger effected the organization of a community of effort among the powers opposed to Germany. A French general, Foch, was placed in command of the combined armies. Since the beginning of the war, all of the European governments had by this time been reorganized. In Great Britain, the Liberal ministry under Mr. Asquith first called in Unionists as members of the cabinet. Lord Kitchener, as a non-political secretary of war, took office soon after the beginning of hostilities. Kitchener had by 1918 lost his life on his way to see whether the Russian situation might be retrieved. Mr. Lloyd George had taken advantage of the revelation of the inadequacy of the production of munitions under Kitchener to champion a more vigorous program. He became minister of munitions, secretary of war, and later prime minister, (December, 1916), replacing Mr. Asquith. He delegated to other hands the leadership of the House of Commons, which extended its own duration by statutory enactments after 1914 and which did not act during the war as a partizan body. He organized a small group in daily conferences to make the necessary decisions for the conduct of the war, designating representatives from the Labor and Unionist parties to serve with himself. The Prime Minister had a genius for leadership, marked by his ability to give himself with faith and fervor to the efforts of the moment and to abandon them in behalf of others when they did not seem to accomplish the purpose desired.

The war was on such a scale that it could not be a secondary matter for any nation involved. Not only were military and naval forces used without stint and more extensively than the world had ever witnessed before, but the economic and financial resources of the nations were mobilized as well. Scarcely a civilian but felt the pressure of the test to which his nation was subjected. Even social and cultural resources were drafted to serve national ends. So overwhelming was the task, that everything else for the time being became secondary. For anyone to question the ultimate utility of such unprecedented sacrifice was to run the risk of ostracism or of actual punishment as a traitor.

By the beginning of 1918 it was becoming evident to statesmen in all European countries that there was danger of a collapse, unless their people could be convinced of the imperative merit of the causes for which they were fighting. The national leaders took turns in restating their aims in the war. Among

the rest, Mr. Lloyd George made a statement to the British Labor group, who were themselves busy preparing a program of post-war reconstruction. The most notable pronouncement was that of President Wilson, who summarized in fourteen succinct points the demands of his own country and associated powers.

The failure of the German push toward Paris in March, 1918, was followed by a counter-attack, in which Foch succeeded in starting the Germans on a hard-contested retreat that was destined not to end until an armistice was finally signed and hostilities ceased at eleven o'clock on the morning of November 11, 1918. This event was preceded by a revolution in Germany and by the inauguration there of a republic. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary had already been obliged to withdraw from the conflict. And so nations lately at war again faced the task of making peace.

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

An obvious handicap of the statesmen who met at Paris in 1919 to reorganize the world for peace was one for which they cannot be blamed. With the single notable exception of President Wilson, each had achieved his office, like the statesmen who assembled for a similar purpose at Vienna a little more than a century before, as a maker of war. Each, therefore, was filled with emotions stimulated by the circumstances and difficulties of war. The war mood with them was an overwhelming reality; it was scarcely reasonable to expect them to return at once to an atmosphere of balanced sanity, when thinking in terms of peace. They could not forthwith rid themselves of the obsessions, the prejudices, and the fears they had acquired in the processes of the war. They had led their several nations in making unprecedented sacrifices to avert dangers which enemies seemed to threaten. No settlement would seem to them to offer much prospect of permanence unless it contained provisions for a permanent guaranty of security. But the vanquished nations also had similar fears for the future. Manifestly, the task of making peace involved the inauguration of some agency capable of guaranteeing this coveted safety. The power for the endowment of such an agency had to be derived from those already in authority, and the nations having power were just emerging from an experience which tended to make them jealous of their own control of their several potentialities and fearful of con-

ceding any share of this power to a new and untried agency, admitting that one could be created.

Moreover, the conference was held at Paris, a city that had been threatened within the year by an enemy which had laid waste large areas of France. It was no easy matter to devise a guaranty of security that would be satisfactory to French leaders, whose country had so recently suffered from fire and sword. They were inclined to think rather in terms of making heavy exactions from the hostile power and of pushing the boundaries of the vanquished nation back as far as might be. But the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, accepted as a basis of peace, contained a provision for the establishment of a league of nations to keep the peace. On that provision rested the chief hope that the vanquished nations would be reconstituted on a basis that promised much for their future.

Because the problem of providing guaranties of security as a basis for keeping the peace was so largely a Continental problem, the interests and fears of the Continental nations were too intimately involved for them to act with much tolerance and foresight, and it fell naturally to Great Britain and the United States to effect the beginning of an international organization. There were statesmen in all countries who long had been and who still were in favor of inaugurating such an experiment, but they were not, for the moment, the statesmen in power, nor was the national mood generated by the war one calculated to encourage their hopes. President Wilson, throughout his war diplomacy, both before and after the entrance of his nation into the war, had kept this end in view. But, even in the United States, it is doubtful whether the growing war spirit had not now outrun the general and more generous ideals of the President's addresses and state papers. Just as the nations had been driven to war, and to the generation of enthusiasm for the war, by a fear of the consequences if they did not use force, so they were now impelled to join in an attempt at international organization by an even larger fear of the consequences should the world be cursed by another such war. War itself seemed, from recent sad experience, to have become a monster of so frightful a character as scarcely to be tolerated if the world was to be kept a suitable place for human habitation. Perhaps the European statesmen in power were not genuine converts to this view, but, when President Wilson journeyed to Europe as an apostle of this enterprise, his triumphant entry was greeted by the hosannas of multitudes such as had seldom or never

greeted a statesman before, and those in power could not wholly ignore his mission. Unfortunately, the system of periodic elections, which made him for the time secure in his power, was soon to eliminate him as spokesman for the nation that emerged from the war with unique potentialities and prestige.

Before going to Paris, Mr. Lloyd George, who had been transformed from a social reformer feared by the older ruling class as an enemy to society into as near a hero as the war produced in Great Britain, felt it necessary, in order to insure his continuance in office, to submit his record as successful leader in the war to the test of a general election. The parliament chosen in December, 1910, had already long outlived its allotted time. Furthermore, the ministry of which Mr. Lloyd George was chief was composed of members of all parties, and, if it was to continue in office, it was essential that the new election be held amid the enthusiasm of victory, before the difficulties of peace brought divisions and dissipated the spirit engendered by the war. The parliament that resulted from this election (December, 1918) was inclined to be chauvinistic and intolerant. Before the end of the campaign, even Mr. Lloyd George was making extravagant statements concerning the possibility of taking vengeance on German statesmen and having Germany pay the expenses of the war. That the spirit thus generated, or brought to light, was a force to be reckoned with, the Prime Minister discovered to his cost when, at a critical time in the negotiations, a majority of the members of parliament in an address accused him of wishing to show too much leniency to the vanquished.

Never had diplomats at a great congress had so great a company of experts to give them advice and information as were assembled at Paris in 1919. But it is hard to exaggerate the difficulties of the situation. Since the project of an international organization, as a feasible undertaking, was largely due to the impression made on statesmen by the incalculable destructiveness of the war and the consequent feeling that every means ought to be used to prevent its recurrence, nobody had a satisfactory plan of organization ready for consideration. The very processes by which national unity in the war had been achieved had operated to make the nations jealous of their powers and prerogatives and fearful lest they be handicapped in future action for defence. Those adhering to the familiar political doctrines of the previous generation soon began to be afraid that any effective league of nations would involve an intolerable

infringement of national sovereignty. On the other hand, nations like France, lately in peril of their very existence, were unwilling to depend for protection on an international organization not endowed with sufficient implements of force to enable it to compel obedience to its will. Since neither Great Britain nor the United States had been sufficiently in peril to be willing to unite in such an organization, the French insisted that other steps be taken to afford the security they desired. The problem of framing actual terms of peace was thereby made more difficult. A novel aspect of the British participation in the negotiations was the presence at the conference of representatives of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

It was soon apparent that the French desired to make exactions of Germany that neither Great Britain nor the United States thought wise or just under the terms of the armistice. Points in dispute were the eastern and western boundaries of Germany and the amount of reparations the Germans should be required to pay. None of these points was finally settled. Entente troops were left on German soil at German expense as a means of affording immediate protection to France and of collecting sums that were left indefinitely large until several years after the conference had done its work and adjourned. By adding the cost of pensions as a part of the damage of the war to civilian population, a questionable expedient in which General Smuts persuaded President Wilson to acquiesce as a way out of a difficult dilemma, the debt against Germany was made so large that it is scarcely reasonable to expect that it will ever be paid. The necessity in the east that the new nation, Poland, have an outlet to the sea, led to the creation of Danzig as a free port under the protection of the League of Nations. The League also undertook to adjust the disputed boundary of Silesia. In the west the military authorities in France desired that the Germans be kept to the eastward of the Rhine, and the French industrialists coveted the valley of the Saar.

The French were not satisfied with the boundaries as finally drawn. The cry of the Italians was heard also in this scramble for the territorial fruits of victory. The Italians now wanted, in addition to those districts stipulated when they entered the war, Fiume as well, thus bringing themselves into conflict with the new nation, Yugoslavia, one of a group that sprang from the ashes of the old Austria-Hungarian empire. Russia offered an even more perplexing difficulty. Such central government as existed in that vast territory was under the control of a

revolutionary group of whose methods and doctrines the other European statesmen were afraid. The lowest social stratum under the old order had risen and put to death the ruling family and were now on top. One motive that impelled Mr. Lloyd George and his associates to moderate their demands on Germany was a fear that, if the burden was made too heavy, the Russian movement would spread to Germany. As regards Russia itself, the other powers soon found themselves in a predicament similar to that of the British in their efforts to deal with the Jacobins in France in the last years of the eighteenth century. They would not recognize the Bolshevists or treat with them, yet they complained of their behavior as the responsible rulers of the country over which they exercised power. The insistence of the Japanese on their pound of Chinese flesh in the Shantung peninsula was another item that troubled President Wilson and those who worked with him to formulate a settlement worthy of enforcement by a league of nations.

In the end, he and others who felt as he did deemed it wiser to bend their efforts to maintain and perfect the League of Nations, which was perhaps the most notable achievement of the congress, in the hope that it might serve as an agency for revising the peace itself and thus of bringing a permanent settlement to the troubled world. Whether their work will stand the test of time will not be known for generations, unless it wholly fails. The noteworthy fact is that an organization actually came into being. Not for decades can it accumulate stability, power, and prestige sufficient to gain it recognition as a normal agency of human government. Meanwhile, in the short period of its existence, it has had some small successes and has transacted an impressive volume of business. The longer it survives and functions, the more likely it is to accumulate the power and importance necessary if it is to perform the tasks for which it was created. As regards the infringement of national sovereignty, should the League actually serve its purpose in time, political scientists may well discover that loyalty to the League of Nations involves no diminution of legitimate loyalty to a nation, just as loyalty to a nation does not destroy loyalty to the subordinate communities within it. A normal human being experiences many loyalties; perhaps the addition of a different one, involving other nations as well as his own, may not do fatal violence to that national loyalty which has seemed to some authorities to be exclusive and supreme.

For the time, however, it was unreasonable to expect the



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nations recently at war to place much actual dependence on this new and untried organization. The treaties were made and imposed on the vanquished in much the old way. After President Wilson returned to the United States to inaugurate a vain campaign to procure the participation of his country in the League of Nations, Mr. Lloyd George returned to London, leaving those who remained to complete the negotiations. The questions relating to Austria-Hungary were settled in the Treaty of St. Germain in the mid-summer of 1919. The Treaty of Neuilly, signed late in the fall, dealt with Bulgaria; the Treaty of Sevres, signed in August, 1920, dealt with Turkey. Even so, the existence of the League of Nations made possible some melioration of the territorial adjustments of the war. The German colonies were not ceded to the victorious powers outright, but were to be held as mandates under the supervision of the League. While the larger powers are the dominant partners in the Council of the League, the smaller nations have a majority in the Assembly and may there make themselves heard, an opportunity of which they have not been slow to avail themselves. Much fault has been found with the terms of the peace that was made, and nobody who signed it was satisfied with the result. Perhaps General Smuts voiced the sentiments of most thoughtful, enlightened people when he said in affixing his signature:

I have signed the treaty not because I consider it a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war. We have not yet achieved the real peace to which our peoples are looking. The work of making peace will only begin after a definite halt has been called to the destructive passions that have been devastating Europe for nearly five years. The promise of the new life, the victory for the great human ideals for which the people have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations toward a new international order are not written in the Treaty, and will not be written in Treaties. A new heart must be given, not only to our enemies but to ourselves. A new spirit of generosity and humanity, born in the hearts of the peoples in this great hour of suffering and sorrow, can alone heal the wounds inflicted on the body of Christendom.

Already, however, the process has begun of representing the recent war as an heroic episode in which brave deeds were done for the like of which peace affords no opportunity. Already there is a talk of the next war and a preparation for it as an inevitable event. It is a suggestive fact, however, that this war discovered in the larger nations no outstanding military hero.

As recognition of the sacrifices of those on whom the burdens rested most heavily, the nations in turn interred with impressive ceremonies the remains of an unknown soldier and have developed a ritual of offering homage to his memory. But the farther the statesmen get away from the shadow of the actual strife, the more they seem to be tempted to return to their former methods of dealing with international questions. The Congress of Paris, or Versailles (the Treaty was signed at the latter place as a poetic vengeance for the transaction of 1870) was followed by a series of congresses similar to those that followed the Congress of Vienna. The United States was the first of the great powers to withdraw from effective participation in these congresses. After the passing of Mr. Lloyd George as head of the British government, Great Britain soon followed suit. Any adequate steps for settling the questions that agitated Europe would have required from Great Britain a coöperation in Continental affairs on a scale greater than the Conservative British statesmen in office were willing to risk. Had the League of Nations not been in existence, it is unlikely that they would have hazarded the experiment. But, having been committed to the venture, though not hopeful of much immediate good, they went forward with it. As time passed, it became increasingly evident that the problem of keeping the peace was more than settling occasional international disputes as they might arise. It involved the provision of means for guaranteeing to fearful nations security, so that they might disarm and, in time, free themselves from their suspicions and fears. To that understanding, more than one generation may very well have to address itself and to bring a meed of suffering and sacrifice before it is finally accomplished.

AFTERMATH OF ANOTHER WAR

The British nation was aroused to participate in the World War, and thousands of its sons went forth to fight inspired by feelings as lofty as ever moved men. Talented youth came forward and poured itself out as a consecrated offering for a cause felt to be worth while. Most of those who went never to return were inarticulate, except as their eloquent actions spoke. Among them were a few who were able to translate their feelings into words. Rupert Brooke, for example, prescient of his own fate, left sonnets worthy to be compared with those of





Wordsworth in a previous war. A memorable one is that to *The Soldier*:

If I should die, think only this of me:
 That there's some corner of a foreign field
 That is forever England. There shall be
 In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
 A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
 Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
 A body of England's, breathing English air,
 Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.
 And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
 A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
 Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;
 Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;
 And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,
 In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.

Even before the end of the war, this exaltation gave place to disillusionment and to a sense of the terrible reality of the ordeal through which the nation was passing. Different groups met this new phase by different attitudes. When the fighting was over, and the time came to take stock of results, it was not easy to reckon the profits and losses. Only time will reveal the changes that the war began or hastened, though some are already apparent.

For one thing, the World War took an actual toll of British life far beyond comparison with that taken by any other war in historic times. For the first time, the nation sent men to fight for it in large numbers without regard to their wishes. Men of all classes went out by the thousand not to return, or to come back maimed and helpless. Naturally, those most keenly sensible of an obligation to serve their country came forward first and in a larger proportion, and so fewer of them were left at the end. The ranks of the older classes accustomed to rule in Great Britain were thus shattered. They lost disproportionately, both in life and property. The rise in prices bereft them of more than half of the savings on which they depended to maintain their position of privilege, and the burdens of taxation made it impossible to return to their accustomed standards of life. They were obliged to discontinue much of their former state and to dispose of landed possessions, long objects of their pride and evidence of their position. Frequently, these estates fell into the hands of a new type of magnate, who began to accumulate on a large scale while the war was in progress and who thrived while he had opportunity, instead

of yielding to the fervor of self-sacrificing patriotism. Thus new families are now in process of formation that may, perhaps, carry on the traditions of those who profited from the distresses of their country in former times, if these prospering ones possess a sufficient share of the wisdom of this world to establish themselves in the favor of those whom it will be their lot to lead and rule.

The gentry, too, those with less extensive possessions, emerged from the war with little on which to support their former positions. Lacking sufficient income to maintain their country estates, it seems inevitable that they must either pass from a society in which they have long been an important factor, or else others must come from sources not now discernible to take their places. Perhaps those whose lot is the hardest are the unorganized clerks, teachers, and others of the more dignified classes, who formerly had an income a little above the margin of respectability. Their remuneration has not been adjusted to meet the depreciation of the currency as compared with other commodity prices, and they have been obliged to lower their accustomed standards of living in consequence. In the case of some of the less well paid, it has meant an actual deprivation of comforts formerly regarded as necessities. They now face the humiliating prospect of rearing their children to fit into a lower social class than that which they themselves formerly occupied. Only manual laborers, skilled and unskilled, had organizations sufficiently strong to compel the attention of the government in the period of the war, when prices were rising, with a resulting adjustment of their compensation to meet changing conditions. These organizations were also able to prevent the lowering of wages to the old levels after the close of the war, when the cessation of war production and the return of soldiers from the front brought the inevitable interval of economic disorganization.

The war, therefore, left the manual laborers living in an economic scale above the clerks and others formerly wont to look down on them. But it was beyond the power of any organization of laborers, perhaps beyond the wit of man, to provide work for all the available laborers when, a few months after the close of the war, the government ceased buying war supplies, and the world essayed the disheartening task of returning to a basis of peace. The old fabric of commerce was destroyed; old customers were no more, or had not the credit with which to purchase the goods they needed. The experiences

of the years after the Congress of Vienna were repeated on a larger scale. After a year or two of feverish activity, based on the mistaken hope that the war had increased instead of diminished the capacity of the world to purchase, the larger industries soon found themselves with a diminished market for their goods. Unemployment became chronic on a scale so large as to make it a national problem. There was, at the same time, a scarcity of houses for the families established by the marriages contracted in the period of the war. Building had been interrupted, and the cost of building after the war was so great as to make resulting rents prohibitive for those most in need of places in which to live. There had been much brave talk in the course of the war of making England a fit place to receive returning heroes. Instead, those who went to the war came back to find conditions of life harder for a multitude of them, while a comparatively few who had remained at home and prospered, in undertakings however legitimate, now, after the manner of normal human beings recently come into prosperity, were flaunting their wealth in unaccustomed luxuries.

In the course of the war, the government had undertaken to solve all problems. To the government the distressed classes now went for relief. One expedient after another was tried in a vain attempt to accomplish the impossible. Statesmen, practiced in the shibboleths of pre-war times, knew not which way to turn. The new men of wealth, frightened by vague reports of conditions in Russia and elsewhere, became anxious lest their new-found prosperity be interrupted. The older prosperous classes, feeling their position slipping, became fearful that they would lose all. In this way, the spirit of national unity and of emotional democracy, which accompanied the war and persisted for a few months afterward, now gave place to a keener sense of class interests. When laborers struck on a large scale to keep the standards of living they had acquired, even Mr. Lloyd George joined in the cry that they were Bolsheviks and revolutionaries. The gulfs dividing the social classes thus became as wide as before.

There was an added difficulty. The rise in prices had made a daily newspaper a vested interest requiring so large an outlay of capital that control of the press was largely in the hands of the prosperous groups. The parties in conflict were, therefore, left with inadequate media for interpreting themselves to each other. Where knowledge is lacking, understanding is likely to fail and to be replaced by the fears and suspicions

that feed on ignorance. In fact, the heavier burdens of national debt weigh on all classes, but the extravagance of a few who have experienced an exaggerated prosperity tends to embitter many who are deprived of necessities in an heroic effort to bear their burdens. That the burdens will be borne for a time is evidenced by the funding of Great Britain's debt to the United States so soon after the war and by a return, in 1925, to a basis of gold payments.

The perplexing disorganization of society was reflected in the political struggles of the post-war period. As a result of the election held in December, 1918, the coalition ministry under Mr. Lloyd George and Bonar Law was returned to power with a strength of three hundred and fifty-nine members in the House of Commons. A faction of the old Liberal party, under Mr. Asquith, standing as "Independent" Liberals returned only twenty-eight members. The Laborites, numbering sixty-two, now became the largest single group outside of the majority supporting the ministry and so became the official opposition. Law later retired because of ill health and left the government to Mr. Lloyd George and the Unionists, the latter having much the greater parliamentary strength. As the time approached for the election of a new parliament, the old Unionists began to chafe under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George. The Prime Minister debated whether it would be wiser to undertake the organization of a Center party, in a conservative campaign against radicalism, or to merge his Liberal support with the Labor party, now growing increasingly conscious of its strength, and embark on a crusade for democracy. Before the time came for a dissolution, the Unionist organization withdrew its support from the ministry and turned again to Bonar Law, who emerged from retirement to become prime minister, when Mr. Lloyd George resigned in October, 1922.

But the Labor party, now led by Mr. Ramsay McDonald, who, as a pacifist, was discredited during the period of the war, was scarcely a suitable haven for a minister with the record of Mr. Lloyd George. In the election that followed, the Unionist party secured a majority of seventy-nine over all others, while the Labor party increased its strength to one hundred and forty-two. Law was soon obliged to retire, giving place to Mr. Stanley Baldwin, who had attracted attention by his negotiation of a settlement of the debt owed to the United States. The two remnants of the old Liberal party, under the respective leadership of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith, recognized that their

voting strength would count for little as long as they were divided; but it was not easy to reconcile two such chieftains, both accustomed to lead and with distinguished careers of leadership to their credit.

This difficulty was solved for them when Mr. Baldwin, facing the problem of unemployment, decided that the introduction of a protective tariff for British manufactures would afford a remedy for this troublesome disease. But the majority on which he then depended for support had been obtained on a pledge that the tariff would be left in abeyance. He, therefore, dissolved parliament again, in November, 1923, and appealed to the voters for support on this issue. This threat to the traditional economic policy of the Liberals sufficed to enlist Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George again under the same banner. The Unionists, who, since the establishment of the Irish Free State, again called themselves Conservatives, were able to count only two hundred and fifty-nine members in the new parliament; the remnant of the Liberals had one hundred and fifty-one, and the Laborites one hundred and ninety-one.

Many projects were suggested for coalitions. Clearly the voters did not favor the introduction of a policy of protection, since the popular vote of the combined Liberal and Labor parties far outnumbered that of the Conservatives. Nevertheless, the Conservatives were the largest single group in the new House of Commons. The Laborites were the second group in size. The decision, therefore, as to the composition of the ministry depended on the Liberals, though they could scarcely hope to control the government themselves. By this time many former Liberals with radical tendencies had joined the Labor party and furnished a bond of unity between that party and the old ruling classes. The King, foreseeing the conditions that were soon to arise, had received the Labor leaders at court. As a solution of the immediate party difficulties, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was authorized to form a ministry from the members of the Labor party. The Liberals, maintaining their separate existence, agreed to support him in measures that did not run counter to their own views. The Labor party was thus put in control of the government, though denied the power to carry out all of its announced program. Nevertheless, it was a profitable experience, both for the Labor leaders, who were sobered by the responsibility of dealing with large matters, and for their opponents, who had been unduly fearful of the intentions of the Laborites.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Ramsay McDonald, who undertook personally the responsibility for dealing with foreign affairs, succeeded in promoting better relations with France and with some of the other Continental powers. His past record, as one who was willing to make great sacrifices in order to prevent war and to promote peace, obtained for him a confidence not felt in some of the British statesmen of the older type. And relations on the Continent had reached a state when they sorely needed the soothing hand of one in authority whose good disposition was undoubted. But he was no more able than his predecessors to deal successfully with the economic and social distresses which the war had intensified in Great Britain. Perhaps the chief success of his administration was its demonstration that the country had little to fear, no matter what social class had for the moment the responsibility of government. As British society is organized, leaders can seldom obtain and keep positions of power without acquiring in the process the habit of taking precautions to conserve the interests of those they lead, and the interests of all are patently involved in the maintenance substantially intact of the social fabric to which they are accustomed and which has shaped their lives.

But Mr. McDonald and his associates depended on the support of other groups in parliament to carry any measures they proposed, and they could obviously plead that their failures were due to their inability to carry out their entire program. On the other hand, to have responsibility without full power was not without embarrassments. Moreover, the diverse groups that constituted the Labor party were by no means agreed among themselves, and a policy of compromise and second best was not calculated to retain the support of the more ambitious. Ultimately, it seemed wiser to the leaders to challenge the support of the country on the basis of a record already made, even at the risk of losing office, rather than to retain the form without the substance of power. In the general election that ensued, in the autumn of 1924, the Conservatives were in possession of far the ampler agencies of propaganda, and the Labor leaders were outmaneuvered in the superficial tactics of the campaign. The Conservatives were returned to power with a substantial majority over all opponents. Nevertheless, Mr. McDonald and his associates seem to have accomplished a large part of their purpose. The Labor party obtained the support of a much larger number of voters in 1924 than it had in 1923. For a time, at any rate, the historic Liberal party seems to have disappeared.

as a factor in politics. The new leaders of the Conservative party invited the support of the substantial classes on the plea that the return of Labor would imperil the very existence of capitalistic society. It is a tribute to the record of the Labor government that, faced with this choice, so large a proportion of the old Liberals elected to cast their lot with Labor.

Here we pause in the midst of an unfinished tale to await the new chapter which doubtless to-morrow will unfold. If so be it the story thus far has involved thought about the past, has stimulated a degree of insight as to the circumstances of to-day, and has cast a ray of light on the way ahead, its telling has not been in vain.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

DeLisle Burns, *A Short History of International Intercourse*, chs. v-viii; Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, chs. xvi-xviii; *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, III. chs. v-vii; Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, chs. viii-xi; *These Eventful Years*, I. ch. xxvi.

FOR WIDER READING

The Annual Register, Passim; Isaiah Bowman, *The New World*; S. P. Duggan, *The League of Nations*; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, pertinent articles in the twelfth edition; Sidney B. Fay, "New Light on the Origins of the World War," *American Historical Review*, July, October, 1920, January, 1921; George Glasgow, *McDonald as a Diplomatist*; G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe*, chs. xi-xix; C. J. H. Hayes, *A Brief History of the Great War*; Sidney Herbert, *Nationality and its Problems*; Earl Loreburn, *How the War Came*; G. F. C. Masterman, *England After the War*; C. E. Playne, *The Neurosis of the Nations*; A. F. Pollard, *Short History of the Great War*; E. T. Raymond (Pseud. E. Raymond Thompson), *Mr. Lloyd George*, chs. xi-xxii; Harold Spender, *The Prime Minister*; H. W. V. Temperly (Ed.), *A History of the Conference at Paris*; *These Eventful Years*, I. chs. i-viii, xi, xii, xiv, xv, xviii, xxii.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Muir, f. 13, contains a map of Europe after the Congress of Berlin; f. 52, of the world at the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The *Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, No. 141, contains a map of Europe in 1910; No. 140, of commercial highways and colonial possessions in 1910; No. 139, of the Pacific Ocean in 1910; Nos. 136-138 illustrate the Russo-Japanese War. *Shepherd*, p. 176, contains a map showing the present distribution of the chief European languages; p. 177, the present distribution of Europeans, Chinese, Japanese, and Negroes; pp. 178-183 illustrate trade-routes, colonies, and dependencies before and after the World War; pp. 166-167 contain maps of Europe before and after the World War; p. 165 contains a map showing the distribution of nationalities and races in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor.

APPENDIX

IMPORTANT DATES

Caesar's First Invasion of Britain.....	August, 55 B.C.
Caesar's Second Invasion of Britain.....	June, 54 B.C.
Conquest of Britain by the Romans.....	41-69 A.D.
Hadrian's Earthen Wall built.....	120-123
Emperor Severus in Britain, builds stone wall.....	208-211
Evacuation of Britain by the Romans.....	411-449
Beginnings of the Germanic Invasions of Britain.....	c. 449
St. Columba at Iona	563
St. Augustine lands and converts Ethelbert of Kent.....	597
Synod of Whitby	664
Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop.....	669-680
Northmen burnt Buildings on Iona.....	802
Scandinavians attack Southampton and other Places.....	840
Northmen sack Rome	841
Alfred the Great King	(?) 871-899
Alfred and Guthrum make Peace after many Wars.....	886
Sweyn the Dane succeeded by Cnut as King in England.....	1014
Cnut married Emma, Widow of Ethelred.....	1017
Death of Cnut	1035
Harold Harefoot King.....	1035-1040
Harthacnut King	1040-1042
Edward the Confessor King.....	1042-1066
Harold Son of Godwine King ten Months.....	1066
William of Normandy defeated Harold at Hastings.....	October 14, 1066
William of Normandy crowned King.....	December 25, 1066
Domesday Book compiled	1086
Death of William	1087
William II King	1087-1100
Death of Lanfranc	1089
Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury.....	1083
Henry I King	1100-1135
Charter of Liberties of Henry I.....	1100
Roger of Salisbury organized the Treasury.....	1107
Compromise of the English Investiture Quarrel.....	1107
Stephen King	1136-1154
Treaty of Wallingford between Stephen and Henry of Anjou...	November 7, 1154
Henry II King	1154-1189
Thomas Becket became Chancellor.....	1155
Thomas Becket became Archbishop of Canterbury.....	1162
Constitutions of Clarendon	1164
Assize of Clarendon	1166

Inquest of the Sheriffs	1170
The Death of Thomas Becket	December 3, 1170
Henry II invaded Ireland.....	1171
Assize of Northampton	1176
Assize of Arms	1181
Assize of the Forest	1184
Richard I King.....	1189-1199
Richard goes on Crusade	1189
Richard captured and held for Ransom.....	1193
Hubert Walter Justiciar	1193
Richard arrives in England.....	March, 1194
Geoffrey Fitz-Peter succeeds Hubert Walter.....	1198
John King	1199-1216
John loses Normandy	1204
Stephen Langton chosen Archbishop of Canterbury.....	1206
England and Wales placed under Interdict.....	1208
Submission of John to Pope	1213
Battle of Bouvines	July 27, 1214
Signing of Magna Carta.....	June 15, 1215
Innocent III annuls Magna Carta.....	August 24, 1215
French Force landed in England.....	January, 1216
Henry III King	1216-1272
Hubert de Burgh becomes Justiciar	1219
Provisions of Oxford	1258
Provisions of the Barons of Westminster.....	1259
Mise of Amiens	1264
Battle of Lewes	May 14, 1264
Battle of Evesham	August 4, 1265
Statute of Marlborough	1267
Edward I King	1272-1307
Statute of Westminster, the First	1275
Grant of a Duty on Wool.....	1275
Statute of Mortmain	1279
Statute of Merchants	1283
Statute of Wales at Rhuddlan	1284
Statute of Westminster, the Second.....	1285
Statute of Winchester	1285
Statute of Westminster, the Third (<i>Quia Emptores</i>)	1290
Jews driven from England	1290
Bull <i>Clericis Laicos</i>	1296
Battle of Falkirk	1298
King's Son created Prince of Wales.....	1301
Edward II King	1307-1327
Piers Gaveston first exiled	1308
Lords Ordainers appointed	1310
Execution of Gaveston	1312
Battle of Bannockburn	June 24, 1314
Despencers rise to Power	1319
Despencers banished	1321
Isabella and Mortimer land in England.....	1327
Edward III King	1327-1376
Battle of Halidon Hill	July 19, 1333

"Hundred Years' War".....	1337-1453
Edward assumes Title King of France	1340
Battle of Sluys	June 24, 1340
Battle of Crécy	August 26, 1346
Black Death appears in England	August, 1348
Statute of Laborers	1351
First Statute of Provisors.....	1351
First Statute of Praemunire.....	1353
Battle of Poitiers	September, 1356
Treaty of Bretigny	1360
English made Language of Law Courts.....	1362
Wycliffe's Views condemned by Pope.....	1377
Poll Tax imposed	1377
Richard II King	1377-1399
Chaucer wrote	1378-1400
Wycliffe sent out "Poor Preachers".....	1380
Revolt of Peasants	1381
Passage of a Navigation Act.....	1381
Persecution of Lollards begun	1382
Victory of Lords Appellant over the King.....	1387
Second Statute of Provisors	1391
Second Statute of Praemunire.....	1393
Henry IV King.....	1399-1413
Statute <i>De Heretico Comburendo</i>	1401
Parliament demands Appropriation of Church Property.....	1404
Merchant Adventurers chartered	1407
Henry V King	1413-1422
Battle of Agincourt	October 25, 1415
Execution of Sir John Oldecastle.....	1418
Treaty of Troyes	May, 1420
Henry VI King	1422-1461
Appearance of Joan of Arc	1428
Forty-shilling Freehold fixed to qualify for Suffrage.....	1430
Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou.....	1444
Struggle of Nobles for Power (Wars of Roses).....	1450-1485
Edward IV King	1461-1483
Battle of Barnet	April 14, 1471
Caxton set up as Printer in England.....	c. 1475
Edward V King.....	April-July, 1483
Richard III King	1483-1485
Battle of Bosworth	August 22, 1485
Henry VII King	1485-1509
Marriage of the King to Elizabeth of York.....	1486
Court of Star Chamber	1487
Marriage Treaty between Prince Arthur and Catharine of Aragon signed	1496
John Cabot voyaged to Cape Breton	1497
Erasmus visited Oxford and Colet lectured at St. Paul's.....	1498
Marriage of Margaret to James IV of Scotland.....	1502
Henry VIII King	1509-1547
The King married Catharine of Aragon	1509
Battle of Flodden	September, 1513

Wolsey Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York.....	1514
Wolsey Cardinal and Chancellor.....	1515
Thomas More's <i>Utopia</i> published	1516
Wolsey Papal Legate	1518
Field of Cloth of Gold	1520
King publishes <i>Golden Book</i> against Luther.....	1521
King receives Title Defender of Faith.....	1522
Wolsey and Campeggio commanded to hear Case against Catharine	1523
Writ of Praemunire issued against Wolsey.....	1529
Tyndall's Translation of the Scriptures publicly burnt.....	1530
English Clergy accused of Violation of Statutes of Praemunire, Etc.	1530
King assumes Title Supreme Head of Church.....	1531
Act for conditional Restraint of Annates passed.....	1532
King and Anne Boleyn married	1533
Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury	1533
Elizabeth born	1533
Separation of English from Roman Church accomplished.....	1534
Coverdale's Bible	1535
Execution of Sir Thomas More	1535
Execution of Anne Boleyn	1536
Marriage of the King to Jane Seymour	1536
Monasteries dissolved	1536-1540
The Ten Articles	1536
Six Articles	1539
Bibles ordered placed in Churches	1541
Edward VI King	1547-1553
First Act of Uniformity.....	1548
First Prayer Book	1549
Fall of Protector Somerset	1549
Second Act of Uniformity and Prayer Book.....	1552
Mary Queen	1553-1558
First Act of Repeal	October, 1553
Marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain.....	July 25, 1554
Speaker of House of Commons demands Privileges for House...	1554
Revival of Heresy Acts	1554
Burning of Ridley, Latimer, and Others.....	1555
Loss of Calais	1558
Elizabeth Queen	1558-1603
Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.....	1559
Reform of Coinage	1560
First Voyage of John Hawkins.....	1562
Thirty-nine Articles adopted	1563
Poor Law and Statute of Apprentices.....	1563
Birth of Shakespeare	1564
Mary Stuart in England	1568
Excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope.....	February, 1570
Act of Parliament sanctioning Thirty-nine Articles.....	1571
General Patent for Colonization to Humphrey Gilbert.....	1577
First Treaty between England and Turkey.....	1580
Return of Drake from his Long Voyage.....	1580
Jesuits enter England	1581
Hakluyt's <i>Collection of Voyages</i> published.....	1581

Raleigh's Expedition sent to America.....	1584
Shakespeare went to London	1586
Execution of Mary Stuart	1587
Defeat of the first Spanish Armada.....	1588
Hooker's <i>Ecclesiastical Polity</i> published.....	1594
Formation of the East India Company.....	1600
James I King.....	1603-1625
Hampton Court Conference.....	January, 1604
New Translation of Bible ordered (Appeared, 1611).....	1604
Gunpowder Plot.....	1605
Plymouth and London Companies chartered.....	1606
Settlement of Virginia.....	1607
Death of Shakespeare.....	1616
Coke dismissed as Chief Justice.....	1616
Execution of Raleigh.....	1618
Voyage of the <i>Mayflower</i>	1620
Amboyna "Massacre".....	1623
Charles I King.....	1625-1649
Marriage of the King to Henrietta Maria of France.....	1625
Parliament grants Customs for one year only.....	1625
Impeachment of Buckingham.....	1626
Petition of Right	1628
Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.....	1633
First Writ for Ship Money issued.....	1634
John Hampden tried for Refusing to pay Ship Money.....	1637
Scottish Covenant	1638
Scots invade England.....	1640
Meeting of Long Parliament.....	November, 1640
Arrest of Strafford.....	November, 1640
Root and Branch Petition.....	December, 1640
Execution of Strafford.....	1641
Permanent Reforms of Long Parliament.....	1641
Civil War began.....	1642
New Model Army authorized.....	1645
<i>Heads of Proposals</i>	1647
First <i>Agreement of the People</i>	1647
Second Civil War.....	1648
Pride's Purge.....	December, 1648
Execution of Charles I.....	January, 1649
The Commonwealth and Protectorate.....	1649-1660
Cromwell's Navigation Act.....	1651
Cromwell Expels the Rump.....	1653
<i>Instrument of Government</i>	1653
<i>Humble Petition and Advice</i>	1657
Death of Cromwell.....	1658
Restoration of the Long Parliament.....	1659
Monk Calls Convention Parliament.....	1660
Charles II King.....	1660-1685
Abolition of feudal Dues and military Tenures.....	1660
Navigation Act	1660
Corporation Act	1661
Act of Uniformity.....	1662

Conventicle Act	1664
War with the Dutch.....	1665
Secret Treaty with Louis XIV.....	1667
Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> published.....	1667
Dryden Poet Laureate.....	1670
War with the Dutch.....	1672
Third Navigation Act.....	1672
Test Act	1673
James, Duke of York, marries Mary of Modena.....	1673
Treaty of Westminster with the Dutch.....	1674
Marriage of Princess Mary to William of Orange.....	1677
Murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey.....	1678
Habeas Corpus Act.....	1679
James Returns to England.....	1682
James II King.....	1685-1688
Monmouth's Rebellion	1685
Bloody Assizes	1685
Declaration of Indulgence published.....	1687
Birth of Prince James (the Old Pretender).....	June 10, 1688
Seven Bishops sent to the Tower.....	June, 1688
William of Orange lands in England.....	November, 1688
Convention Parliament	January, 1689
William and Mary joint Sovereigns.....	1689-1702
Mutiny Act	1689
Bill of Rights.....	1689
Locke published <i>Two Treatises on Government</i>	1689
Battle of Beachy Head.....	June 30, 1690
Battle of Boyne.....	July 1, 1690
Establishment of National Debt.....	1693
Establishment of Bank of England.....	1694
Reform of the Currency.....	1696
Treaty of Ryswick.....	1697
Act of Settlement.....	1701
Anne Queen	1702-1714
Beginning of War of Spanish Succession.....	1702
Methuen Treaty with Portugal.....	1703
Battle of Blenheim.....	August, 1704
Capture of Gibraltar.....	1705
Battle of Ramillies.....	May, 1706
Union of England and Scotland.....	1707
Battle of Malplaquet.....	September, 1709
Impeachment of Sacheverell.....	1709-1710
Formation of the South Sea Company.....	1710
Dismissal of Marlborough.....	1711
Walpole sent to the Tower.....	1712
Treaty of Utrecht.....	1713
Schism Bill passed.....	1714
George I King.....	1714-1727
Act of Attainder against Bolingbroke.....	1715
Bursting of South Sea Bubble.....	1720
Administration of Walpole.....	1721-1742
Return of Bolingbroke.....	1723

Duke of Newcastle Secretary of State.....	1724
George II King.....	1727-1760
Methodist Society Organized at Oxford by John Wesley.....	1729
Settlement of Georgia.....	1732
Kaye invents Flying Shuttle.....	1733
Walpole's Excise Bill.....	1733
Molasses Act	1733
William Pitt enters Parliament.....	1735
War of Jenkins's Ear.....	1739
Administration of Carteret.....	1742-1743
Administration of Pelham and Newcastle.....	1743-1754
Arrival of Clive at Madras.....	1744
Jacobite Rebellion	1745
Pitt Paymaster of the Forces.....	1746
Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.....	1748
Bolingbroke published <i>The Idea of a Patriot King</i>	1749
Gregorian substituted for Julian Calendar in England.....	1752
Treaty of Westminster with Prussia.....	January, 1756
Administration of Pitt.....	1756-1757
Administration of Pitt and Newcastle.....	1757-1762
Battle of Plassey.....	June, 1757
Capture of Quebec.....	September, 1759
George III King.....	1760-1820
Bute Joins the Ministry.....	1761
Administration of Bute.....	1762-1763
Peace of Paris.....	1763
Administration of George Grenville.....	1763-1765
Arrest of Wilkes.....	April, 1763
Expulsion of Wilkes from Parliament.....	1764
Hargreaves invents Spinning Jenny.....	1764
Passage of Stamp Act.....	March, 1765
First Administration of Rockingham.....	1765-1766
Watt invents Steam Engine.....	1765
Repeal of Stamp Act.....	1766
Chatham-Grafton Administration	1766-1770
Passage of Townshend Acts.....	1767
Voyage of Captain Cook.....	1768-1770
Wilkes and the Middlesex Election.....	1769
Administration of North.....	1770-1782
Publication of Burke's <i>Thoughts on the Causes of the Present</i> <i>Discontents</i>	1770
Boston Massacre	1770
Act regulating the East India Company.....	1773
Tea Riots in America.....	1773
First Quebec Act.....	1774
Penalizing Laws against Boston and Massachusetts.....	1774
Battle of Lexington.....	April 19, 1775
Declaration of American Independence.....	July, 1776
Publication of Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i>	1776
Publication of Bentham's <i>Fragment on Government</i>	1776
Capture of Burgoyne.....	October, 1777
War between England and France.....	1778

Passage of Dunning's Motion against the Crown.....	1780
Surrender of Cornwallis.....	October, 1781
Second Administration of Rockingham.....	March-July, 1782
Administration of Shelburne.....	July, 1782-March, 1783
Administration of Fox-North Coalition.....	April-December, 1783
Treaty of Versailles.....	1783
First Administration of the Younger Pitt.....	1783-1801
Board of Control established for East India Company.....	1784
Cartwright patented Power Loom.....	1785
Commercial Treaty with France.....	1786
Settlement at Botany Bay.....	1788
Regency Controversy.....	1788-1789
Meeting of French States General.....	1789
Nootka Sound Controversy.....	1790
Russian Armament Crisis.....	1791
Second Quebec Act.....	1791
War with France.....	1793
Trial of Hardy and Others for Treason.....	1794
Battle of Camperdown.....	1797
Battle of the Nile.....	1798
Rebellion in Ireland.....	1798
Union of England and Ireland.....	1800
Administration of Addington.....	1801-1804
Treaty of Amiens.....	1801
Renewal of War with France.....	1803
Second Administration of Pitt.....	1804-1806
Battle of Trafalgar.....	October 21, 1805
Administration of Grenville.....	1806-1807
Slave Trade abolished.....	1806
Berlin Decrees.....	May 16, 1806
British Orders in Council.....	January, 1807
Administration of Portland.....	1807-1808
Milan Decrees.....	1807
Beginning of Reform of Criminal Law.....	1808
Administration of Perceval.....	1809-1812
Prince of Wales Regent.....	1811
War with the United States.....	1812-1814
Administration of Liverpool.....	1812-1827
Allies Enter Paris.....	April, 1814
Treaty of Ghent.....	December, 1814
George Stephenson built first Locomotive.....	1814
Congress of Vienna.....	1814-1815
Battle of Waterloo.....	1815
Corn Law passed.....	1815
Cheap Edition of Cobbett's <i>Register</i>	1816
Manchester "Massacre".....	1819
George IV King.....	1820-1830
Reform of Criminal Code.....	1822
Monroe Doctrine.....	1823
Trade Unions made legal.....	1824
Administration of Canning.....	April-August, 1827
Administration of Goderich.....	1827-1828

Keble published <i>Christian Year</i>	1827
Administration of Wellington.....	1828-1830
Repeal of Corporation and Test Acts.....	1828
Catholic Emancipation Act.....	1829
William IV King.....	1830-1837
Administration of Grey.....	1830-1834
Wakefield founds Colonization Society.....	1830
Parliamentary Reform Act.....	1832
Abolition of Slavery throughout the Empire.....	1833
Beginning of Tractarian Movement.....	1833
Factory Act.....	1833
First Grant for Public Education.....	1833
Poor Law Amendment Act.....	1834
First Administration of Melbourne.....	July-November, 1834
First Administration of Peel.....	1834-1835
Municipal Corporations Act.....	1835
Second Administration of Melbourne.....	1835-1841
Beginning of Great Trek in South Africa.....	1836
Rebellion in Canada.....	1837
Victoria Queen	1837-1901
People's Charter drawn up.....	1838
Lord Durham's Report on Canada.....	1839
Marriage of Victoria and Albert.....	1840
Introduction of Penny Postage.....	1840
Second Administration of Peel.....	1841-1846
New Constitution granted to New South Wales.....	1842
Webster-Ashburton Treaty	1842
Factory Act	1844
Bank Charter Act.....	1844
Corn Law repealed.....	1846
First Administration of Russell.....	1846-1852
Repeal of Navigation Acts.....	1849
Gold discovered in Australia.....	1850
Australian Constitution Act.....	1850
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.....	1850
Exhibition in Hyde Park.....	1851
First Administration of Derby.....	February-December, 1852
Administration of Aberdeen.....	1852-1855
Crimean War	1853-1855
Convention of Bloemfontein.....	1854
First Administration of Palmerston.....	1855-1858
Treaty of Paris.....	1856
Indian Mutiny.....	1857
Second Administration of Derby.....	1858-1859
Powers of East India Company transferred to Crown.....	1858
Second Administration of Palmerston.....	1859-1865
Second Administration of Russell.....	1865-1866
First Administration of Disraeli.....	1866-1868
British North America Act.....	1867
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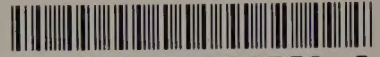
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